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## The Economic Policy of the Soviet Government

**T**HE economic policy of the Soviet Government was established in the midst of incessant fighting, when the entire country was a vast military camp, and the problems of the war were paramount. To put this policy into practice demanded an intense application of forces to overcome internal as well as external resistance. The carrying out of this policy was hindered as much by the attacks of the counter-revolutionists as by the open and secret sabotage of the superior technical personnel; inertia and prejudice were the enemies to be fought in a difficult struggle.

The Soviet organs which direct the economic life are based upon trade union organizations. From top to bottom the system of direction is constructed upon this basis.

At the head of the entire administration is the Supreme Council of National Economy; in the provinces the local Councils of National Economy.

All the activities of the Supreme Council of National Economy are supervised by a Bureau composed of eleven persons. Corresponding to the various branches of industry: metallurgical, chemical, textile, electro-technical, etc., the Supreme Council of National Economy is divided into fifty sections of production, at the head of which are the Committees, each composed of from three to seven persons.

The appointment of the president of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and that of his substitute, are ratified by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of all Russia; that of the members of the Bureau by the Council of People's Commissaries. But the candidatures are usually submitted before ratification to the general Council of Russian labor unions.

All the sectional committees of the Supreme

Council of National Economy are approved by the Bureau, but never until after a preliminary understanding with the corresponding syndicate. The workers as well as the specialists (engineers, technicians), have members in all the committees and in the Bureau.

The local Councils of National Economy are the executive organs of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and are organized on the same basis as the latter, though being more restricted.

The management of the factories and administration for the various state enterprises and trusts is composed in each case of from five to seven members (workers and specialists), but they are sanctioned by the corresponding section of the Supreme Council of National Economy or of the local Council of National Economy only after a preliminary understanding with the corresponding syndicate.

A great number of specialists are on the Committees and in the management of factories: as many as sixty per cent are specialists and forty per cent are workers.

Thus the Soviet power replaced the system of capitalist direction by the Soviet system, which planted deep roots in the farthest corners of our economic life. Despite the difficult external and internal conditions this system is accomplishing its task perfectly.

To sum up these two years of struggle, the means of production passed almost entirely from the hands of the capitalists and proprietors into those of society personified in the Soviet organs.

Nationalization of the factories, shops, mines, etc., was brought about first in the principal branches of industry and in the most important enterprises.

information has often been circulated in Western Europe with regard to this nationalization which, it was said, followed no fixed plan. This is a falsehood without foundation.

Nationalization, especially beginning with the second half of the year 1918, was brought about in accordance with a fixed plan embracing the industrial branches and enterprises most important and indispensable for the organization of the national economy.

As to the "small trades" and the cooperatives, not only were they not nationalized, but they were protected by special decrees and dispositions.

The following tables gives an idea of the proportionate figures for nationalization in the course of the last two years:

*Nationalization During the Years 1918-1919.*

1. Enterprises ..... 4,000
2. Merchant marine construction ..... 16,000
3. Private property ..... 60,000,000 hectares
4. All the banks of all cities.

These figures are a little short in the case of the enterprises, 4,000 enterprises are under the Supreme Council of National Economy, but in the provinces many nationalized enterprises, being under the direction of local organs, do not figure in the statistics drawn up by the central organs.

It may be said with certainty that ninety per cent of industry is nationalized.

The Soviet power inherited from Capitalism enterprises isolated and deprived of connecting bonds.

Its task, as indicated above, was to construct an organization of national economy based upon socialist principles.

It was indispensable that there be organized and created in the domain of industry and that of rural economy associations of isolated enterprises, that they be provided with fuel and basic materials, and their financial system constructed upon new principles.

In resume of all the innovations introduced in the domain of national economy in the course of these two years (1918-1919) we have the following table:

There were organized:

*I. In Industry.*

1. State trusts ..... 90
2. Factory administrations ..... 4,000
3. State systems for the provision of wood, flax, wool, hemp, etc.

*II. In Rural Economy.*

1. Soviet exploitations ..... 2,399
2. Rural communes and associations ..... 5,961

In this manner industry and rural economy during these two years were not only placed under the direction of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, but also reorganized internally with reference to production. A concentration of production was brought about. Trusts like that of the electro-technical industry, uniting without exception all the enterprises which fought one another in pitiless rivalry before the October Revolution,

or like the State trust for machine construction, comprising sixteen of the most important enterprises, represent a result unprecedented in the economic world.

The situation is similar in the nationalized enterprises of the textile industry, to the number of more than 500, divided into forty different associations each embracing several enterprises and all directed by a "principal management."

From the point of view of finance, provisions, registration, the reception of products, etc., the organization of industry in state trusts was of enormous advantage. The regulation of accounts between the nationalized enterprises and their associations takes place only in the books and without the payment of cash.

Owing to this system the distribution of fuel and basic materials becomes more equal and rational. If one considers the extremely difficult situation in which Soviet Russia was placed, during these last two years, in the matter of fuel, having at her disposal only ten per cent of indispensable coal and only ninety-three million poods of naphtha in lieu of the 400 millions necessary each year, one can see that only the centralization of distribution and a certain economy have aided us to evade a terrible fuel crisis. As for the distribution of raw materials, that was organized in a satisfactory manner.

In the sphere of rural economy the organization of Soviet exploitations directed by Soviet organs made it possible not only to protect agriculture, the great land properties, but also permitted the industrial proletariat to take part for the first time in agricultural labor, and created also for the first time solid ties between industry and agricultural exploitation, between the city and the country.

At present nearly three million hectares are already in the hands of Soviet exploitations and agricultural communes.

Returning to the economic situation and the results of the economic activities, we should indicate first that this situation, as a result of our activity, depended upon changes brought about by the civil war.

The Don Basin, the Urals, the Caucasus, the principal sources of fuel and raw material—of coal, naphtha, iron, cast-iron, steel—passed from hand to hand. For a certain length of time they fell again to the Soviet power, but new assaults by the White Guards deprived us of them, ruining organized production and taking from us accumulated reserves.

As a result the center of Soviet Russia became our principal base.

The loss of the Don Basin meant for us the loss of eighty per cent of all our coal; the occupation of Baku by the English deprived us of naphtha; the occupation of the South and the Urals—of metals.

It is easy thus to realize clearly the difficult conditions under which our economic life developed.

But in addition to territorial conditions, our economic situation was influenced by the fact that

we had again to mobilize our industry and employ it for the needs of war.

Such are the conditions under which our economic activity was developed and our progress brought to realization.

The following figures characterize the principal branches of our economic activity where it was pursued without interruption during these two years:

ment working in the industries of Soviet Russia. (The figures are incomplete.) In certain branches of industry (in the mines of the region of Moscow, in the electro-technical industry) all the enterprises are operating without exception; in others,—in the textile industry for example—almost fifty per cent of the enterprises are at a standstill, but it is impossible to name a single branch of industry which has ceased completely. The facts

## PREPARATION OF FUEL AND RAW MATERIAL

(Quantity in Poods)

| <i>Products</i>  | 1918                 | 1919                                 |
|--|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <b>A. Fuel</b>   |                      |                                      |
| 1. Coal (regions of Moscow and Borovichi).....               | almost 30 million    | almost 30 million                    |
| 2. Wood (in stock and reserve).....                          | 4 mill. cu. sazshins | 5 mill. cu. sazshins                 |
| 3. Peat .....  | 58 million           | 60 million                           |
| 4. Naphtha .....   | 93 million           | Baku occupied by English             |
| <b>B. Raw Material (in the stores of the S. C. of N. E.)</b> |                      |                                      |
| 1. Flax .....  | .....                | 5½ million                           |
| 2. Cotton .....  | 2,784 thousand       | 6½ million (with Turkestan reserves) |
| 3. Wools .....   | .....                | 2 million                            |
| 4. Hemp .....  | .....                | 2 million                            |
| 5. Hides .....   | 5,461,000 pieces     | 2,365,800 pieces (for six months)    |
| 6. Metals (reserves).....                                    | 30 million           | 40 million                           |

The above figures are only for fuel and raw material accumulated and utilized by the Supreme Council of National Economy.

We can see that the situation has become worse in the matter of fuel because of the loss of the naphtha. In 1918 we could transport the naphtha from Baku, but in 1919 we did not receive any at all.

Owing to this circumstance we were obliged to use wood fuel for the railroads and other enterprises, and this was the cause of the famine in fuel for dwellings. Before the war no more wood was prepared than now: from four to five million cubic sazshins, but then there was coal, and naphtha which served industry, and the wood was used principally to heat dwellings; now wood is the principal fuel. As regards peat, the situation has improved, and in 1919 it was prepared in greater quantities (1918—fifty-eight million poods; in 1919—sixty million poods). The preparation of raw material for our textile industry was sufficient, and the industry is fully provided for. Flax and furs have accumulated in such great quantities that it would be easy to export them abroad.

With regard to metals the situation has become difficult, we have utilized our old reserves all this time. With the retaking of the Urals and the defeat of Kolchak, the situation has improved and we are receiving metals from the Urals.

In short, the system of provisioning under Soviet rule functions perfectly and is solidly constructed.

The latest statistics indicate that more than a million workers (excluding those employed on railroads, commerce, etc.), are at the present mo-

do not show it. In short, the total number of salaried workers (workers and employees) reaches the minimum number of three million men. In certain spheres progress even may be claimed. During these two years our economic organs undertook the organization of fifteen important enterprises several of which are already completed and operating. At Podolsk (province of Moscow) a great factory for the repair of locomotives has been constructed and is already operating; as is a cartridge factory at Simbirsk. Two great electrical stations, one at Kachira, the other in the marsh of Chatour, are being completed. The construction of a factory of agricultural machinery and implements has commenced at Saratov.

But the most important enterprise is the exploitation of schist deposits in the provinces of Samara and Kazan, an enterprise begun in 1919. Several mines are already being exploited.

Let us cite here the figures relative to the principal branches of industry serving military as well as civil needs.

### *Production and Reserves in 1919*

#### *Fabrics*

Average monthly production—14 million arzhins  
Reserves—nearly a milliard arzhins.

#### *Sugar*

Production during the campaign 1918-1919:  
In Soviet Russia—4 million poods.  
In Soviet Ukraine—10 million poods.

#### *Matches*

Production in 1918—1,032,023 boxes.  
During six months in 1919—412,805,000 boxes.

*Soap*

Monthly production—20 to 25 thousand poods.

*Salt*

More than 10 million poods have been extracted.

These products are distributed in accordance with a definite plan. First the Red Army is provided, then the workers, and finally the rest of the population.

Let us consider now the question of food.

During these two years the most difficult problem was that of food. The regions most rich in wheat, such as the territory of the Don, South Russia, the territories beyond the Volga, and Siberia, were either in the hands of the enemy or were passing from hand to hand.

When, after the October Revolution, we took over the power there were almost no reserves of bread. The harvest of 1918 had a yield above the average (in twenty-five provinces of Soviet Russia it reached 1,235 million poods). The system of rationing which was organized about this time could store 106 million poods. This permitted us

in the second half of 1918 and in 1919 to improve the bread ration for the population compared to the first half of 1918. The harvest of 1919 was also above the average, and besides, the whole region beyond the Volga and a part of Siberia passed into our hands. This year we hope the grain reserves will surpass those of last year. Difficulties are encountered principally in transportation for the war. But thanks to the consolidation of the distributing system an improvement may be expected, not very great it is true, but an improvement nevertheless.

We have cited figures relating only to the principal branches of industry, taking for a basis the average monthly production. We have described only the general economic situation in Soviet Russia, and we have summarized the results of our activity in the economic sphere during the last two years. But it is needless to say that we could not here include all that has been accomplished by the working masses in the titanic creative work of the new life which is in the making under our eyes.

## Non-Party Conferences

By A. MYASNIKOV

**N**ON-PARTY CONFERENCES or conferences of the wide laboring masses have become a common practice in Russia for the last year. Experience has shown that these conferences are of great importance in the political education of the great masses of workers, peasants, and Red Army men.

A country like Russia where, after the October Revolution, the rank and file of the proletariat and the great masses of the peasantry awoke and became a great factor in political life, their political education and their participation in the construction of a new Soviet life became a question of the first importance. The Communist Party in Moscow has decided for the first time to carry on its activity in labor circles through the so-called non-party conferences.

Either the authoritative and experienced groups of Communists or the local Soviet calls a conference under the control and leadership of the party Committee, usually by electing one delegate for every ten or twenty men as representatives for the various factories, or villages of Red Army detachments. The agenda includes all those topics of the day which interest the workers, peasants, and the Red Army soldiers. Such topics are often the state of siege of any particular town or territory, the food crisis, the struggle against the transport disorganization, and so on. The preliminary work for the election, as well as the election itself, takes place under conditions of the greatest activity of our party comrades who explain to the masses the aim and the significance of the conference. They purpose to choose as delegates such men as are able

later on to relate to their constituents in an intelligible manner all that took place at the conference. At the pre-election meetings it is generally pointed out that the aim of the conference is to obtain the sympathy and the support of all the workers in favor of the Soviet Government, to explain and to discuss all the new undertakings and measures, all the victories and errors of the Soviet Government.

Generally the conferences actually succeed in attaining this end; the multifarious mass listens eagerly to reports in connection with military questions, social maintenance, or the economic situation of the country. They become interested, they criticize, they approve or dispute, they raise hundreds and hundreds of questions which are instantly answered. The delegates come to the conference with prejudice and lack of confidence but, after becoming acquainted with the Soviet policy and participating in the discussion of concrete measures, they gradually acquire a political education. After one, two, or three sittings of the conference the majority of the delegates, and often even an entire conference, are completely drawn into the Soviet policy, into its life and work and general plans. The delegates become firmly conscious that the Soviet Government is really a government of workers, and that only by way of collaboration with it can the so-called non-party sections strengthen the government as well as the ranks of the fighting proletariat.

These conferences also prove that the so-called non-party sections are in reality communistic and that it is not possible to separate the working

class from Communism. Thus the non-party conferences, these organizations of sections which are little concerned with politics as a whole, become a mighty weapon for the development of Soviet construction. No better party and political work can be created. It enthuses and electrifies the non-party sections and rapidly and easily draws them into the Communist Party. Very often many delegates, both at and during the conference, join the party.

With the return of conference delegates things become very lively in the barracks and army detachments. Heated disputes, explanations, and discussions ensue, and in the end a unanimous approval of the policy of our party is reached; this is the general upshot of those great conferences, at which hundreds, and, very often, thousands of delegates are present. Cases were not rare where the number of participants reached three and a half to four thousand delegates. Most prominent workers in the Soviet Government, commissars and heads of departments, speak at the conferences. In Moscow Comrade Lenin is often a welcome speaker on international and home policy.

The non-party conferences, have become usual,—they have become part of our ordinary life; following the example of Moscow the provinces now hold such conferences; thence the movement spreads to the towns, and from the towns to the villages. There is hardly a spot left in Soviet Russia where these conferences fail to educate the masses, and in their name to support the Soviet Government and to approve its measures and policy. These workers' and peasants' and Red Army soldiers' conferences have become quite a common occurrence.

Here are a few figures of the Moscow conferences as striking instances. Recently, prior to the

elections for the Moscow Soviet, a number of mass conferences took place in every district of the city. Within a fortnight seventeen conferences took place in Moscow having a total number of 15,600 delegates and representing approximately 280,000 workers and Red Army soldiers; out of this number 200,000 workers took part in the elections. On an average the Communist delegates at these conferences composed no more than one-fifth, the rest being either non-party men or sympathizers with Communism. It is the intention of the Russian Communist Party not to elect communists for the non-party conferences, but to elect non-party men, yet the masses most often elect Communists, who form a firm and healthy nucleus at these conferences. It is characteristic that among the 15,600 delegates, there was, as an exception to the rule, an insignificant number of Mensheviks, namely three, two Anarchists, and five Socialist-Revolutionaries, and members of other groups and parties.

All this mass has clearly shown that it is in favor of the Communist Party and that, in Moscow Soviet elections, it has carried with it the entire garrison and proletariat of Moscow towards the victory of the Communists. At the present time the elections are over. The result is as follows: Out of 1,461 deputies, 1,281 were Communists and sympathizers with Communism, 128 non-party, and fifty-two of various parties. This result is to a great extent, to be attributed to the non-party conferences.

We are therefore justified in stating that non-party conferences are the best means of introducing the idea of Communism in the masses, and they are, at the same time, a correct indicator of the temper of the masses at every particular period. Presumably this experience will in due time be taken into account by the Western proletariat.

## Cultural Work in the Ranks of the Red Army

**T**HE Red Army is victorious on all fronts. At the same time the Soviet Government has also gained victories in the ranks of its own army, victories which are of great significance in the cause of Socialism—victories over illiteracy, prejudice, and ignorance of the peasant Red Army soldiers.

The tremendous successes of cultural work in the whole country and especially in the ranks of the Red Army are so conspicuous that on many occasions they were the subject of the Kolchak and Denikin newspapers which commented with envy and impotent rage on these successes, setting them up as an example for their own unpretentious "propagandists" and "agitators." The comments of the White Guards on these successes are franker still in unofficial documents. As an instance, we quote the following report of August, 1919, of the Chief of the Scouting Division of

the Headquarters of Kolchak's Third Army—Colonel Shokov.

Agitation and propaganda in Soviet Russia is brilliantly organized. Propaganda classes have been established in every government town, which have already turned out a number of trained agitators. The ideas of Bolshevism are disseminated in simple, comprehensible, and convincing language and forms. The whole country is literally flooded with appeals, placards, newspapers, and colored pictures.

At the front the Bolsheviks have made propaganda a weapon as mighty as artillery, aviation, and tanks.

The report of the Literary Publication Department of the Political Administration of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic for the period of June 1 to November 1 gives a clear idea

of the extent of cultural work performed in the Red Army.

The following were issued during the five months:

"The Red Soldiers" magazine (No. 3-9), 1,004,000 copies; the magazine "Svetoch," for White soldiers, 40,000 copies; 241,000 pamphlets. The following leaflets were published: for the Red Army, 1,810,000 copies; for the Whites, 1,075,000 copies; 1,130,584 colored pictures; 45,000 graphic tables.

By the 1st of December 487,000 pamphlets were issued; 1,000,000 leaflets; 500,000 copies of the "Red Soldiers"; 600,000 open letters; 628,000 placards and colored pictures, and 92,000 graphic tables.

The whole of this tremendous work was carried out solely by the Central Political Administration. A perfect conception of the colossal cultural work, organized for the Red Army, will be formed if we carry in mind the fact that the political departments of all fronts as well as the Red Army Divisions publish a great amount of printed matter.

The whole of this agitational and cultural literature is written in the most popular style, comprehensible to the intelligence of the meanest peasants of the most remote corner of illimitable Russia. The gist of all the placards, pictures, and cartoons is easily grasped even by such of the peasants who have never had occasion to turn the pages of an illustrated magazine.

The distribution of literature is not the only form of cultural activity among the Red Army soldiers. Another form of this activity is expressed in the organization of schools, libraries, clubs, and theatres. In this direction the results achieved were also quite brilliant. By the 1st of November 3,800 schools had been established for the Red Army soldiers; there are 2,392 circulating libraries and 1,315 clubs. There is a theatre with almost every club. There are fifty-two Red Army soldiers' theatres in Moscow alone.

The Red Army soldiers attend their schools eagerly. In the Yaroslavl garrison attendance rose to 90-95 per cent of the illiterate. At times special measures are taken towards the instruction of the illiterate. Thus, for instance, at Kazan, all the illiterate of the Artillery Depot are exempted from all service for three weeks on the condition that they attend school every day.

The following is a description of the successful development of the Red Army theatre. The Cultural Department of the Red Army at Samara has at its disposal two troupes of professional actors. In the garrison hospitals, Red Army clubs, and town theatres, the following performances were given to the Red Army soldiers: In August 24 plays, 14 concerts, and 29 cinematograph shows; in September, five performances, 41 concerts, and 40 cinematograph shows; in October, 8 plays, 54 concerts, and 60 cinematograph shows. All performances are free to the soldiers. The following are the figures of attendance: In August, 79,240 Red Army soldiers attended; in September, 76,860; in

October, 76,860. The total number of spectators amounted to 291,920 soldiers. During this period besides the professional troops 35 dramatic Red Army circles were established and worked in the army; by November 1, the number of plays and concerts given by these amounted to 235.

The amateur Red Army dramatic circles very often put on the stage plays which were written by Red Army soldiers themselves. These plays are not pretentious, they cannot be said to be striking for their aesthetic qualities; their great advantage lies however in the fact that dealing as they do with vital questions and realistic problems of the day they find a ready appeal in the hearts of the workers and peasants, whom circumstances have temporarily turned into soldiers.

Cultural work is as equally intense in the rear as it is at the front. It is understood that the conditions at the front create a great number of obstacles in the normal development of this kind of activity. Where, however, the communist circles are at their height, this work with the assistance of the Red Army soldiers who are eagerly striving towards knowledge, is often successful. As an example we may give the activity of the clubs at the front. At a certain club organized in one brigade, within three weeks were given four plays, a review, and three cinematograph performances; a lecture was read by the lecturer of the political Army Department on the *Origin of Man*; the lecture was illustrated by slides and proved of the greatest interest to the soldier-audience. There is a library and reading room at the club, a small string orchestra, courses for the illiterate daily filled with soldiers, who—to repeat the expression of a Red Army soldier-correspondent—seek to obtain at their temple of art not only mental rest but also knowledge.

Thus we see that in its cultural activity in the ranks of the Red Army the Soviet Government strives to satisfy the spiritual demands of the Red Army soldiers. The task of the revolutionary-socialist education does not consist in raising the spirit of the Red Army when faced by the enemy; it is much broader than that. Compelled by unfortunate circumstances to take the peasant from his plough and the workman from his bench, the Soviet Government strives, at the same time, to utilize the period of the soldiers' service in the interest of his spiritual development, and to make him a worthy citizen of the Socialist State. With the return from the front to his remote village the Red Army soldier will not only take a vital and intelligent interest in his surroundings and in political events, but will, in his turn, become the bearer of socialist education and enlightenment to the dark masses of peasantry who as yet have failed to shake off the traces of an age-old slavery.

Col. B. Roustam Bek's article on Turkey will appear in next week's issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## A Year of War

[In beginning a new volume of SOVIET RUSSIA, instead of our usual Military Review we are presenting an official account of the military situation during the year 1919, taken from "Izvestia," Petrograd, January 2, 1920.]

**T**HIS last year was a year of intense struggle on the revolutionary front, but it seemed at times that the final victory of the Soviet Government was becoming uncertain.

In the beginning we had only two theatres of war, one in the north and the other in the east.

Nevertheless the danger to be faced seemed to be great. The eastern front had cut off Siberia and Turkestan, had moved to the Volga and the Kama and its tributaries, and in places was already on the hither side of those two rivers. Although the pressure from the north was not very great, nevertheless it was dangerous, and threatened to allow the two groups of the enemy to unite and form a single front from the Murmansk road and Archangel to Orenburg and the Caspian Sea.

This uneasiness was all the more logical because at that time intervention was being considered, and our military apparatus was only in the period of formation and did not provide us with a sufficient guarantee of safety.

The eastern front had formed the year before last. Its kernel consisted of Czecho-Slovak regiments inspired by the White Guards and supported by foreign embassies in their fight on the Russia of the workman and peasant. Around this kernel there gathered other inimical elements composed of ex-officers, ex-junkers, land-holding bourgeoisie and local cossacks. And although the numerical strength of the White army was not large, still that army was successful in the beginning, because it was faced by poorly organized Red Guards. It held the line of the Ural mountains with the Yekaterinburg mining district as the center. Its south wing intrenched itself rather strongly in the district of Orenburg, and the center was placed on the lines of the rivers Belaya and Ufa, and threatened the city of Ufa. Here the enemy fortified himself rather well, and began to gather new strength.

Meanwhile the northern front, formed in the same year by the expeditionary forces of the Allies in Archangel who were later joined by other White Guard elements, gradually grew in width, crossing the Murmansk road not far from the lake of Onega, and moved its left wing to the river Pechora and its left tributary, Izhma. The chief pressure of the enemy was directed along the river Northern Dvina, its tributary Vaga, and the Archangel railroad. At first he planned to pierce our position in the district of Vologda or Kotlas, and tried to establish tactical connections with the army of Admiral Kolchak in the vicinity of Perm.

But tremendous distances between places and impossible roads, together with the defense put up by the Red Army did not allow the operation to develop. It died out naturally, one might say, be-

cause of the expenditure of muscular energy on the part of the enemy.

From that time on, the great northern theatre of war lost its primary strategic importance. It still retained the serious role of a sector of the flank, both during the general attack of the Siberian armies and during the attacks of the Finns on Petrograd, when the latter were joined by the enemy at the beginning of last year and occupied the inter-lake district to the west of Lake Onega, between Onega and the Olonets range.

Spreading out along the western ranges of the Urals, the reorganized army of Admiral Kolchak directed the efforts of its right wing and its center to a movement in the direction of the northern part of the River Kama, and the district of Ufa. Here there were many hard fights of an indecisive character on the roads near Perm and Osa, near Kungur and Krasnoufimsk, near Birsk, near Ufa, and at last near Sterlitamak. The first few months of 1919 were passed in such encounters which were more or less occasioned by chance, and took place especially in the mountainous district of Yekaterinburg.

The conditions of struggle in the Yekaterinburg sector are in reality unfavorable to the development of attacking measures on any large scale. The vicinity is a row of more or less wide valleys rimmed with mountains. At the foot of the latter there are railroads which radiate from Yekaterinburg, and other means of communication. There are also factories and settlements. In other words there is a series of defilations with ready made points of defense. Besides the railroad lines, as has been said before, meet in Yekaterinburg, a fact that gave the staff of the enemy a great advantage in the matter of attack, notwithstanding that at the beginning of the year he was numerically weaker than we were.

All this allowed the enemy command with its Ural section to hold our armies back until it had finished the formation of new armies in its rear.

At the beginning of April the Eastern front suddenly came to life. Formidable masses of troops were advanced to the front, and the enemy seemed to have made clear his intentions of advancing on the whole line of operations towards Perm and the Volga along the Volga-Bugulminsk and the Samara-Zlatoust roads. His left wing began to press energetically between Sterlitamak and Orenburg in order to reach the Samara-Orenburg and the Saratov-Ural lines.

Ufa was soon taken. Then came the turn of Perm, and then, after unsuccessful battles near the Osa and Kungur we evacuated the entire basin of the river Kama as far as Yelabuga, and also the river Belaya and Ufa.

Soon it became evident that the center of the enemy attack was west of Ufa, along two lines leading to the Volga near Simbirsk and Samara. At the same time both wings of the White army continued the pressure on our troops near Vyatka and also to the north-west of the Orenburg-Ural line. Here and there they advanced comparatively far. On the north they were west of Glazov, and their southern wing captured the cities of Buzuluk, Uralsk, Nikolsk, and Yershov, and threatened Samara and Saratov. But Orenburg did not surrender, remaining like a red island in a raging white sea. Later this was of great importance in the development of our counter-attack.

The situation was becoming dangerous. Not only because the enemy, after occupying Bugulma, Buguruslan and Buzuluk, was but 100 miles from the Volga and its bridges. This had happened many times before. But more because of the impetus of his movement and the seeming preparations of the White forces to attack in other theatres of war. It became clear that the armies of Kolchak were only a chain ring in the plan of a concentrated general attack from all directions on Soviet Russia on the part of the enemy.

In fact, after the German evacuation of the occupied provinces of what was once the Russia of the Czar and parts of Ukraine, revolutionary struggle began everywhere. In Ukraine the Reds were quickly victorious. But the hetman's army was not destroyed. Its kernel and most of all its officers went to Kuban and the southern part of the Army of the Don, and with the energetic co-operation of the Entente served as the nucleus for the quick formation of a strong southern army under the command of General Denikin. At the same time, General Yudenich was able to create a strong army corps on the border of the government of Pskov. In doing so, he took advantage of similar conditions in Esthonia, Finland, and Latvia. It became known that Polish and Lithuanian attacks were in preparation. The position taken by the border countries showed that they were only waiting for a favorable moment to attack.

In a word one could see the separate rings of the White chain that was supposed to cut off Soviet Russia from Siberia, Turkestan, the Caucasus, the southern provinces, the north, and the Baltic Sea; to deny it bread, fuel and raw material, and to continue it within the frontiers of the time of Czar Ivan III.

Two circumstances spoiled the success of this plan. In the first place the various groups of the enemy did not co-ordinate their operations from a strategical point of view. The result achieved was not one of complete constriction as the enemy desired, but a succession of independent, although powerful blows. And what is still more important, the Red Army seemed to be reborn in the moment of the greatest danger, reborn from the very top to the very bottom. The ghost of defeat brought the army and the people closer together, and the army, like the ancient Antaeus, drew new strength by touching the earth. Past defeats were useful.

The muddy water caused by them had left the army only its healthy elements. There was a filtration of the command and the commissary; the ammunition supply, food, and clothes came more regularly, and what is most important, one general plan of action became for the first time visible in the command.

Taking advantage of the fact that the attack of Denikin was stopped for a while, and that on all other fronts, except in the north where an attempt had been made to reach Kotlas by way of the Dvina, everything was quiet, our command directed the full force of its blows at the enemy in the east.

Its plans was to push back the forces of General Dietrichs on the Ufa sector, and at the same time to sever his communications with Yekaterinburg, by pressure towards Sarapul and Krasnoufimsk. Then, if the operation was successful, the plan was to pass on and strategically surround both groups.

As far as the left wing of the White army is concerned it was first planned to restrict our operations to a frontal attack, so as to surround the White army on the Ural-Orenburg line.

The enemy had by this time spread considerably, centering his reserves partly behind his right wing and partly behind his center. The point of attack towards Krasnoufimsk was rather sparsely defended, and the attack was successful.

Without giving time to the enemy to regroup his forces, the Red column began to move forward towards the line of Yekaterinburg-Cheliabinsk, threatening the communications of both armies of the enemy, which were especially open to attack in the central sector. The enemy began to retreat, but could not succeed in doing so in an orderly manner, or by occupying one position of prepared defense after another, for the northern and central groups of the Red Army, seeing the moral and physical exhaustion of the enemy and the failure of his plan of attack caused by our victory at Krasnoufimsk, developed the maximum amount of energy in their attack. The quickly defeated White vanguard flowed swiftly backward, leaving the main forces open to attack. In turn they also, not being able to withstand our pressure, began to retreat slowly, trying to hold us back in a series of rearguard encounters mostly in the northern sector, where the development of the Krasnoufimsk wedge had put the enemy army in as bad a position as in the center.

Soon Ufa and Perm were recaptured, and then Yekaterinburg and Cheliabinsk.

With the capture of Ufa our command began to take strong measures against the southeast sector. Even before that we had attacked along both railroads towards Orenburg and Uralsk. Now a third group was moved from Sterlitamak and Verkhne-Uralsk in the north towards Orenburg and Orsk. This finished the matter. The end was hastened by a victory of the Turkestan Red Army which had defeated a White column defending the railroad from Orenburg to Tashkent.



The road to Turkestan and cotton was now open.

Only a small part of the local White Guards occupied the Trans-Caspian railroad, closing the way to Krasnovodsk. They are being cleaned out at present.

Meanwhile the operations of Denikin's army had become more and more real in their form. His central group seemed to be moving into the Don coal mine district, trying to cut off the Red troops near the sea of Azov by a left flank movement. At the same time they began to press strongly in the Don sector along the Kharkov-Balashov line with the clear purpose of attacking the Soviet armies on the southwest near Kamishin and Tsaritsin.

The plan of the enemy was to clear the central part of the Volga of Red troops, to take possession of it, and to enter into close communication with the Ural White army which still managed to hold its positions, resisting all our attacks. Having captured Kamishin and Tsaritsin the White Guards were not able to help the Ural army, which had already been forced by us to retreat, leaving Uralsk to us, and which had been defeated at Erikov by our left wing and was holding a line north of Alexandrov-Gai near Novo-Uzensk.

The successful manoeuver of the volunteer left wing column of our army saved the situation, leaving our command free of the worry of having to do with a united South Ural front, and with the possible loss of Saratov.

Just when the movements of Denikin's armies began to take form, and the armies of Admiral Kolchak had reached the zenith of their successes, that is, at the end of April and the beginning of May, the new attack of the enemy began to show on the northwest front, aimed at Petrograd.

Having decided to capture the capital, Yudenich took measures to weaken the unity of our position in the west and southwest of the city. With this goal in view the Finnish White guard group in the Murmansk sector began to press energetically along the eastern shore of Lake Ladoga in the direction of the northern branch of the railroad, thinking of capturing it at Zvanka, and then to move along the Nikolayevsk road, helping therewith the armies of Kolchak, especially his right wing. But after it had captured the Lodeynoye Field, it was stopped and forced to retreat.

The attempt of the White command to act in unity had failed.

Nevertheless, this attack which began with a strong blow at Yamburg, continued to develop favorably to the enemy. For many reasons which were given at that time in all newspapers, the Red columns were speedily retreating, especially north of the Baltic road. Soon the vanguard of the enemy was only thirty miles from the capital. The fortress of Krasnaya Gorka, captured by the counter-revolutionists was a great menace both to Kronstadt and the fleet. But it was this very fact that showed what little forces the White Guards had when they attempted their adventure. They did not possess the few necessary battalions to hold

Krasnaya Gorka, and the fortress was recaptured by us after a heavy artillery attack by our fleet, through the brave attack of a comparatively small number of sailors.

This success seemed to be the signal for an entire change in military affairs. The enemy began to retreat quickly before our blows. He managed to remain a short time at Yamburg, but was quickly driven from there, and later from Pskov, and had to satisfy himself with holding Narva and Gdov, wedging outwards a little between them towards the southeast and Luga.

Both sides held their positions for four months or until the new attack of General Rodziakno on Petrograd in the beginning of October.

Meanwhile conditions on the southern front were becoming more and more serious. Even at the end of May the strength and resources of Denikin were very apparent. It became self-evident that he would not stop with the capture of the Don Region, the Don coal mines, and the southern sea provinces, but that he would begin a general attack on the north, the northeast and the northwest, where Kharkov, Poltava, Voronezh, Yekaterinoslav and Kiev would serve him as stopping places.

Tired with its fighting of many months' duration and suffering besides from local partizanship, the Red Army began to retreat. The Kharkov sector gradually became open, especially in one place where the White army succeeded in driving a wedge into our positions a little outside the city. The further development of the White attack in this direction led them through Chuguev to Volochansk, and finally forced us to evacuate Kharkov. Soon after the enemy occupied Kursk, Yekaterinoslav, and a little later, Poltava, which was surrounded from the north in the neighborhood of Lebedin.

Having captured the central section of the Kiev-Voronezh railroad, and developing the success of the Poltava-Lebedin group, the command of the enemy decided to attack both Voronezh and Kiev.

The struggle for these cities, especially for Voronezh, was already of a more difficult nature, but the proportionate strength of the sides was such that we were forced to evacuate both cities.

The central White army continued its movement north on a wide front in the general direction of Bryansk, Orel, and Yelatz, that is, in the direction of the important railroad centers in central Russia.

Its advance was greatly helped by the continual cavalry raids of General Mamontov, who had broken our lines near Novokhopersk and Borisoglebsk, and who had attacked Tambov and Kozlov, and later moved north on Skopin, destroying railroads, and bringing disorganization into the work of our transport in the rear.

Notwithstanding this, the movement of the White Guard in the direction of Briansk-Orel-Yelatz was of an altogether different character from its advance on Kursk. It was at once noticeable that our enemy was growing weaker and more tired, and our military strength was increasing.

And although Orel fell finally, it was clear that this was due to the law of inertia, and a sort of unfitness on the part of our command in the matter of counter-attack. A change was imminent.

Orel, exactly like Voronezh, served as a dam that held back the White current. For a little while longer the enemy showed activity, trying to take Yeletz so as to attack the Red Army in the rear from Tambov and Penza, and to unite with the Voronezh column, which was attacking us in the direction of Kozlov, but these were merely last and unsuccessful efforts.

The Red Army had managed to fill its ranks with replacements, and having been regrouped, had passed from the defense to the attack on the wide front between Orel and Yeletz. At the same time the Soviet cavalry was sent to attack the enemy's cavalry vanguard near Voronezh.

The fact that we had torn the initiative from the hands of the enemy and that we were numerically superior, broke like lightning on the tired foe. Orel and Voronezh were taken by us in almost one day (October 20), and this moment saw a complete change in the nature of our operations.

Even the inspired attack of Rodzianko on Petrograd did not help Denikin. The capital lived through two or three weeks of danger, but the population was quiet and worked hard in putting the city into a state of defense, even fortifying the outlying suburbs, and then the enemy rolled back, even more swiftly than in May, before the blows of the garrison and of the replacements sent from the center. The reserves of our southern armies were untouched and continued to pursue their work.

After the capture of Orel and Voronezh, the Red Army began to move on Kursk from two sides—on the north, from the surrounding railroads, and on the east from Voronezh.

The enemy defended himself vigorously in all encounters, often passing into short energetic counter-attacks. But little by little, before our steady attacks, his forces were disorganized into separate groups and columns, and the fighting developed into a series of encounters between small detachments. Most of these encounters ended favorably to us. They allowed us to keep the advantage of the initiative and make use of manoeuvres on the field of battle.

The fall of Kursk, and then of Kharkov and Poltava, and our latest successes are the results of the numerous little victories of our independent columns, which are at once used to advantage by our command.

When the center of the enemy first trembled and then began to retreat, it dragged with it both wings, that of the Dnieper and that of the Don.

In both places the defensive strength of the enemy is broken. He is forced to evacuate a tremendous stretch of country, on one side covering the right frontier of Ukraine, and on the other the southern part of the Don region and the roads to Rostov and Tsaritsin, which are important to him strategically, for they guard the way to the

Caucasus. In the center the enemy is striving to defend the region of the Donetz and Yekaterinoslav, but without any success. Yekaterinoslav was taken by us on the last day of last year.

While the southern Red Army was living through a crisis, Soviet troops also had a hard time in the east, where they had passed Kurgan and Yalutorovsk.

Covering up with his rearguard, General Dietrichs collected new forces and moved them against our outspread and somewhat tired columns. The manoeuvre was successful. We were forced to retreat, but very little in all, a matter of sixty miles at the most. During this time, the Red Army, having succeeded in moving up its reserves, passed into a general attack on the whole front. It quickly defeated the columns of the enemy, and then captured Tobolsk, Ishim, and Petropavlovsk, and without giving the enemy any rest attacked in the direction of Omsk, which it took at the beginning of November.

This moment marks the beginning of a general pursuit of the enemy, who retreated eastward. We are pressing him continuously, taking a tremendous number of prisoners, cannon, machine guns, and an amount of war material and food that beggars all description.

In Nikolayevsk the downfall of the enemy was especially shown in high relief, when seventy separate detachments, and their senior staffs, refused the order to evacuate the city and surrendered to us.

At present in Siberia we are faced only by the pitiful remnants of the White armies, which are trying to organize the defense of Krasnoyarsk. The regions of Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk and a part of the region of Semirechensk are already clean of White Guards.

In the great struggle that marked the last year, the Polish-Lithuanian front deserves a special place. Because of its central position between the armies of Yudenich and Denikin it could have played a great part, binding them into one complete unit; or it could at least have attempted to unite with one of them, for instance the southern army, in this way taking advantage of the moment when the latter was occupying Chernigov. But the Polish command did not try hard to unite with either of the White Guard leaders, being satisfied with operations on a small, provisional scale. Satisfied with its first successes, which enabled it to take the government of Minsk, and part of Vitebsk and Polotsk, the Polish-Lithuanian army remained in one place, allowing us to better conditions in case of having to conduct a general defense. This is the cause of the effort to take Dvinsk and move toward Polotsk, Vitebsk, and Mohilev.

During the past year, the Red Army lived through a great life. It may be said that during these twelve months it has been entirely reborn, having become, from the viewpoint of military organization, completely modernized, completely European, and even successful in developing new men for higher service.

## England's Russian Policy

By KARL RADEK

*[The following is a portion of an article appearing in "Pravda" (Moscow) on April 17, 1920. The first part, which is not printed here, deals with the internal alignment within the English social system, and is therefore not suitable for insertion in these columns. The portion here given is the main body and conclusion of the article.]*

The interesting question now is that of the significance of the recent alteration in the English policy toward Soviet Russia. How shall we explain that just at the moment when the English bourgeoisie is preparing for the decisive struggle against the working class of England, it should make an effort to secure an understanding with Soviet Russia, the home of the revolution? Do not these facts involve a contradiction indicative of a lack of candor in the English hymns of peace? May we consider this to be a typical case of English cunning? If we may speak of a desire on the part of the English Government to conclude peace with us, there is no doubt that we must consider this desire as a mere manoeuvre; and that the English Government does not intend to secure a permanent peaceful relation with Soviet Russia. But if we do not consider the ultimate plans of the English Government, but merely put the question as to whether England intends in the most immediate future to follow a policy of peace with us, we may answer this question affirmatively. There is no doubt that the English Government is attempting to arrive at an understanding with Soviet Russia and to pave the way for peaceful relations with Soviet Russia. This policy in no way contradicts the internal policy of England, which is directed against the working-class of that country, but is closely related with that policy.

In England's struggle against Soviet Russia, in the period extending from the November revolution to the collapse of German imperialism, the dominant factors were not social in their nature. The object of England's struggle was to throttle the power in which England's imperialism beheld an alleged ally of German imperialism. Stupid as this assumption must seem, there is no doubt that the English Government seriously feared a conquest of Russia by German capital, with the tacit or open consent of the Soviet Government. For the English bourgeois, as we know, do not believe in the possibility of a permanent workers' and peasants' government in Russia. When English imperialism was freed from these fears by the collapse of German imperialism; when the conclusion of the war and the demobilization of the armies put social questions into the foreground; when the revolutionary ferment among the workers showed the English Government that even victorious nations are not immune from the danger of social upheavals;—at this moment the struggle against the Soviet power began to assume a character that was entirely social. The capitalist class of England decided to throttle Soviet Russia, the home of the world revolution. Lloyd George had already then doubted the possibility of an armed

victory over Soviet Russia, but the majority of the English bourgeoisie, blinded by hate and uncertainty, assumed the standpoint which was expressed by the former first Councillor of the English Embassy at Petrograd, Mr. Linley, in his letter to Lord Curzon, in the following words: "They must be treated as hangmen."

The crushing of Kolchak, Yudenich, and Denikin by the Red Army has proved to English capital that Lloyd George was entirely right when he opposed the adventure of armed intervention. The English bourgeoisie recognized that it would not succeed in suppressing the revolutionary center in the East. It therefore determined to utilize its powers to beat down the revolutionary forces that were gathering in its own house. If it is successful in this latter task, the time will not fail to arrive when relations with Soviet Russia may be subject to revision. From this standpoint the turn in the English foreign policy toward Soviet Russia may be militarily expressed as follows: Since the offensive against Soviet Russia may be said to have failed, to a certain extent, because of the fact that the English workers, the Allies of Soviet Russia, were active in the rear of English imperialism, English imperialism therefore wisely determined to create a powerful rear by means of a victory over the English working class, and to attain this victory—we are here dealing with an excellent example of the adaptability of England—English imperialism intends to utilize precisely its peaceful relations with Soviet Russia. The inauguration of peaceful relations is not only to quiet the English workers, who have united under the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia!"; but must also become the means for the permanent pacification of the English proletariat. The chief cause of the peaceful character of the English workers' movement for the last decades was the low prices of the means of subsistence. In the few years preceding the war the increase in the cost of these materials also stimulated ferment among the English workers. The chief cause of the present revolutionary troubles in England is the rise in the cost of living since the conclusion of peace. One of the causes for this increased cost appears to be the American monopoly of grain and raw materials. Should English imperialism succeed in reorganizing the Russian transportation system, in obtaining in exchange for its industrial protection cheap grain from Russia, it thus hopes to overcome the revolutionary crisis at home. Now, it is possible that the leaders of English imperialism are asking whether this understanding will not strengthen revolutionary Russia. This question, which has been put to Lloyd George by a portion

of the bourgeois press, is answered by him in terms about corresponding to the following: "No permanent system can be built on a Communist foundation. It is only on the basis of private property and private initiative that society can endure. The danger of the Communist opposition does not therefore lie in the fact that Communism may replace capitalist society for ever. The danger lies in the devastations of the revolutionary period. But after this period of devastation, every country will return to capitalism. Russia also will come back to capitalism, and its return will be all the faster if it speedily enters into commercial relations with the capitalist world. In the concentrated factories the capitalists of foreign countries will prove to the Russian workers that capitalism is better than Communism. When the blockade is removed, trade will be carried on not only with the Government of Soviet Russia; secret traders will create a secret system of trade with foreign capital, and this will destroy the whole economic policy of the Soviet power. And if the Soviet power, not defeated by force of arms, should

not succumb in the peaceful economic struggle, it will nevertheless have to transform itself entirely and become a power that unites the interests of the capitalist farmer with those of the worker on the basis of a commodity economy. In this way we may enter into a peace with Soviet Russia with hopes for victory not only over the English revolution, but also over the Russian revolution."

Such are the thoughts of the leaders of English imperialism when they enter into relations with us. As it is not our task to educate England's ministers, we may relinquish the pleasure of criticizing their views, which we have merely cited in order to reveal to our readers the causes of the English peace policy toward Russia.

The English peace is the continuation of the English war against Soviet Russia, by the use of economic means. The possibility of a victory or of a defeat of this English policy depends upon the rapidity with which capitalist economy disintegrates in England, and on the rate of the organization with which Communist economy in Russia is accomplished.

## Art and the Bolsheviks

(From "La Vie Ouvriere"—June 4)

WE ARE quite familiar with the policy of the capitalist press in its attempt to deceive the people by repeating that the Bolsheviks are barbarians and a menace to civilization, and by spreading stories of the destruction of works of art, museums, etc. Whenever there is danger that a ray of truth will shine through, all conceivable means are used to repress it. Therefore, we need not be surprised at the refusal of the Institute to enter in its report the communication of Victor Henry, which gives a very truthful account of the progress of education in Russia under the Bolsheviks.

But in spite of everything, the despised truth was brought to light. In the May 15 issue of the *Art Life Bulletin*, a paper which can hardly be accused of any subversive tendencies, Felix Fenelon describes a conversation which he had with M. Ivan Morozov, a wealthy cotton spinner, who before the war, had gathered a world famous collection of modern pictures. About a year ago he left Russia, where he had been staying for five and a half years. He describes in these words the fate of his collection:

"It is intact. Not one of the 430 Russian paintings or the 240 French paintings has been harmed. The collection has never been removed from the palace where I kept it. But it has been nationalized, like my factories, and it is the 'Second Museum of Western Art.'

"The first is made up of a number of French paintings, collected by our mutual friend Sergius Shchukin, and his daughter, Mme. Yekaterina Keller, is in charge of it.

"The government placed Boris Ternovetz, the noted sculptor, in charge of my collection, and

appointed me associate director, turning three rooms over to me, and opening up the rest of the building to the public. It was, as a matter of fact, an extension of my own system: in the days of the Czar, I had opened the doors to the public every Sunday morning, and on all other days except Monday artists and critics were admitted under very slight restrictions. As associate director, I had to make out an explanatory catalogue, and give some lectures to the visitors. Yekaterina Sergeevna did the same thing in her father's museum. It was a pleasure to us to praise the work of your country. The pictures were there, in illustration of our talks, and our audience did not lack appreciation.

"Even at this stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, artists are considered by the government as workers occupied in useful occupations. This of course enables them to make great headway. In Moscow, during the winter of 1918-1919, which was the last that I passed at the capital, an art committee of the extreme left organized no less than ten expositions, illustrating various tendencies in art.

"Trotsky's wife is in charge of a committee, the work of which will be better understood by an illustration. In more than one part of the Republic there was danger that the pictures, statues, and other objects of historical and aesthetic value might suffer injury through popular riots or in the general confusion caused by the movement of troops. At the request of the owners, or by government authority, in cases where the owners were negligent or had moved out, Madame Trotsky's committee, with the aid of competent commissions,

took them to Moscow. There, a systematic inventory was taken of them, and they were placed on exhibition. In this way, many great works hitherto unknown were brought to light.

"This activity may be said to be the result of individual initiative, but it was often started, and always aided by Lunacharsky and his associates. This work was included in his services as People's Commissar of Public Education and Fine Arts.

"It has been claimed that the Petrograd muzhiks made great rents in the Rembrandt pictures at 'The Hermitage.' The muzhiks are not so stupid. I know of no case, in Petrograd or elsewhere, in which any museum has been harmed. The principle works of the 'Hermitage' were taken to Moscow some time ago, when the fall of Petrograd was predicted. They are now at the Kremlin, waiting to be carried back. The Louvre took such precautions in 1914 and 1918.

"As for the Tretyakov Museum, it is in good condition.\* The form and subject matter have received most careful attention, and the signatures are stereotyped . . .

"Couldn't some Bolsheviks be brought to the Louvre, where so many catalogues date back half a century or more, and where there is nothing to guide and inform the public in the midst of that great accumulation of works of art?"

Felix Fenelon ends this interview, which contains many other interesting details, by saying that he did not ask Mr. Morozov's opinion on the political situation of his country. And he adds, with that tone of sarcasm so characteristic of him: "Sufficient light is thrown on this subject by the western press, which is always so well informed."

## THE MUSEUM OF THE REVOLUTION

[The following article is taken from "Pravda," Petrograd, January 13, 1920.]

**T**HE opening of the Museum of the Revolution took place on the 11th of January at the Palace of Art.

The vast hall of the Palace was crowded with people. The hall was beautifully decorated and adorned with portraits of the "Decembrists" and a few of the other more important leaders and active participants of the Russian movement.

The solemn session was opened with the speech of Comrade Zinoviev, who outlined before the assembly the aim and the problems of this museum.

Comrade Zinoviev touched in his speech upon the last smashing victories of our Red Army and pointed out that the opening of the Museum of the Revolution coincided with the fall of the last citadel of the counter-revolution, Rostov-on-Don.

It did not happen by accident. Therein lay a deep symbol predicting the early end of the bloody war; this will enable the Soviet Government to take up peaceful reconstruction work and new

\* Its former catalogue was brief and inexact. The new director, Igor Grabar, has made one which is more complete.

cultural pursuits. Then the speaker characterized the first workers of the Russian revolutionary movement, beginning with the "Decembrists" and ending with the last victims of the counter-revolutionary terror, Comrades Volodarsky and Uritsky; he suggested honoring their memory.

In the conclusion Comrade Zinoviev spoke about the Museum of Revolution established in Paris, in memory of the Revolution of 1789; he made it clear that our museum will justify its own existence only if it will meet the support and cooperation of society as a whole and of the working masses in particular.

Then V. V. Vodovosov had the floor; he gave a brief review of the movement of "Decembrists" and pointed out the significance of this movement on the future development of Russian social and political life.

P. E. Shchegolev also talked about the movement of the "Decemberists." This speaker emphasized one detail of that movement, i. e., the revolt of the Chernigov division, which took place on January 3, 1826, and the part the soldiers took in this revolt.

M. V. Novorussky, who spoke later, pointed out the problems involved in establishing the museum and asked that every possible assistance be given it.

Comrade Lunacharsky devoted his report to the characteristics of the leaders and workers of the "Decembrist" movement.

Comrade Zinoviev made the final speech; he announced among other things that the next session of the museum would take place on January 21 and would be dedicated to the memory of Herzen.

Comrade Zinoviev also advised that the question of erecting a monument at the Senatsky square in memory of the "Decembrists" was under consideration and that until this monument was erected a corresponding poster would be placed on that square.

## V. D. VILENSKY

*An Envoy of Soviet Russia for Peace-Negotiations With America.*

Russian newspapers state that V. D. Vilensky, who is now in Vladivostok, is authorized by the Soviet Government to carry on peace negotiations with the United States Government.

In the year 1918 Vilensky, who was then a Social-Democrat-Internationalist, became a member of the Siberian Central Committee (Centersibir).

In Irkutsk Vilensky was a member of the Supply Commissariat of the Centersibir. In the summer of 1918, after the evacuation of the Centersibir to Verkhne-Udinsk, Vilensky was despatched to Blagoveschensk for the establishment of a single united monetary system for Siberia and the Far East.

With the fall of Soviet power in Siberia and the Far East, Vilensky succeeded in breaking through to the West and reaching Soviet Russia, as representative of which he now appears.

# Organization of Labor in Soviet Russia

## I.

### ORGANIZATION OF WORKING CONDITIONS

The principal committee of general obligatory work on the 26th of February addressed the following appeal to all workers, laborers and honest citizens:

Comrades and Citizens! The Soviet Republic, having repulsed by armed force the attack of the generals, the barons, the princes, the proprietors, the foreign and Russian capitalists, must without a minute's loss take to the regeneration of its national economy. Stubborn, heroic and energetic labor is the chief task of the present moment. The workers in the cities and some in the country are perishing of famine. The railroads are scarcely operating. The houses are destroyed, the cities filled with dirt, epidemics are everywhere abroad, death reaps right and left, industry is annihilated. The war, the blockade, the assaults of the world counter-revolution, and the uninterrupted internal plots of the rich have accomplished their designs. There is no escape in free speculation. That is an issue for isolated speculators and for the destroyers of the people. It is an issue for the rich and a knot for the poor. There is no escape in the utilization of old reserves, they are exhausted, lacking, there are no more.

The only issue now consists in labor.

To aid industry to recover and to revive those who are dying of cold, to prevent the entire destruction of our buildings, we must find and gather fuel.

Each repaired locomotive represents a hundred infants saved from starvation. Every ton of dirt removed prevents the death of several citizens from contagious diseases. Every kilometer of cleared railroad means bread for the hungry. A great problem is before the working republic: to recover from misery, from filth and disease, attain the heights, and create with its own hands living conditions worthy of humanity.

The working people will accomplish it.

Compulsory labor—that is the word for us. Our aim is the creation of an army of several million workers, a creative army which by dint of stubborn labor will cause to arise out of chaos and ruin a magnificent future. The czars, oppressors of the people, constructed pyramids, dug canals, drained the marshes by means of the efforts of millions of slaves. Is it possible that the working class will not perform miracles for themselves, in their own interest, and to save themselves from destruction? They will do it! They have defeated their adversaries decorated with decorations and ribbons, they will not fall before cold and misery. They will stretch their muscles. They will communicate to the others their desire for work, they will set an example, they will drag along with them by force all who will oppose them.

It does not matter what the duty of each citizen is, for all who desert their work despoil the children, increase famine and kill the citizens.

For this reason the most important organizations of the Soviet State created the Principal Committee of Compulsory Labor, which was given the task of organizing general obligatory work, directing all forces for the construction of a new future, leading all the other people in the war against popular calamities. The Principal Committee will be in a position to accomplish this task provided that it is supported by the large masses. It is the business of all honest citizens, for all are interested in destroying typhus. Citizens capable of working ought all to be registered, enrolled, and distributed in accordance with their professions, just as for a war against the enemy. All the forces must be enrolled in order to be utilized effectively. For the war against misery and death all forces must be arranged and inventoried in order to create grand, strong, heroic armies which, with banners unfurled, will attack ruin, typhus, cold, the disorganization of the means of transport, and famine.

A genuine rising in force of the entire people must be organized. Even invalids must do their part in the work of general salvage. As soon as a dangerous situation is discovered reserve forces must be thrown in. We shall conquer ruin, we shall reach the end of our misfortunes on the entire front. Comrades and citizens! Let there be no Soviet institution without a committee of compulsory labor. An organization of compulsory labor should be found in every factory, in every shop, in every office, in every inhabited house, in all the factory and shop committees, and in the house committees. Come to the aid of the district, city, and provincial committees. Through the medium of these committees supervise the putting into practice of compulsory labor.

The duty and honor of each one consists in being at his post. We must have no deserters from work. All the parasites who at the moment of danger prefer to abandon their work and speculate upon the sufferings of the hungry will be collared by the proletariat and assigned to the most difficult labor. If we have a proletarian discipline of iron, we shall transform, repair, adjust, heal, and construct all that is necessary. Every committee must in its place put this discipline into practice, it must see to it that each does his duty by working, and that each applies his work in a manner conforming to the end in view.

## II.

### THE NEW LABOR ARMY

The Council of Workers' and Peasants Defence on the 11th of February adopted the following resolution:

For the purpose of improving the transport in the system of railroads of the Southwest, the Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defense has resolved

to utilize all the forces and means of the Second Army of the Republic for the improvement of the transport in the railway system of the Southwest, as well as for increased production in the work of repairing locomotives and railway trains.

In all questions of a purely military character the Revolutionary Council of the army reserves all its rights and the old order of subordination.

The Revolutionary Council of the Second Army must take all necessary measures so that the military units in the rear of the army and all workers laboring in the sphere of activity of the Second Army may be provisioned on the same basis as the soldiers of the Red Army forming part of the units in the rear of the army.

To this end the provisioning system of the Second Army must be utilized whenever there is need for it.

### III.

#### *INAUGURATION OF THE BRIDGE OVER THE KAMA RIVER*

As a result of the activities of the reserve army, transformed into a revolutionary labor army, the bridge over the Kama river, destroyed by the White Guard, was reconstructed two months before the date fixed for its completion. On February 17 the opening of the Kama bridge was solemnly inaugurated in the presence of workers' regiments, the Fourth Construction Brigade, the delegate of the provincial Soviet assembly, and a great public gathering. A train bearing the persons taking part in the inauguration crossed the bridge acclaimed by a great hurrah from the assistants and saluted by the band playing the Internationale.

The People's Commissary of Ways of Communication, Comrade Krassin, expressed his gratitude in the name of Soviet Russia to all who had participated in the work of reconstructing the demolished bridge.

### IV.

#### *THE LABOR BULLETIN*

The General Staffs of the revolutionary laboring armies publish daily labor bulletins giving figures relating to the work of the armies performed in the preceding twenty-four hours.

The journal entitled *News of the Russian Central Executive Committee* expresses itself in the following manner with regard to the importance of these bulletins:

"Consider the labor bulletins. Did ever anything of the kind exist? History has known immense armies, armed from head to foot. It has known slave troops working till exhausted under the whips of their executioner masters, troops which built the pyramids of the pharaohs. But history has never known labor armies working with internal discipline, reliability, and punctuality; armies having at their head the best, the most devoted representatives of the working class.

"Every army has destroyed the economy of the

country directly or indirectly. Even the Red proletarian and workers' army cost the Russian people dearly. One cannot dispense with it. Without it all is lost. But nevertheless it has produced nothing. The labor army does produce. A bulletin of the military armies speaks of the capture of cities and villages, the number of the enemy killed, the number of cannon taken. The bulletin of the labor armies speaks of the quantity of wood cut or loaded, the number of versts of railroad cleared; it communicates the amount of coal, slate, or peat extracted, and the amount of wheat accumulated.

"The military problems of the armies of war stated that it was necessary to occupy such or such a village, city, mountain, or valley. The 'orders of the day' for the military armies give similar commands.

"The problems and orders of the laboring armies are: 'cleave,' 'carry,' 'load,' 'repair,' 'clear away.'

"The means of battle for a military army are: cannon, rifle, machine-gun, powder and dynamite. The means for a laboring army are: the hammer, shovel, saw, axe, machine."

### V.

#### *THE POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE OF THE LABOR ARMY*

The transformation of the military armies into a labor army solves the question of the organization of a polytechnic institute for the Red soldiers, similar to the institute for the workers. The military technical courses which prepare technical workers for the labor armies now constitute this institute for the Red Army.

These courses are separated into the following specialties: the section of automobiles and railroads, mechanical and ways of communication section, the telegraphic and telephonic section, and the section of sanitary construction.

### VI.

#### *CURTAILMENT OF STUDIES FOR ENGINEERING STUDENTS*

In view of the transformation of the Red Army into a labor army, and the necessity of having included in the latter engineers with a fundamental knowledge of their profession, the Polytechnic Institute of Petrograd decided to accelerate the studies for turning out engineers in accordance with an abridged program with the elimination of several subjects for the students able to complete their studies not later than the 19th of May, 1920.

#### **SUBSCRIBE TO SOVIET RUSSIA**

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## SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the  
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU  
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

This weekly will carry articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles.

A GENTLEMAN described by the New York *Times* as "an architect and former President of the American-Scandinavian Society," and more recently United States Commissioner to the Baltic Provinces, returns to America to find "an appalling indifference on the part of the people of this country toward the danger that threatens them from Soviet Russia." The exact nature of that danger is not quite clear from the subsequent remarks of the former Commissioner. He is positive that the Communist Government, failing to establish trade relations with the outside world, will fall within three months. (We ask our readers to mark the date on their calendars.) Transportation, he reports, is in utter collapse; industry and agriculture are paralyzed. The army deserts "in droves," and the rumor that General Brussilov is field commander is "Soviet propaganda." Under these conditions, we fail to understand why anyone should be "appalled" at the prevailing indifference towards the danger from Soviet Russia. The danger does not seem very formidable—not to America, at any rate. We can understand that the Polish Government, perhaps, might still have some cause for alarm, in spite of this reassuring picture of a demoralized Red Army. The explanation that Russia is "using Brussilov as a figure-head, while the real leader is Trotsky," will scarcely revive the flagging zeal of the Polish army, the less since Trotsky, himself, is described in the same report as "one of the world's greatest administrators." But the position of Poland, for a moment, is peculiar. Other peoples appear to share the indifference of Americans towards the dangers threatening from Soviet Russia. Even in the Baltic Provinces, where the Commissioner learned all about Russia, there is no great alarm. Esthonia has concluded a treaty with the Soviet Government, and Latvia and Lithuania, he reports, are preparing to do the same. In Esthonia it is possible to keep in "close touch" with Russia and to know the truth about the collapse of transportation and industry, because "for several months there has been direct rail communication between Esthonia, and Petrograd and Moscow." The Bolsheviki are a strange lot! With industry and transportation in collapse, with nothing whatsoever to export, they whimsically insist upon main-

taining direct train service between Moscow and Reval. The ex-Commissioner offers no explanation for this odd caprice.

It is a bewildering report. We fear it will leave the readers of the *Times* somewhat confused, and perhaps still indifferent to the dangers threatening from Russia.

WITH loud denials of any intention of "recognizing" the wicked Bolsheviki, the allied premiers at Boulogne told Lloyd George to run back to London and continue his discussions with Krassin. M. Millerand returned to the Chamber of Deputies to undertake a task described by the correspondents as "defining the French Government's position with regard to Soviet Russia." France, said the Premier, would never, never recognize the Soviet Government—or at least certainly not until it promised to pay the Czar's debts. M. Millerand, we are told, spoke "as forcibly as on previous occasions." But to the correspondents, lingering in the corridors of the Chamber it was whispered that "a new promise to pay the Russian debt to France will go far toward smoothing the way for the opening of negotiations." On the same day Premier Giolitti received an ovation in the Italian Chamber when he announced the intention of the Italian Government to resume relations with Russia without delay. Meanwhile, the negotiations between Litvinov and Danish officials have resulted in the organization of an international clearing house in Copenhagen for the establishment of commerce with Russia. No one need imagine that the Danish Government took this step without the specific approval of the greater powers.

It is not surprising that Chicherin's recent report upon the policy of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs received the unanimous approval of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. In spite of the hostility and treachery of the capitalist powers, reported Chicherin, the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs had never ceased striving to prevent the further shedding of blood of Russian peasants and workers. Events will soon demonstrate that the confidence expressed by the Central Executive Committee in this policy was not misplaced. The Red Army has convinced the European powers of the futility of war against Soviet Russia. The European rulers are preparing to accept the only alternative.

THE following notice appeared in a prominent place on the first page of the *Krasnoye Znamya* (The Red Flag) of Vladivostok, in its issue of May 12:

The crew of the ice-cutter *Baikal* announce to relatives and friends that a requiem mass will be celebrated at the Intercession Cemetery at 3 P. M., on May 15, this being the 40th day since the death of the third mate, Anatoly Andreyevich Turumin.

The *Krasnoye Znamya* is the official organ of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Vladivostok; Notwithstanding the oppression of the Orthodox Greek Catholic Church by the unspeakable Bol-



shhevik, whereof we have read so much, the official organ of their party somehow has no objection to announcing in its columns the service of a requiem mass at the Cemetery of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin. And the mates of the deceased sailor apparently considered the Communist organ a good medium for apprising his relatives and friends of the church services which were to be held for the peace of his soul on the fortieth day after his demise.

\* \* \*

**T**HE MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW issued by the United States Department of Labor (Bureau of Labor Statistics, Royal Meeker, Commissioner), publishes in its April, 1920, issue a good summary of the Labor Laws of Soviet Russia, as originally printed in SOVIET RUSSIA for February 21, 1920, and since issued by us in pamphlet form. The summary, which will be found on pp. 210-214 of the issue mentioned, concludes with the words:

"The absolutely dominating nature of these regulations is shown by the following preliminary article:

"IV. All labor agreements previously entered into, as well as all those which will be entered into in the future, in so far as they contradict the regulations of this code, shall not be considered valid or obligatory, either for the employes or for the employers."

This is the only article of the laws that is quoted in the summary given in the *Labor Review*, and it is one whose importance should not be underrated. It indicates, as the *Review* does not fail to point out, that the Labor Laws are intended to have absolute validity all over Russia, and to supersede all previous and merely local arrangements. The Labor Laws may be considered as a broadly and profoundly national document, replacing and dominating all other similar documents in Russia, in about the same way as the Constitution of the United States supersedes and takes precedence of local and State measures.

\* \* \*

**E**NCYCLOPEDIAS are great slowly-moving engines of learning. They admit to their columns information that has already had time to season, and, let us hope, be freed from its chaff. It is therefore perhaps well that the encyclopedias have not yet given much space to Russian subjects—as far as events after the revolution of November, 1917, are concerned. *Nelson's Loose Leaf Encyclopedia* had an interesting article on "Bolshevism," by Professor Nicholas Hourwich, in a recent edition, but has unfortunately substituted for it a rather poor "study" on the same subject, written, in the current number of newspaper misrepresentation by a person very much less fully informed. One encyclopedic work, however, the *Encyclopedia Americana*, seems to be ready to include truthful articles on Soviet Russia, and, in the volumes that have thus far appeared (1-27) has at least three articles that are of interest to the student of revolutionary Russia; they are on Lenin, Trotsky, and Plekhanov. All three should have been longer and more complete, but they are

truthful and unprejudiced, and that is saying a good deal in these days when much that is Russian is misrepresented. Unfortunately, counter-revolutionary spellings are sometimes retained: thus, Lenin appeared under his strange French pseudonym of "Lenine." We note that the agitational organs of posthumously recognized Czarist ambassadors still make use of the spelling "Lenine," and therefore feel justified in calling it counter-revolutionary.

## STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU

New York, June 18, 1920.

**L.** C. MARTENS, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, yesterday filed with the Department of Labor in Washington a sworn statement giving his reasons for having declined to answer the long list of questions put to him in the course of the hearings in the deportation proceedings conducted by an Inspector of Immigration.

Recalling that he had been under constant investigation during the past twelve months by various local and Federal officials and committees, Mr. Martens said: "Upon the completion of the investigation by the Senate Committee I concluded that no further benefit could be derived, either for my Government or for the Government and people of the United States, from endless repetition of the interrogation to which I have submitted during the past year.

"Common sense and the privileges adhering to my official status both dictated that I should stand upon the comprehensive statements which I have already made under oath, covering every pertinent phase of my official mission and my personal activities. The official record of my testimony before the Senate Committee, together with various documents attached thereto, are in evidence in this inquiry now being conducted by the Department of Labor. No essential facts could be added thereto by any further testimony of mine. By standing on this record, I have withheld no important information, but have expedited these proceedings by avoiding unnecessary repetitions of testimony and fruitless excursions into matters of a purely speculative and argumentative nature. My declination to answer questions put to me during the course of the hearing conducted by an Inspector of Immigration was further impelled by the fact, of which I was advised by counsel, that these hearings were irregular, inasmuch as I was not afforded an opportunity, previous to the hearings, to examine the evidence upon which the warrant for my arrest was obtained, as is provided by the rule of the Department covering these cases."

The statement filed by Mr. Martens then reviewed his testimony given before the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in which his Russian citizenship and his official status as the accredited Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic were established and have never been disputed.

Referring to his attendance at several public meetings in New York City, a matter which has been the subject of special attention in the course of these investigations, Mr. Martens reviewed the circumstances surrounding those meetings, which had been arranged upon various occasions for the

purpose of extending greetings and sympathy to Mr. Martens and his Government.

It was a natural circumstance, said Mr. Martens, that most of these meetings were held under Socialist auspices. "I represent a Socialist Government. It is natural that Socialists in America should be particularly interested in my mission, and that they should have been the first to extend sympathetic greetings of encouragement to me."

"In this respect," Mr. Martens pointed out, "the meetings arranged to greet me as the representative of the Government of revolutionary Russia did not differ from the public reception tendered to my predecessor, Mr. Boris Bakhmetiev, when he visited New York for the first time as the representative of the former Provisional Government of Russia. The *New York Call*, a Socialist newspaper, in its issue of July 8, 1917, describing the reception tendered to Mr. Bakhmetiev at a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden, July 7, 1917, said: 'Twenty thousand American Socialists and radicals . . . welcomed the Ambassador of Free Russia.' The Chairman of that meeting, Rutenberg, was a veteran of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party, who had stated in the public press of Russia that he had organized the conspiracy for the assassination of priest Gapon, who had betrayed the revolutionary party to the Czar's Government. The principal speaker at that meeting was Abraham Cahan, the editor of a prominent Socialist paper in New York, and addresses were made by various representatives of the Russian revolutionary parties."

"Describing the meeting attended by Mr. Bakhmetiev at Madison Square Garden on July 7, 1918, the *New York Call* said: 'Many banners with inscriptions were hung in the hall. Some of them were carried by delegations. Practically all of them were in Russian script. One in English read: "We demand the release of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman." Another read: "We demand the release of political prisoners in America." Still another called for the release of Louis Kramer and Morris Becker, convicted recently of anti-draft activities. Some of the banners in Russian read "Friends of American Freedom"; "The Earth for the People"; "In the Battle You'll Get Your Rights" (the slogan of revolutionary Russia for half a century); "Greetings to the International." The Socialist banners reading, "Workers of the World Unite," were scattered in profusion through the hall."

"It must be borne in mind," said Mr. Martens, "that Mr. Bakhmetiev was then the recognized representative of the Provisional Government of Russia and is still certified by the State Department to be the recognized representative of the Russian Republic. His attendance at a public meeting of American Socialists and 'Radicals', presided over and addressed by Russian revolutionists, is apparently not considered objectionable by the State Department of the United States."

Regarding his own political opinions, Mr. Martens stated: "I have been frank and explicit. I have testified that I believe in the basic principles of the Communist Party of Russia and of the Third Internationale. I am the Representative of a Nation of which the majority is the Communist Party.

"I am not a member of any political organization anywhere in the world. I am not now, and never have been, a member of the Russian Socialist Federation, nor of the Communist Party of America, nor of the Communist Labor Party of

America, nor of any other political organization in America. I am not even a member of the Communist Party of Russia, to the principles of which I subscribe, because this party was organized after I had left Russia and it has been impossible for me to apply for and receive membership therein."

### RUSSIA'S PEACE PROPOSAL TO FINLAND

*According to Petrograd papers the radio in which Chicherin on May 11 proposed peace negotiations to the Government of Finland is in the following terms:*

The negotiations begun between Russia and Finland at Systerbeck, which were intended to result in an armistice between the two states, encountered serious difficulty. A closer examination of this difficulty has shown that it lay in the very nature of the negotiations to lead to such a result. As an armistice is not a definite peace, Finland laid claim to measures of military security which the other party to the negotiations was not to approve. On the other hand, the conclusion of a definitive peace would result in the elimination of all such demands dictated by the accidental military considerations.

On the other hand, it was impossible to draw a sharp distinction between the views which were of military nature and those that were of political nature; and such questions would be numerous in definitive peace negotiations. The conditions treated in negotiations at Systerbeck, for an armistice, could not be viewed from the standpoint of a definitive peace, to which an armistice should only have been a preliminary step. These conditions made the sharp difference of opinion on military matters even more complicated. In addition, it was not possible at the negotiations, which only aimed at an armistice, to make mutual concessions to such an extent as would be possible in negotiations for definitive peace. The experience gained in the negotiations at Systerbeck therefore shows that the difference of opinion between Russia and Finland might easily be overcome by the conclusion of peace which would bring about the existence of an understanding between the two states. In consideration of these experiences the Russian Government is of the opinion that the time has come to proceed together with the people of Finland to negotiations of peace, and formally admonishes the government of Finland to begin negotiations with Russia concerning the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the two countries.

### THE FIRST OF MAY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, May 4.—The greater part of the population of Russia took part in the celebration of May Day. The people in many important industries worked throughout the day; for example, in Saratov, out of a total of 80,000 workmen, 70,000 remained at work.

Station of the Moscow-Briansk Railway at Moscow from which the troops were dispatched to the front.

Reserve troops of the Red Army leaving for the front.

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*Those Whom the Blockade Tried to Starve*

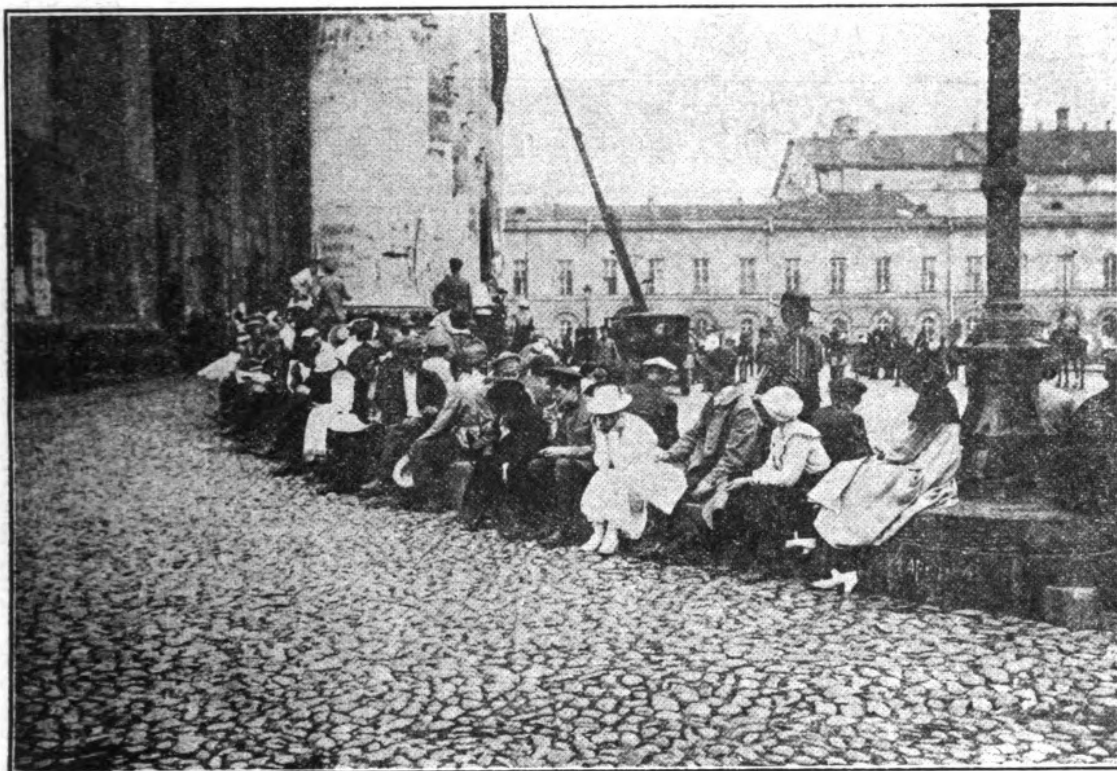
Children's holiday in a village of Pirogov County, near Moscow. Due to the blockade, the children in Soviet Russia have to do without toys, using their caps. The teacher is watching their game.

The Soviet Government pays particular attention to the children. The best food is kept for the coming generation of Russia. The children in this picture look clean, well fed, and show good manners.

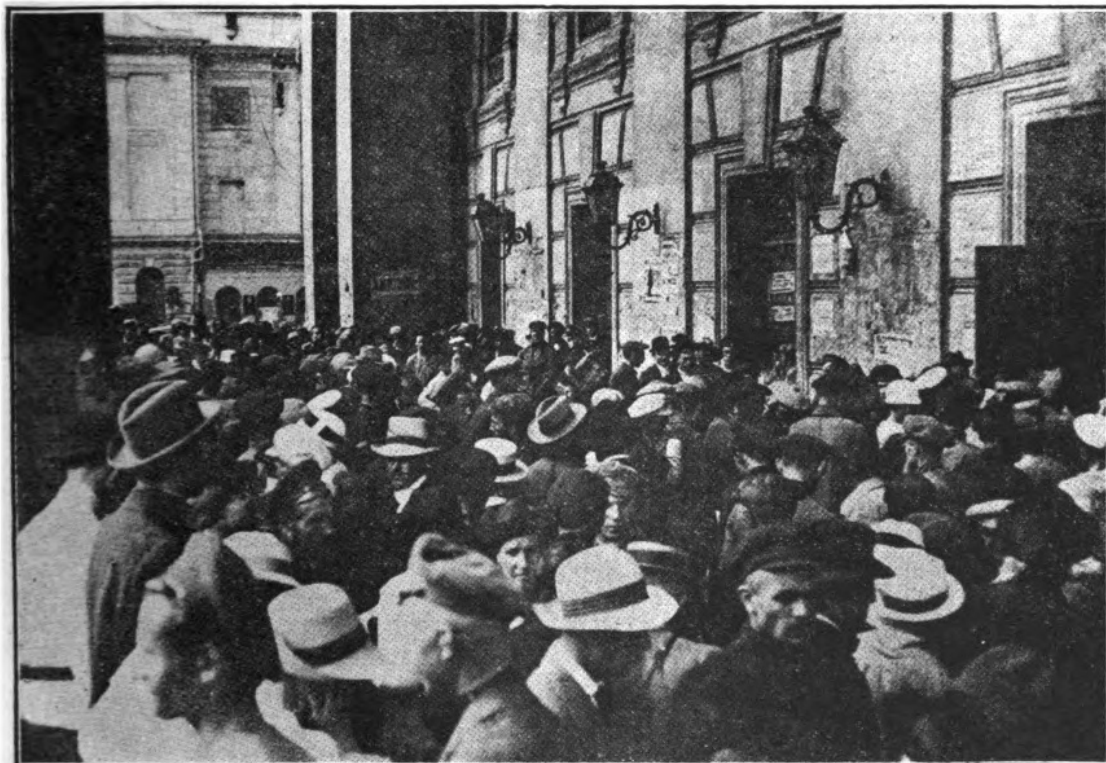
Patriarch Tikhon, the present head of the Russian Church, who recently issued a pastoral letter to the clergy in favor of the Soviet Government. The Patriarch is wearing a golden crown ornate with precious stones. The picture was taken at the Nikolsk Gates, in the Moscow Kremlin.

The unearthing of the relics of St. Tikhon from the Don. The picture shows a human skull amidst the vestments of the saint. The abuses of some unscrupulous clergymen who were exploiting the religious sentiments of the masses for their own ends, led to the unearthing of a number of relics.

When Petlura with his bands appeared in Ukraine thousands of Ukrainians looked for refuge in Soviet Russia. Since the occupation of Ukraine by the Soviet Army, the refugees have gradually been returning to their native land. Here a group of Ukrainians are awaiting their permits to leave Soviet Russia for Soviet Ukraine, in front of the Ukrainian Immigration Office in Moscow.



The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow. Members of the Congress resting outside the building during an intermission.



The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow. The people are eager to get the news of the day's proceedings.



The Military Section on Printed Propaganda of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is here shown busy supplying the army with literature. Many special cars are used for this purpose. On the car shown above is written: "All for the Workers. All for those who work." "The Communist Party of the Bolsheviks is at the head of the Revolutionary Proletariat; The Red Army is its armed hand, let them be forever a common body. The Red soldier knows only the truth of what is happening in Russia and in spite of bad or good news he is conscientiously doing his duty."



A train with literature for the men at the front. The car bears the inscription: "Military Literature from the Publishing Department of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee."





The berry markets in the street of Moscow. Russia is very rich in all kinds of berries, and even the blockade did not prevent them from growing. The merchants speculators look contented in spite of Soviet rule.



Public Dining Room No. 1 of the "Committee of Public Food Distribution" in Moscow, where food is being rationed because of the blockade.



All the Russian theatres are under the control of the Soviet Government which supervises performances and maintains order. Here is Comrade Strinsak, the commandant of the "Great Theatre" of Moscow.



On the "Square of Revolution" meetings are often held. The picture shows a soldier orator speaking to a crowd from the top of an armored car. The people listen to his appeal, keeping good order—a strange sight in old Russia.

## Press Cuttings

### GERMAN AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA

Very soon there will hardly be any court left in Europe which will not have been visited by our Chancellor of State, Renner, who bears the Papal blessings. Whenever the need arises for assuring some capitalist robber-clique of the friendship of the Austrian Republic, the government of Vienna immediately present itself for duty. Representatives of the trusts, of the Pope, bankers, whether from Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, let them all come to us, say the wise men of the Vienna government. The Social-Democratic heroes of the Coalition have an unshakable faith in world Capitalism. But they will not bear any mention of Soviet Russia, they will not hear of resuming trade relations with her. Our glorious halting republic is the only country in Europe which has no trade relations with Russia. The Social-Democrats have invented the most stupid tales to prevent the working classes from sending representatives to Russia. They declare that the way to Moscow is too long, and that Russia cannot produce anything. As a matter of fact, we know that Spain is much farther away from Russia than Austria, but nevertheless, the Havas Official Telegraph Agency reports the following news from Madrid: "There is a Commission leaving for Russia, composed of representatives of the government, the employing classes, and the working classes, respectively. The object of sending this Commission, is to study the social, political, and economic conditions of Soviet Russia. Fernandez Rios is participating in this Commission, as a representative of the working classes." England, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, and Italy already have official relations with Moscow. The statement that Russia has no goods to export is baseless and false. Already the first shipment of Russian goods has been delivered in Italy. There is a regular trade going on between Italy and Russia. We are on the best of terms with Horthy, supply him with ammunitions to his heart's content and we have stretched out the hand of friendship to the White Guards of Poland; but no notice is taken of the existence of Soviet Russia; the Austrian Social-Democrats have a marvelously worthless and beggarly foreign policy—the foreign policy of the Coalition.—From a recent number of *Die Rote Fahne*.

### SOVIET RUSSIA AND CHINA

The representatives of Soviet Russia and China have entered into an agreement on the exchange of goods. Freedom of transportation is guaranteed. The Chinese supply Russia with leather, clothing, sewing thread, and tea in exchange for articles of prime necessity.—*Krasnoye Znamya*, Vladivostok, May 14, 1920.

### INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT OF POLAND

By HENRY BERNARD.

Poland is bankrupt and no longer capable of producing her own food. She is forced to acquire food-stuffs from other countries, and, since she is bankrupt, she can only get them on credit or trust. No country would think of supplying another country with goods on credit, unless there existed a good guarantee that within a stipulated time payment would be made in cash or its equivalent. The latter may take the form of goods for *services rendered*. Poland's position is such that she will be unable for a very long time to come to meet her bills either in cash or in kind. Consequently, she has agreed to discharge her liabilities, at least in part, by *rendering services* to her creditors. She has agreed to work off her debt: to become a menial to the great powers who now are literally her bread-masters. She is rendering this service by launching an attack on Soviet Russia. There exists no other explanation of her much boomed "Big Offensive." In the first place, let us consider if Poland is actually bankrupt and poverty-stricken.

Poland is primarily an agricultural country. Prior to the war those territories which now compose the "independent" States of Poland yielded average production of six to six and a half millions tons per year, two millions tons of which she exported. Today Poland cannot export two million tons per year: She cannot even produce the pre-war four to four and a half million tons for home consumption.

I will prove the statement by submitting the testimony of the greatest authority in the matter, namely, no less a personage than the Polish Food Minister. In an official statement he announced that, if *all existing stores of grain were commandeered by the Ministry of Food, Poland's requirements could be securely met up to April 1, 1920*. In order to meet requirements after the then existing supplies ran out, the Minister was compelled to turn to the U. S. A. with a request of 400,000 tons of grain, and found that country was willing to supply *on credit*. Furthermore, Great Britain showed herself ready to undertake the transport of the grain *also on credit*, estimating the monthly transport costs at 700,000,000 Polish marks (£933,333 1s. 4d.).

America is charging Poland:

*Per ton of Grain:* 20,000 Marks—£26 13 4

Britain is charging Poland:

*Transport per ton:* 10,000 Marks—£13 6 8

£40 0 0

This then is the position: in order that Poland might have bread to eat after April 1, 1920, she was compelled to make herself indebted to Britain and U. S. A. to the extent of £16,600,000.

The Polish Food Minister further states that Poland's requirements in meats amount to 373,000 tons. If slaughtering is carried on judiciously only 149,000 tons (representing the natural increase from breeding) will be at her disposal. If Poland is forced to cover her requirements from her own present available cattle the supply she will have consumed her entire stock within the short space of four years.

I have before me a mass of figures, but I think the foregoing should suffice.

It is a significant fact that very shortly after April 1, 1920, *When Poland must have commenced living on the grain for which she owes Britain and U. S. A.* £16,000,000, she launches a heavy offensive against Russia. What does it mean?

Poland was in a state of agricultural and industrial chaos. Factories, and thousands of workers were idle for want of raw materials, etc. Thousands of small farmers were idle for want of money wherewith to buy

seed and implements. Thousands of acres of soil were uncultivated and went to ruin because their bourgeois-artistic owners were too much engrossed in gambling on the bourse. Profiteering was raging unchecked. Such power did the profiteers possess, that the Food Minister was compelled after a while to relinquish the meat control, and thus allow meat to be sold indiscriminately and at back breaking prices. According to the reports of the American Red Cross, two millions have died of starvation and epidemic since the beginning of the war. In the winter of 1919 no less than 270,000 cases of typhus were reported in *one month!*

Some of the more sane amongst the ruling class were compelled by the absolute extremity of the situation, to introduce agricultural and other reform bills in the Sejm (Parliament). Those that were passed were later on amended and re-amended by the more myopic and profitomaniac section of the bourgeoisie, until they were amended out of existence. The Sejm accomplished nothing. Exploitation had run amuck.

The mad bourgeoisie was riding its steed to death. No section of the masses was harder hit than the small farmers. When, as a harbinger of the coming crash, the General Strike occurred in October last year, 8,000 farmers were sent to prison. It is the agricultural workers and small farmers that represent the revolutionary section of the masses. They readily turn to Communism as a deliverer, and the government strengthens their faith in it, by instituting punitive expeditions, tortures, and wholesale imprisonments.

Can one wonder what made Marian Seyda give utterance last year to the warning that "Peace with Bolshevik Russia means Poland's sure death?"

Is Poland attacking Russia at the command of Allied Capitalism?

Let us seek from Poland herself an answer to the question. With reference to army estimates, recently under discussion in the Sejm, the Polish dailies raised a howl of objection: They argued that *it is the duty of the Allied powers to feed, equip, and support the Polish Army in view of the fact that it is fighting in the interests of the Allies!* Thus the Polish press literally kicks the cat out of the bag.

Meanwhile the Polish Army is marching into Russia, "conquering town after town." But the thing has only just commenced. Napoleon I. also marched into Russia, "conquering town after town"—we know the rest! But Russia retaliates, and her army will march into the midst of a people that will greet it with acclamation.

This people will be the Polish workers and peasants.—*The Spur, London, June, 1920.*

### CHICHERIN'S INTERVIEW WITH A JAPANESE CORRESPONDENT

Fusse's cablegram from Moscow is published in *Osaka Mainichi*, Japan, April 18. Fusse relates his interview with Chicherin:

To a question as to the policy of the Soviet Government in the Far East, Chicherin replied: "Our numerous offers of peace were interpreted by foreign governments as an admission of our weakness. But it is an entirely incorrect opinion. Our peace proposals are made for no other reason than that the Russian people have no territorial aims. The Russian people like peace. We have no desire to disturb the peace of the Far East. You have as proof of this our decision to organize a buffer region between the Baikal and the Pacific Ocean, which region will include the Russian Sakhalin. It is understood, of course, that the majority of the population of this new State tends to lean towards Russia, and Russia will therefore extend her influence over it in the future, just as she is doing at present. However, we are prepared to recognize the autonomy of this state. It is understood that the international forms which the relations between this new state and Russia will assume will depend solely upon the relations between Russia and Japan. Therefore, it is necessary

for Japan to enter into a lasting agreement with Russia and with the above buffer state. If, owing to the great area of the new buffer state, Russia and Japan will thus be separated from each other, we would invite Japanese technical men and Japanese capital for the purpose of rehabilitating all branches of Russian industry, and would simultaneously reestablish exchange of goods. We believe that this would be of great advantage to Russia and Japan. It is understood that our general conditions pertaining to foreign trade will be defined in a treaty, which will be signed between ourselves, and the British, French and Scandinavian delegates. Therefore, the Russo-Japanese treaty would have to be drawn up in accordance with the above-mentioned treaty."—*Krasnoye Znamya, Vladivostok, April 28, 1920.*

### THE PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY

[The following article is taken from "Izvestia," Petrograd, December 23, 1919.]

THE agricultural economy suffered greatly during the war from the loss of animate and inanimate stock. Supplying agricultural machinery is one of the principle problems of the Soviet Government, but the war imposed by the Allies is hampering the production of the needed implements.

The production of agricultural machinery for the last two years is given in the following tables:

|                        | 1919    | 1918      |
|------------------------|---------|-----------|
| Straw-cutters .....    | 3,200   | 3,800     |
| Thrashing-machines ... | 1,246   | 6,500     |
| Winnowing-machines ..  | 3,710   | 21,000    |
| Harvesting machinery.. | 11,980  | 33,380    |
| Harrows .....          | 11,450  | 45,000    |
| Scythes .....          | 98,000  | 160,000   |
| Sickles .....          | 684,400 | 1,700,000 |
| Plows .....            | 147,450 | 361,000   |

With the exception of straw-cutters, the output of machines in 1919 decreased in general from 3-5 times in comparison with the output of 1918. The principle reason for this was the lack of fuel, raw material, and work-hands.

The supply of metal in 1919 (up to the first of October), for the use of agricultural production, is estimated as follows (in thousand poods):

|                       | Assigned | Delivered | Per Cent Delivered |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------|--------------------|
| Cast iron .....       | 394.5    | 58.9      | 14.9               |
| Iron .....            | 662.7    | 369.5     | 55.7               |
| Sheet iron .....      | 361.6    | 68.1      | 18.8               |
| Roof iron .....       | 14.5     | 2.3       | 15.8               |
| Steel for scythes.... | 20       | ..        | ..                 |
| Nails .....           | 15.7     | 1.8       | 11.5               |
| Colored metals....    | 3.9      | 1.5       | 38.5               |
| Bolts and screws..    | 35.0     | 10.0      | 14.9               |
| Wire .....            | 54.2     | 8.1       | 14.9               |
|                       | 1,562.1  | 520.2     | 33.3               |

The above table shows that there was assigned for distribution 1,562.1 thousand poods, but only 33.3 per cent, or one-third was delivered. 2,155 thousand poods were required, in comparison with which the assigned amount (1,562.1) was only 72.4 per cent.

The only way out of this critical situation is to be found in victory and peace, at which time Soviet Russia will be able to direct all her energy to the reestablishment of industry and agriculture.

## Book Review

"BARBAROUS SOVIET RUSSIA," by Isaac McBride, Thomas Seltzer, New York, 1920. Price \$2.50.

ONE is inclined to sympathize with the Red soldier whose duty it was to conduct Isaac McBride on his journey to Moscow. McBride asked a great many questions and wanted to see a great many things. When he saw soldiers marching through the streets, McBride had to follow them to the station and watch them entrain for the front. When a body of prisoners were brought off a train just in from the front, nothing would do for McBride but to follow them out to the prison barracks and watch them being fed with bread and propaganda. If he saw children run out to play at recess, he followed them back into their school room. If a man ran down the street, McBride ran after, and when the man was arrested, McBride followed captive and captors to see what it was all about. His Red soldier guard and guide followed patiently after, interpreting and answering questions. We venture to say that one Red soldier knows more about Soviet Russia today than he did when he first met McBride.

The result of all this running about and asking questions, is embodied in a volume of sketches and impressions entitled "Barbarous Soviet Russia," published by Thomas Seltzer, New York. The title is bait for the unwary. McBride found no barbarity in Soviet Russia, he did not even find the nationalization of women which was so confidently promised him by a young gentleman in the Foreign Information Bureau of the Lettish Government. Indeed, this account of "Barbarous Soviet Russia" will be disappointing to many gentlemen in many foreign information bureaus. It does not confirm their information.

McBride walked into Soviet Russia with a white handkerchief tied to the end of an umbrella and a knowledge of Marx. The second item of his equipment was the more essential. It prepared him for the sight—so surprising to more naive observers—of Bolsheviks without beards or bombs. He was able to observe the Soviet state and subsequently to report upon his observation, with comprehension and sympathy. The book covers a wide variety of subjects that came within his eager vision and insatiable curiosity. He writes much about the Red Army, its discipline, and spirit, the relations between officers and soldiers; much, also, about the care and education of children in Soviet

Russia—"the strategical reserves of the communist state." There is an interview with Lenin, another with Gorky, and talks with many Soviet officials.

A valuable appendix contains the Code of Labor Laws of Soviet Russia and many important and hitherto inaccessible documents and articles from official publications, relating to labor, finance, industry, and agriculture.

"Barbarous Soviet Russia" is an entertaining account of an adventurous journey and a competent report upon conditions within the workers' republic.

### NORTH RUSSIA READY TO TRADE

*The following two telegrams were recently received by the Norwegian newspaper "Social-Demokraten" from its correspondent at Vardoe, who had just returned from North Russia:*

#### I.

Your correspondent, who has just landed from North Russia, is able to report that everything is ready on the Russian side to open commercial relations with Norway and the rest of the world.

All steam and sailing ships available for the purpose were taken during the month of May from various points in northern Russia to the White Sea in order to be loaded there with wood for foreign countries.

#### II.

Your correspondent has had a conversation with the Norwegian Consul Finstad at Murmansk. The latter states that no previous government in northern Russia had treated him as well as the present government. All the reports in Norwegian papers as to the Consul's arrest and as to the confiscation of goods are pure fabrications. On the whole, Finstad seems unable to find words of praise strong enough to apply to the leaders of the Bolsheviks.

*With regard to Norwegian speculators and their goods which had been confiscated in northern Russia the Consul reports:* Long ago, as early as 1918, Finstad warned the Norwegian merchants operating in northern Russia against sending goods to Russia without first having received an advance as a guarantee of good faith, and without first assuring themselves that the rest would be paid when the goods arrived in Russia. He had called the attention of Norwegians to the class struggle that was in progress in Russia, and had clearly explained to all that if they undertook to gamble with what they had, they must run the risk of losing something.

### BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1920

At the end of June, 1920, which marks the close of our second volume (January to June), we shall bind two hundred full sets of SOVIET RUSSIA for this period (26 issues—half a year), and deliver them to persons who have placed their orders in advance. The price for such a volume, bound uniformly with the first volume, is five dollars. The volumes will be delivered promptly in July.

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We need, in order to be able to bind so many sets of SOVIET RUSSIA, a few more copies of Vol. II, No. 6 (February 7, 1920), which we are willing to pay for at the rate of ten cents per copy.

# Radios

## A GREAT RUSSIAN ACTOR DIES

BERLIN, May 29.—The Russian periodical *Golos Rossyi*, appearing at Berlin, reports that one of the greatest Russian actors, V. N. Davidov, has died at Archangel. He had been imprisoned during the "White" rule at Archangel, but intended after the victory of the Soviet Government to return to the Alexandrovsky Theatre at Petrograd as one of whose foremost actors he had worked for many years. In order to provide Davidov with an opportunity to appear before the end of the season, it had been decided to delay the close of the theatrical season.

## SOVIET GOVERNMENT NOW REPRESENTS ALL RUSSIA

Steklov writing in *Izvestia* says:

"The bourgeois governments of Latvia and Finland have recently altered their attitude toward Soviet Russia and are now putting forth unreasonable demands. It is certain that this sudden outbreak of Latvian and Finnish defiance may be explained only by the pressure exerted by the Entente on Latvia and Finland. The manifest threat from all sides against the existence of Soviet Russia must finally produce a consolidation of all Russian parties, regardless of their political convictions, around the Soviet Government, which is at present not only a Government of Russian workers and peasants, but represents all of Russia and is defending its independence and honor."

## LATVIA AND RUSSIA

RIGA, May 27.—The Leta (Lettish Telegraph Bureau) reports: The chairman of the Lettish Peace Delegation, Seeberg, has returned to Riga from Moscow. He declares that the boundary question is settled. All that remains is the determination of a number of technical matters concerning the district of Drissa, where a plebiscite is to be held. Soviet Russia has recognized Latvia's independence. The economic provisions are not yet determined. A number of Lettish fugitives and hostages have returned from Moscow.

The above news item makes it probable that the signing of a treaty of peace between Soviet Russia and Latvia will soon be announced.

With this accomplished we trust we may be able to provide the readers of *SOVIET RUSSIA* with a translation of a full text of a Latvian-Soviet Russian treaty, as we have already provided them with a translation of the Esthonian-Soviet Russian treaty.

## ENGLISH BOMBARD A RUSSIAN CITY

(Private Telegram to *Avanti*.)

VIENNA, May 5 (Brante).—Moscow communicates that English naval forces in the Sea of Azov have bombarded the city of Mariupol. The Soviet army has occupied the city of Shemakha in the sector of Baku.

## SECOND ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED AT MOSCOW

Moscow, May 23.—Today there was celebrated here the second anniversary of the introduction of universal military instruction. This institution is of a provisional nature and makes it possible for the Soviet power to organize a proletarian army of defence without having to mobilize the workers in the industrial enterprises. It is simultaneously a school which trains hundreds of thousands of soldiers for Soviet Russia.

On this anniversary day, reviews of troops were held, in which detachments of the Red Army marched by in the presence of the English Workers Delegation. There also were held today athletic meets, theatrical and moving picture performances, as well as open air concerts.

## SOVIET RUSSIA TO THE ALLIES

Moscow, May 22.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia, Chicherin, and the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, Rakovsky, prepared a note addressed to the governments of France, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States, in which they declare that neither of the two republics has any intention of invading any country in order to gain more territory. They have almost succeeded in ridding themselves of the enemies within, who, aided by the Entente, have threatened the very existence of the republics; they have dedicated all their resources to the stupendous task of rebuilding their countries. The governments of both republics have used every means in their power, to bring about peace negotiations with the Polish Government, but, despite that, the Polish army began to invade the territory of Ukraine, which is allied to Soviet Russia. Simultaneously with this move, the Polish Government recognized the counter-revolutionists with Petlura at their head, the Petlura who had so often been repudiated, and made an agreement with him, whereby Ukraine was to be virtually a vassal of victorious Poland.

The governments of the two Soviet republics find it necessary to call the attention of the Entente governments to these events the responsibility for which rests at their doors. They passionately protest against this new bloodshed, and against the aid which the Entente is giving the Polish Government. They are summoning all the nations of the Entente to witness this new attack against the liberty of Soviet Russia. Russia and Ukraine will fight until they are victorious against these new invaders, to whose greed they are the victims and who are threatening their inalienable right of self-determination. The governments of the two Soviet Republics are prepared to set all subsequent developments to the influence that the Entente is wielding over Polish actions.

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ENGLAND

Moscow, April 20.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, sent a note to the British Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon, setting forth the following:

Soviet Russia has remarked with satisfaction England's move to investigate certain vital questions, which, once out of the way, would pave the way to future friendly intercourse between the two nations.

The Russian Government has no intention, at the present time, of making an inquiry as to whether the assistance rendered by Great Britain to the foes of Soviet Russia (and that avowedly so) was actually necessary and justifiable, in order to crush Germany. Russia is all the more ready to let this matter pass, since she has the assurance of the British Government, that from the moment when peace is concluded between the two governments, and all danger of retaliation by the Russians is removed, England will feel herself free from her obligations to these people whom she aided. But in the event that Great Britain should declare that all these questions will have a great bearing on the whole of the peace proceedings, Russia will not set these matters aside, and will have them brought up along with the mass of others.

Russia realizes the justice of Britain's assertion that the rehabilitation of Russia is to the interest of the rest of the world, and that the continuation of the present state of hostilities hinders that purpose. Poland is far more active in continuing these hostilities than the remnant of Denikin's army. Therefore the war with Poland must be ended if Russia is not to be hindered in her work of reconstruction.

Moreover, the Soviet Government requests that the British Government use its influence to make possible the peaceful departure for Soviet Russia of the Hungarian People's Commissars at present in Austria,—for they were allied with that government.

To conclude, the Soviet Government is of the opinion that the settlement of the above-mentioned questions, as well as all others, can best be accomplished through personal negotiations between Litvinov and the London Government. It is confident that the results will be favorable, and to the mutual advantage of both countries.

## PEASANTS AND WORKERS IN RUSSIA

Moscow.—*Izvestia* publishes an article by Steklov in which he says, among other things:

The peasants have lately begun to sell large quantities of potatoes, grains, meats, and several other products, with payment in paper money only. When it is realized that nothing whatsoever can be obtained for paper rubles it follows that the peasants are delivering their products on credit. The workers again tighten their belts and continue with the greatest zeal their efforts to reconstruct the Soviet state.

Through a proclamation of the All-Russian Defense Council, the peasants of the governments of Tver, Smolensk, Riazan, and Moscow have been ordered to give to the Moscow Commune all draft animals, wagons, and forage. This requisition is intended to create a means of transporting food into Moscow.

## PROTEST TO BULGARIA

*In a note recently forwarded to the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, writes as follows:*

Already during the first half of the past year Bulgaria has become a base for the operations of White troops in the Ukraine and Russia. In accordance with the instructions of French imperialists, Bulgaria in every way supported the Russian generals in their battle against the working masses of Russia; thus, among other things, on August 9, 1919, Bulgaria sent to the Russian White Guards 25,000 rifles, 12,000,000 cartridges, and a number of projectiles for cannon; on November 22, 1919, about 3,500,000 cartridges were sent, and 12,000 more rifles on December 4, 1919. The Bulgarian government opened a bureau for recruiting Russian volunteers at Varna. Bulgarian authorities purchased and delivered to the White Guards in Odessa all kinds of material and fuel. Bulgaria was the support to Denikin's rear. This procedure of the Bulgarians constitutes a brutal violation of neutrality and a warning to the Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants.

The Soviet Government protests against this and expresses the hope that at a moment when the question of the recognition of the Soviet power is becoming a burning question all over western Europe the Bulgarian people may not continue to permit their government to involve them in new conflicts.

## RUSSIA UNITED AGAINST POLAND

Moscow, May 25.—The provisional Soviet at Nizhni-Novgorod has received a number of voluntary offers from factory committees and peasant organizations to give aid and support in the war against the external enemy. Not only Communists, but all the workers and peasant organizations, whose numbers constitute great masses of the population, are offering their aid, and affording manifestations of their zeal and their firm confidence in the Soviet Government's defence of Russian soil. At Smolensk an All-Russian popular meeting was held which shows how all nationalists within the Russian Soviet territory are united in joining in the battles against the new invaders. Voluntary organizations of troops have placed themselves at the disposal of the army command. From Poland reports are received of insurrections among the population. In several places insurgent divisions consisting of rebels and deserters have taken possession of the forests. These detachments attack Polish Government troops and destroy railroads and bridges. The Polish Government is having the schools transformed into barracks and prisons.

### ESPERANTO USED ON RAILROADS

[The following appeal to the railroad workers is printed in the "Herald of Ways of Communication," published in Moscow by the People's Commissariat of Ways of Communication.]

**COMRADES, RAILROAD WORKERS!** The great watch-word of democracy—the brotherhood of nations—which is in the order of the day of the Russian Revolution, calls for a rapid diffusion of an international language.

The absence of an international language hinders the inter-relations of peoples; hampers the diffusion of arts and sciences; serves as a cause for national and international controversies; interferes in the exchange of thought and the products of labor, etc., etc.

We, the railwaymen, being directly connected with one of the greatest arteries in the intercourse of nations, feel to a greater extent the need for a universal language for all peoples. We do not have to go to other lands to convince ourselves of this fact,—every day we can observe on trains, as well as on railroad stations, the helplessness of foreigners who do not know our language.

Such a situation is also awaiting us abroad.

We cannot possibly know all languages, not even the most important. The isolated mode of living that our ancestors led created too many of them. Neither can we accept as international any of the existing languages, as this would bring about cultural (which would be followed by economic, and

perhaps by political) supremacy of that nation, whose language would be recognized as international. But we have no means, nor moral right to impose our language upon other peoples. Therefore the only language acceptable for this purpose would be a neutral international language. Esperanto is such a neutral language, and has for a long time been used in various branches of international life. Esperanto excels all existing languages in being easy to learn; its melodiousness, elasticity, and beauty have been recognized by authorities. More than a million people of various nationalities and races already speak this language. Many books, and periodicals are published abroad in Esperanto. There are Esperanto periodicals pertaining to railroads. All large and even small centers have Esperanto societies and groups, which aid foreign tourists and persons who study Esperanto.

Comrades, Railroadmen! Do not stand aside from this great task! Learn Esperanto! This will give you an opportunity to correspond, on questions which interest you, with your fellow-creatures in all parts of the world; it will help you in traveling through Russia and abroad; it will facilitate your official and personal relations with foreigners who travel on the railroads; and will enable you to participate in international railroad conventions, to which you will have to go, as the railroad branch of transportation is of an international character.

Organize railway Esperanto groups, learn and spread the language of Esperanto!

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## State Construction under the Soviet Regime

### I.

#### STATE CONSTRUCTION AND PUBLIC WORKS

THE construction of buildings by the State, and architecture in general, were always very little developed in Russia. From time immemorial, the country has suffered from the insufficiency and imperfection of communicating roads and other works of public utility. During the war, when about seventy per cent of all production and the creative forces of the State were consumed by the special military necessities, all construction work, even the more or less urgent work of reparation, was entirely suspended and displaced by the technical needs of the war. Before the October Revolution the question of a more intense and regular development of public works was not even discussed. There was at that time no general plan nor any system for State construction; this construction was ordinarily confined to numerous projects conceived separately and accidentally by various administrations and institutions. Conversely, the absence of a general plan for State construction accounted for the absence of a central organ to administer it.

The October Revolution having demolished all the artificial barriers hindering the development of the productive forces of the country, and having made of the latter the basis for solving all problems, opened up the way for the extensive execution of the projects for State construction upon a grand scale.

That the labor in this direction might be practical and systematic it was necessary that a special central organ supervise the direction and organization, undertaking the registration, regulating the

distribution of material and technical resources, and putting into execution the necessary work. In pursuance of this course, the Soviet Government, in 1918, created a Committee of State Construction.

If we compare side by side the grandeur of the projects of this committee and the necessity for their realization, on the one hand, and the extraordinary lack of resources and materials, and the obstacles of every kind, on the other hand, we shall have a faithful enough picture of the conditions under which the committee has worked from the time of its creation to this day, endeavoring despite all to develop its activity.

### II.

#### RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION

The Committee of State Construction has completed numerous technical researches and planned a series of projects in connection with the construction of new railroads.

In 1918 these researches and projects covered 12,924 versts of railroad lines divided as follows: 1,337 versts—projects definitely elaborated; 3,480 versts—field and leveling work; 5,682 versts—construction from fifty to ninety per cent completed, and finally, 2,425 versts—prepared for field and leveling work.

Furthermore, in the course of the same year the private railroad companies which were still operating at that date on their part carried on technical researches and planned the construction of 5,600 versts of new railway lines.

In 1919 the figures relative to the completed technical researches covered 7,889 versts, part of which was for an earlier period, and the rest for the year 1918; moreover, new researches, compris-

ing in all 11,517 versts were undertaken in the same year, followed by several economic researches.

Summarizing, the Soviet Government has, during the last two years, performed all the preparatory work necessary for the construction of 7,889 versts of new railroad lines.

Technical researches recently planned and to be undertaken very shortly amount to 12,460 versts.

In addition, the construction of the following railroad lines is now being studied from the economic point of view: Moscow-Ukhta (1,400 versts), Moscow-Murmansk (800 versts), Korostene-Orel (900 versts), and Kiev-Voronezh (via Romny and Sumy).

Several of the above-mentioned lines are, however, of but secondary economic importance and they were projected for strategic reasons only, or to meet the special needs of the present moment.

As for the railroad lines which are already being constructed, they number fifty-five, the work being done under the direction of thirty-eight special technical administrations. The total length of these lines is 9,730 versts, apportioned as follows: lines begun and exploited, 374 versts; lines operating provisionally, 1,384 versts; lines from forty to ninety per cent completed, 7,370 versts, and, finally, lines to be constructed, but for which all necessary materials are already supplied, 602 versts.

It should be added, nevertheless, that by reason of the general economic situation and the incessant changes at the front, construction work of the above mentioned railway lines, was for the most part greatly retarded or provisionally suspended.

In 1919 the total length of railway lines in course of construction was 8,328 versts, apportioned as follows: exploited lines, 1,367 versts, and lines from twenty to ninety per cent completed, 6,961 versts. Moreover, all the preparatory work necessary for the construction of railroads had been completed, amounting in all to 2,557 versts, but following upon special economic conditions, the construction of these lines was postponed to a more favorable time.

Summing up, the Soviet Government, in 1918 and 1919 completed the construction of several railroad lines having a total length of 1,741 versts, and operating regularly. In addition it undertook all sorts of work looking to the construction of various auxiliary and connection lines necessary for the transport of fuel. The number of these lines is twenty-eight and they measure in all 498 versts.

Exclusive of the credits allowed the Committee of State Construction considerable sums have been given, for the construction of railroad lines of secondary importance, to various administrations, among others the Central Committee of Woods and Forests, and the Central Coal Committee. The above lines have a total length of 2,500 versts.

### III.

#### RIVER CONSTRUCTION

Despite the very important role of river con-

struction in the national economy of the country its development was greatly retarded and it was not until 1918, after the Revolution, that such work was carried on with greater intensity. This work had for its basis a very vast and rich program of grandiose construction, but later, just as that for railroad construction, it underwent a sensible reduction due to the general difficult situation.

Thus the preparatory work for the irrigation of the so-called "hungry" steppes, and of Turkestan, commenced in the summer of 1918, was suspended; at this moment there is being pursued only the work relative to the arrangement and publication of the rather voluminous projects and results of economic and technical researches, which will be completed probably in January or March of the present year; for analogous reasons (and especially in view of its being impossible for the engineers to get to the place of work) it was necessary to abandon completely the construction of a system of necessary and valuable locks on the Tura and Tobolsk rivers, which were to connect by waterway the industrial region of the Ural and the coal basin of Kuznetsk. Owing to the lack of resources and food supplies, similar work on the rivers Svir and Volkhov likewise suffered a great reduction; at the same time it was necessary to abandon completely the construction of an interior river port on the Volga where a part of the banking work had already been completed.

Thus all the activity of the Committee of State Construction was in this important need of the national economy finally reduced to insignificant work looking to the improvement of already existing waterways, technical researches, the elaboration of projects, etc.

The following work has been organized:

A waterway has been created between the Sheksna river and the White Sea (utilizing a system of locks on the Sukhona river and the Little Dvina of the North).

On the great waterway between the Onega river and the White Sea, the exploration of the current of the Neva and the construction of the hydrometric station of the Neva where a very important hydrometric work is being carried on, have been completed; also, there is being elaborated a project relative to a system of locks in connection with the White Sea and the Baltic to meet the actual exigencies of river and naval navigation.

There have been completed the elaboration of a project and the necessary technical researches relating to the canal between the Volga and the Don.

A river port, called Borsk, has been constructed at Nizhni-Novgorod on the Volga.

A river port has been constructed at Rybinsk.

Several projects of reconstruction have been elaborated and technical researches made for the river systems of Maryinsk and Tikhvin, which are falling into neglect.

A series of general technical and economic researches have been completed for the creation of

a program of construction and improvement of riverways.

In addition, important secondary works have been executed and are proceeding constantly in the following regions of Russia:

In the regions of Moscow and of Nizhni-Novgorod, which embrace the whole basin of the river Oka and all its affluents, from Nizhni-Novgorod to the source of the Moscow river, projects for ports to be constructed at Moscow and at Nizhni-Novgorod have been elaborated, and followed up with vast researches relating to hydrometrics and perforation, and very detailed economic inquiries concerning this whole region.

Technical researches are now being carried on in the whole southwest region of Russia, notably in the provinces of Samara, Saratov, Astrakhan, Simbirsk and Penza; in addition, hydrogeologic researches are being actively pursued at the same time in the province of Saratov, and general researches have been made along the river Irghys, with the purpose of constructing there a system of locks to aid in the utilization of water power; projects have also been just drawn up for the irrigation of the province of Astrakhan by the waters at the mouth of the Volga.

Finally, the local sections of the Committee of State Construction, occupied especially with the solution of various questions in connection with waterways in fifteen provinces, are constantly carrying on, under the general direction and with the aid of the central administration, various works in connection with irrigation and drainage of terrains, the drainage of marshes, the construction of wells, the repair and reconstruction of dikes, etc.

#### IV.

#### *THE CONSTRUCTION OF BRIDGES AND HIGHWAYS*

Roads have always been in a very bad condition throughout Russia; the highways and other carriage roads, especially, were almost entirely impracticable.

The Committee of State Construction, from the time of its creation, saw the necessity of resuming the construction of connecting ways, leading principally to railroad stations, river wharves, and various industrial centers.

But here again, in view of the impossibility of constructing new ways of communication and repairing at the same time those already existing, the greater part of the work was soon concentrated upon repairing and perfecting already existing routes and especially upon the construction, the reconstruction, and the maintenance in a satisfactory condition of the bridges on all the most important communicating ways.

At the same time, pursuant to the orders of the Revolutionary War Council, the Committee of State Construction considered its principal problem to be the construction of communicating ways necessary to the Red Army. This very important task, which the Committee is performing with the

aid of special crews of military roadworkers, aims at perfecting roads and highways, constructing bridges, and consolidating strategic ways and other special works.

The needs of the war demanded, among other things, in the year 1918 alone, the accomplishment of the following tasks: the construction of a series of the most necessary carriage-roads, altogether 12,313 versts in length; the construction, less urgent, of a second series of carriage-roads of a total length of 5,067 versts; the construction of several highways measuring in all 2,800 versts in length, and the construction of a group of bridges each exceeding twenty-five sazhen and making up a total of 640 sazhen. It was at the end of June, 1918, that the execution of this program was begun. At the end of six months, that is, at the end of 1918 and the 1st of January, 1919, the results of the work completed in this connection were shown in the following figures: of the 5,663 versts of carriage-roads to be repaired, 1,700 were repaired, or thirty per cent; of the 20,250 sazhen of small bridges to be repaired, 8,200 were repaired, or forty per cent, and, finally, of the 1,321 versts of large bridges to be constructed, an average of twenty-six per cent were completed.

In February, 1919, in keeping with the changes at the various war fronts, the whole military program for bridges and highways was revised and subjected to essential modifications. This changed program included for 1919: 24,991 versts of the most important carriage-roads to be repaired, 3,507 versts of carriage-roads of lesser importance to be repaired, 6,060 versts of highways and 8,507 sazhen of bridges (each more than twenty-five sazhen) to be repaired. The results of the execution of this new program were indicated, on the 1st of October of last year, by the following figures: carriage-roads repaired, more than 1,000 versts of the 4,458 to be repaired, or twenty-three per cent; small bridges repaired, twenty-four per cent of the 16,272 sazhen to be repaired, and large bridges, 36 per cent of the 5,000 sazhen to be repaired.

In addition, the Committee of State Construction has completed a great number of works tending to place upon a rational and practical basis the question of the organization of the ways of communication: to this end the Committee accumulated the most necessary tools and machinery, and undertook various kinds of chemical and mineralogical researches, to replace by substitutes the natural stones in the regions where the latter are difficult to find; it made detailed calculations of the force of the provisional resistance of the temporary bridges upon various roads and highways, and elaborated a series of fundamental projects for types of specifications, tables, technical normals, etc.

#### V.

#### *THE CONSTRUCTION OF PORTS AND VESSELS*

Because of the military situation which followed the revolution, the concrete realization of the pro-

jects, as well as the technical researches relating to naval construction, were possible only in a small corner of the Gulf of Finland and on the littoral of Astrakhan. Nevertheless, in consideration of the importance and the necessity of improving our naval and river ports, and in anticipation of undertaking work of this nature on a vast scale, it was important that the active preparatory work should continue incessantly, in order to resume the naval construction in question as soon as more favorable conditions should arise in the country's affairs.

At the present moment the undertakings concentrated in the region of the Gulf of Finland comprise various kinds of construction on the ports of commerce and war of Petrograd and Kronstadt, as well as various technical researches in connection with it. In addition all the preparations were made for the researches to be carried on in the Gulf of Kaporsk and in the Bay of Luga.

The second group of naval works undertaken in the region of the mouth of the Volga includes the reconstruction of the canal which joins this river with the Caspian Sea, from the city of Astrakhan to the sea; to this group belong also various hydrotechnical works necessitated by the war, and the naval researches at the mouth of the Volga.

The Committee of State Construction has done important work in the White Sea and in the Arctic Ocean, looking to a detailed economic, technical, and hydrometeorologic analysis of all the data relating to the construction of ports on the shores of Murmansk and the White Sea, and the equipment of the ports of the North with reloading apparatus and ship equipment.

Moreover, naval researches have been carried on in the North at the mouths of the Obi and Yenissei rivers and in the Bay of Indig.

Important preparatory work, technical researches and projects have been undertaken in the ports of the Black Sea of Azov and in the waters of the Far East.

As for the construction of vessels, the general political condition and the extreme lack of our material resources have forced us to limit ourselves, while awaiting a change, to technical researches, all kinds of attempts and experiments, and the construction of wooden ships, although the naval needs of the country are much more important.

## VI.

### *THE CONSTRUCTION OF ELEVATORS AND REFRIGERATORS*

In 1918 the Committee of State Construction undertook the administration and direction of thirty refrigerating plans installed at slaughterhouses, the construction of which was suspended by the war, as well as the management of two special refrigerating plants at Simbirsk and Samara; in addition, the committee had charge of completing and equipping two temporary refrigerating plants at the old war fronts. It discharged this task as well as possible during the course of last year,

completing from seventy to ninety per cent of the projected works.

The Committee is completing also the installation and mounting of refrigerating apparatus and machinery at Arzamas, Simbirsk, Cheliabinsk, Tiumen and Barnaul; all these refrigerators will begin to operate very shortly; at other places the per cent of completed installation and mounting of refrigerators varies between seventy and ninety.

To the end of a more rapid and regular development of refrigerator construction on a large scale, the Committee of State Construction accomplished a great work in accumulating numerous economic and statistical materials, relating to the regions which produce perishable products and at all refrigerating plants operating in Russia. It appears that the thirty-seven provinces of the Soviet Republic possess, in all 168 refrigerating plants, with a capacity of 11,000,000 poods; of this number twenty-eight plants, with a capacity of 2,000,000 poods, are in Moscow alone; while the other provinces have only from one to twelve, or an average of three, of widely varying capacity; all the refrigerators operate for local needs and very particularly for exportation. This unsystematical and altogether accidental distribution of the refrigerating plants was contrary to the interests of the country. The Committee of State Construction, in seeking to furnish the State with a rational system of refrigerating plants, in conformity with its economic and statistical researches, elaborated a general plan of refrigerator construction, to be realized in the course of the very next few years.

We should note very particularly the efforts of the Committee of State Construction to give the country necessary floating refrigerators, an absolutely new technical innovation in Russia and dating only from the end of 1918.

As for the construction of elevators, which had become particularly intense in the years which preceded the war, the People's Bank had traced in its time an enormous program, expecting to cover the country with a net-work of these structures. This program planned, in the provinces of South-east Russia in the first place, the construction of eighty-one elevators, with a total capacity of fifty-eight million poods and seventy-seven elevators with a total capacity of sixty-two million poods in the thirteen provinces of southern and central Russia; in addition, five elevators were planned for western Siberia. Of this program there are only forty-seven elevators whose construction was completed and which are operating regularly at the present moment.

During the war the construction of elevators was completely suspended, and it was not resumed by the Committee of State Construction until towards the end of 1918.

Besides the elevators of large capacity, the Committee of State Construction had also to contribute to the development of a net-work of small elevators for the local war needs, and for the peasants. These elevators are in most cases constructed by the cooperative or regional organs, under the technical

surveillance and with the material aid of the Committee of State Construction.

### VII.

#### INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTION

Before the organization of the Committee of State Construction, there was in Russia no special organ to direct industrial construction. Before the nationalization of industry (towards the second half of 1918) the government withheld only an insignificant percentage, while the greater part was restored to individuals; also, the creative role of the government in industrial construction was greatly restrained and almost nil, being almost entirely reduced to a police surveillance exercised over private industrial construction.

Since then there have been radical changes.

At present the State is the only proprietor and director of all the industry of the country, and it is bound by this fact to develop it and to carry on all sorts of construction of an industrial nature.

The work already completed and constantly pursued in this sphere may be divided into the following groups:

1. Construction of great factories and shops, already begun during the war, to meet the various needs of the country, and determined by the mobilization of industry; the industrial enterprises under this head are: the factories of the "Section of Automobiles of the Supreme Council of National Economy," notably "Russo-Baltic," "Ame" and "Rene-Russ" at Rybinsk.

2. The restoration, capital repair, and enlargement of factories and shops which are already in operation and several of which are at present adapted to other branches of industry. This category comprised the cloth and fabric factory of Istomine, at Bogardsk, the old factory at Riabushinsky, at Vyshny-Volotchek, the schist factory at Briansk, the group of chemical product factories of the regions of the Volga and of Kama, the electric station near Bogorodsk, and the first factory for mechanical construction at Nizhni-Novgorod, etc.

3. The construction of new factories and shops of great importance for the development in the Republic of branches of industry still unknown and the necessity for which depends upon the economic conditions of the present time created by the displacement of the industrial centers and by the cessation of foreign importation. In this way was constructed the factory of agricultural machinery called "The Star," at Saratov (it cost the government sixty million rubles), which is already in operation; next comes the sugar refinery of Novokamensk at Penza, for the construction of which the necessary materials are being collected, and the earthwork begun.

4. Further, the Committee had planned and even commenced the preparatory work for the construction of a whole series of factories and shops of the greatest necessity, but it was soon forced to abandon this work under pressure of various conditions of the present moment.

But the work of the Committee was more im-

portant and productive in so far as it concerned the analysis and approval of numerous projects, technical plans, and devices which were submitted for its examination by various central and local institutions. In the course of the last year the number of these projects and devices was about 300, representing a round sum of several milliards of rubles.

### VIII.

#### ELECTROTECHNICAL CONSTRUCTION

It is useless to emphasize the important, even colossal, role of electrical energy in the national economy, in the mechanical industry, and in the utilization of the natural forces and resources of the country (water currents, cataracts, peat soil), as well as its valuable properties during a general fuel crisis.

Before the October Revolution, electro-technical construction was of very little importance: in the whole country there was only two or three regional stations. Similarly, there was no central state organ to regulate this branch of industry. It was only with the constitution of the Committee of State Construction that this branch was placed upon a new basis, having been given the necessary special organ of direction and taking on considerable dimensions as a result.

Since then a whole series of technical researches have been undertaken and with the participation of more than a hundred engineers numerous projects have been carried out, important preparatory work has been done on the sites, great quantities of construction material collected, and provision for workers, temporary stations, wharves, etc., created.

Last spring, in view of the lack of resources and of the necessity for the employes of the immediate construction of a part of the projected stations, the decision was taken to reduce the general working program, limiting it to the construction of a single station on the Svir river and of a station on the Volkhov, postponing to a later time the construction of all other projected stations.

In the same way necessary work has been begun for the construction of regional stations near the city of Kashira, 126 kilometres from Moscow, with utilization of the local coal mines, and on the marshes of Shatour, 150 kilometres from Moscow, using for this purpose the peat soil of this region. These two stations are to furnish the electrical energy to the cities of Moscow and Kolomna and to other central points in the industrial region.

At present, in addition to the stations already under construction, projects for others are elaborated for the central industrial region; all these stations will be constructed on the peat marshes of the region of Ivanovo-Vozniessensk, and will perhaps be able to supply the cities of Yaroslav, Kostroma, Kineshma, and Vladimir; electrical stations are planned on the peat marshes near Nizhni-Novgorod to supply the region about this city and Murom, utilizing for this purpose the coal in the neighborhood of Moscow and the provinces of Riazan and Tula.

The greater part of the work which the Committee of State Construction is now carrying on is influenced by the urgent necessities of today and tomorrow, and by the questions relating to the war, fuel and transport, or even the mechanical industry, dwellings, their sanitary condition and the provisioning of the people.

This brief and rapid expose of the activity and the successes achieved by the Committee of State Construction is incomplete. We have passed in silence the enormous number of merely local constructions by the provincial sections of the Committee, the vast municipal works, the organization of workmen's quarters, which are particularly important in view of the dwelling crisis which is everywhere more or less acute. Nor have we indi-

cated the rather important work of the Committee in connection with the development of urban culture and the organization of new places for habitation.

Unfortunately, under pressure of very difficult economic conditions and the circumstances of the war the Committee was all this time just passed forced to reduce its program considerably, instead of developing it. Nevertheless, it should be affirmed and recognized that the Committee of State Construction has achieved a capital work and that in this direction the success of the Soviet power is not inferior to that which it has attained in the other branches of social life and particularly in that which concerns the ordinary work of construction in most of the countries of western Europe.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**I**N SPITE of all the efforts of the censors to keep in the dark, as far as possible, the real situation on the Polish front, the truth about the desperate conditions of the Poles has become more and more evident every day. A very important cable from London, dated June 29, and published in the *New York Call* of June 30, said that according to a Moscow official wireless message, the new offensive launched by the Russian Red Army against the Poles had "put the Second Polish Army entirely out of action and had cut the Third Army off from all communications." This was the case in the Kiev region as well as in the Podolia and Volhynia, on the so-called Southern Polish front, situated between the rivers Dnieper and Dniester. In regard to the northern front, which extends to the north of the Pripet Marshes, the same dispatch gives but little information that the Sixth Polish Army was "retreating rapidly in the region of Podolzk" There have been no details as to the new Russian progress in that part of the war area, at least for the last three weeks, while it has been certain that a decisive operation of the Red Russian Army is in full progress. It was hard to believe that the Russian General Staff would have lost a favorable opportunity to defeat partially the retreating armies of the enemy, which, after a series of tactical reverses, were compelled to abandon some most important strategical points, such as Borisov, Kiev, Minsk, and Vilno.

It is very interesting to note that the above mentioned wireless message from Moscow did not appear in any New York newspapers, in spite of its great strategical and political significance. Two armies put out of action! This means nothing else than a debacle confirming my former statements relating to the successful enveloping maneuver of the South Russian Red Army against the right flank of the Polish battlefront.

There is no doubt that all the wireless reports from Moscow have been held up, and we know nothing about the most remarkable enveloping

movement of the Russian armies in Podolia, which has been accomplished with much vigor, so vigorously that the Poles could not retreat.

It is important to note that with the complete destruction of the Southern Polish armies, the Russians hardly can meet with any serious obstacles in their future advance, even as far as Galicia, with Lemberg as their objective. Once in possession of the Mohilev-Kiev railway parallel, they easily can use for the purpose the double-track railway extending northwest from the very important railway-junction of Zhmerinka, and passing through Proskurov and Tarnopol to Lemberg. Such a movement into Galicia can be accomplished without any serious danger from Rumania, because the latter is anxiously watched by the Russians along all the length of the Dniester, which represents the natural frontier between Russia and Bessarabia, now occupied by the Rumanians, and is simultaneously a protection to any movement of the Red Army on its left banks.

On the front situated to the north of the Pripet Marshes, the same thing has happened as on the southern front, with the difference that the enveloping movement was accomplished by the Russians gradually, moving on the enemy from the north.

Already about June 18-19, when I was in Detroit, I noticed in the local press a sensational item on the capture of Minsk by the Reds. It was said also that Vilno, the capital of Lithuania, had been evacuated by the Poles. That dispatch, repeated in the morning papers, never appeared in the New York press in spite of the fact that there was nothing unusual in the possibility of such an event.

In my statement to the representative of the *Detroit Free Press*, published June 17, 1920, I firmly insisted that Poland is on the verge of defeat and this reactionary newspaper found space for the following lines of my remark: "A year ago, when the press of the whole world prophesied

the victory of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich, I declared that the days of Kolchak were numbered. With the end of that Russian adventurer—a puppet of the Allies—came the end of Yudenich and then of Denikin. Now I see the end of the Polish army” (Detroit *Free Press*, June 17, 1920). In the same newspaper, and in the same issue, the recognized ambassador of Poland, Prince Lubomirsky, who was also in Detroit, published a statement in which he described the “brilliant victories” of the Polish army, and prophesied the early defeat of the Bolshevik forces. This Polish statement tried to convince American public opinion that it is the Russian Bolsheviki who attacked unfortunate Poland, and that the Poles are far from any idea of any offensive against Russia; and, on the basis of these misstatements, he appealed to Americans for their financial support.

The Polish military experts, to prove the strength of the Polish front, always point out of the unbreakable resistance of its center, situated at the eastern extremity of the Pripet Marshes, namely, in the Mozir region, which was, since its capture by the invaders in the early days of March, 1920, an object of constant attacks by the Red Army.

In reality, the Mozir region was of great strategical importance for the Polish battle front. It was practically a junction for the northern and southern Polish armies, divided from each other by the impenetrable Pripet Marshes, about 120 miles from east to west, and more than fifty miles from north to south. Just in the middle of these famous swamps, a navigable river, the Pripet, affords communication for the town of Pinsk, situated on the western extremity of the marshes, with Mozir, situated on its eastern end, and a double track railway built along the northern border of the Pripet Marshes also connects Pinsk with Kolenkovitz (ten miles northeast of Mozir). Being more than 100 miles from any railway system north or south of it, in the region of the marshes, this railroad when attacked, cannot be supported in any way, according to the principles of modern war, which does not recommend any military operation more than seventy miles from a railroad.

Now it becomes clear why the Poles were so anxious to capture Mozir in the early days of their offensive against Russia, and even made Mozir their first objective. In losing that point, they are losing the Pinsk-Mozir railroad, which they are unable to defend, either from the north or from the south, especially at the moment when their southern front is defeated, and two of their most important armies, namely, the third and second armies, thrown out of action, encircled and perhaps capitulated.

On the other hand, the Russians, while furthering their enveloping movement on both the extreme flanks of the enemy, have maintained only a steady strong pressure against the center of the Polish battle front in the Mozir district. They did not intend to advance in that sector, unless their strategical enveloping manoeuvre in the

north, as well as in the south, would be successfully accomplished, and only under such conditions would the Russians have been able to start their decisive operation to the westward, along the river Pripet, and simultaneously along the Mozir-Pinsk railway, with the task of cutting off the southern Polish army from the north entirely, thus easily solving the problem of encircling each of them separately.

According to the dispatch from London (Moscow wireless) of June 30, “In the Mozir region, after fierce fighting, our troops have occupied several villages from six to ten miles east of Mozir, capturing prisoners and machine-guns” (*The Christian Science Monitor*, July 1). This news only proves that the previous dispatch about the defeat of the southern Polish armies was accurate, and that the Russian General Staff has begun a decisive blow on the Polish center. The further report from Warsaw about the fall of Mozir and Kolenkovitz, according to the *New York Globe* of July 1, confirms absolutely my supposition: that only after a complete victory over the southern Polish armies could the Russians without any risk accomplish such an important movement in their center, during the progress of their encircling manoeuvre in the northern theatre of war.

The *New York Times* of July 2, confirming the defeat of the Polish army in the Mozir region, explains the Polish hasty retreat as a measure undertaken by the Polish command, “for the purpose of shortening the front.” Such a blunder I leave with the Polish experts, and merely say that the Red Army had shortened the Polish front quite sufficiently and I do not think it was with the consent of the Polish General Staff.

In the above-mentioned dispatch from London of June 29 (*N. Y. Call*, June 30), it was said that “the army of General Baron Wrangel, anti-Soviet leader in the Crimea, has been completely destroyed.” This also means that after having completely defeated the Poles on the Podolia front, where the Russian cavalry of General Budenny is engaged in vigorous pursuit of the beaten and flying enemy, the parts of the Red forces now freed from engagements against the Poles in Podolia have been rapidly turned against the advancing Wrangel, whose victorious offensive was so widely advertised by the *New York Times*, as were, at an earlier date, the campaigns of the Russian counter-revolutionary leaders: Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich. And while there was no longer, in reality, any Wrangel army at all, in the July 1 issue of the *New York bourgeois press*, we have noticed with astonishment a delayed dispatch, dated May 25, on the successful advance of the Wrangel army, which has captured Berdiansk on the northern bank of the Sea of Azov.

Only one completely ignorant of the military art could have failed to foresee the inevitable end of this new Allied adventure, in this case carried out by their newly created puppet, Baron Wrangel. Within the Crimean peninsula, the army of this adventurer was in a very safe position. Supported

by the Anglo-French navy, Wrangel could have held the Crimean peninsula for a long time, protected, as he was, from the north by very strong positions on the narrow neck of land of Perekop. For the Reds, on the other hand, it was not an easy task to recapture Crimea from the usurper, in view of the Allied naval forces, and the regular supply of the enemy with ammunition, war material, foodstuffs and money.

But, unfortunately for Wrangel, he could not remain always only on the defensive. The Allies paid him for his activity; he had to crush the hated Bolshevik regime in Russia, and being assured that the Polish victory was imminent, he started his famous invasion of Russia.

The weak local Red forces, which succeeded some months ago in capturing Perekop, were naturally defeated, mostly by the activity of the Allied naval artillery, which shelled the Russian Soviet troops from the Black Sea and later from the Sea of Azov. Wrangel's advance in the meantime encouraged the Poles and other Russian reactionaries, such as the former Russian War Minister under Kerensky, M. Guchkov, who, with the Allied help is about to repeat a new Yudenich adventure, using the remains of the Avalov-Bermond "army," but at the same time the Wrangel's advance to the north and northeast was just a movement which was very eagerly expected in Moscow. In order to put an end to the counter-revolution in South Russia, the Wrangel army had to be destroyed entirely, and for this reason it had to be drawn out of Crimea. Giving a chance to the new hero of the western capitalistic imperialism to gain

some "brilliant" victories over their own forces, the Reds at last very skillfully got him out of his shelter, and once his bands found themselves far from the naval support of their protectors, they were vigorously attacked and completely defeated.

The victory over the Poles and the extermination of the counter-revolutionary hordes of Baron Wrangel will doubtless encourage the desire of the Turkish nationalists to defend themselves, whose common disaster under the pressure of the civilized countries, which are still fighting for the sake of Democracy, is gradually bringing them together under the new standard of communism.

The Turkish people are anxiously watching Soviet Russia, they know that only the Russian workers and peasants can save them from imminent disaster, and they know also that the declaration of the Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Chicherin, that Soviet Russia would support any oppressed nation, communistic or not, in case such a nation should appeal to Moscow for support, was not a promise which would not be fully carried out, and the Turks are now defeating the Greeks. The Mohammedans of the world during last two years have learned to trust Russia and to love her working people. They have realized the real strength of this giant and his unselfish and fair policy, and they all seek union with him, perhaps with the intention of forming one common body, under the standard of real freedom and equality, which only the real proletarian social structure can give to humanity.

The Mussulmen of the world are with Soviet Russia, and nobody can tear them away.

## The Creation of the Laboring Army of Petrograd

### I.

#### RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE

The Seventh Army is being transformed into a labor army, forces of considerable strength being maintained for military service on the frontiers of Finland and Esthonia. The Seventh Army is to be called the Revolutionary Labor Army of Petrograd.

The principal work in which the forces and means of the Seventh Army must now be employed are: (1) the exploitation of peat and schist deposits indicated above; (2) the preparation of wood supplies; (3) the transportation of prepared fuel (peat, schists, wood) to the industrial factories of Petrograd and to the railway stations, and the loading and unloading of this fuel; (4) the organization to this end of horse transport; (5) the cultivation of all the wild land of this region, capable of being utilized for vegetable gardens; (6) an extensive organization of potato plantations in the Soviet exploitations; (7) the acceleration and reinforcement of the work of repairing rolling-stock, unloading fuel and prod-

ucts arriving at Petrograd by waterway; (8) the repair of agricultural machinery, agricultural work of all kinds, aid in the cultivation of the soil, the gathering of harvests, and (9) the reinforcement of labor discipline in the enterprises and supplies of manual labor.

The council of the labor army may also take part in the exploitation of the coal mines in the region of Borovichi.

Specialist workers, in so far as they are not absolutely indispensable in supporting the forces of the Seventh Army, must be transferred to local factory institutions and those of every kind of exploitation, according to the indications of the members of the council of the labor army.

The revolutionary council of the labor army is the directing organ for all the above-mentioned activities.

The representatives of the power of the Council of the Defence of the Republic, the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Zinoviev, is placed at the head of the Labor Army.

*The President of the Council of Defence,*

N. LENIN.

Moscow, February 10, 1920.

Original from  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



II.  
THE REVOLUTIONARY LABOR ARMY OF  
PETROGRAD

(*A new era in the life of Petrograd.*)

The glorious Seventh Army, which has twice defended against the enemy Red Petrograd, our dear native city, becomes on this day a revolutionary labor army. This transformation constitutes one of the most important events in the life of Petrograd and that of all Soviet Russia.

Workers of Petrograd! Today—I am sure of this—is the beginning of a new era in the history of our city. We have won the right to work. We have created, after victorious battle, conditions permitting us to proceed in the right way to the construction of a new life.

For two consecutive years you have battled without respite on all the war fronts, glorious proletariat of Petrograd! There is no front where the soil has not been generously sprinkled with the noble blood of the workers of Petrograd. But—we dare to say it—there is also no city in all Soviet Russia where the workers burn always with an inextinguishable enthusiasm, where they are so firm, so tried in battle, and so strong in spirit as those of our city.

In short, Red Petrograd is indeed Red Petrograd, sole and unique! All the world knows it.

The spirit of Petrograd is not dead. But the physical forces of our beautiful and admirable city have weakened little by little to the last degree. It is only at the present hour that we are finally permitted to proceed to the restoration of the material powers of the giant city.

The workers of Petrograd have given their blood and their lives without stint to the work of the revolution, accomplishing it with devotion on all the war fronts and wherever the situation was most dangerous. Our best comrades of Petrograd dreamed, as of a supreme happiness, of the hour when the war should have been brought to a successful issue and they should be able to devote themselves to the reestablishment of the economic life of the people on a communist basis, the hour when they should be able to devote themselves to the purification of Petrograd.

But few comrades, alas! have seen this happy day arise. Many of them, and of the best, repose in eternal sleep in the damp earth. Some have disappeared, others are far away . . .

But these cruel losses are one more reason that the responsibilities of their comrades who survive should be emphasized and be tendered more serious. A new dawn is rising upon Petrograd. Weakened and half-dead with hunger and cold, but always standing, and not flinching even for an instant, the city is about to receive significant support.

More than 100,000 men, levied from the organized effectives of the Seventh Army, are to be incorporated in the labor army of Petrograd. Of this number, more than 25,000 are communists. Although the old Seventh Army is not the richest of the Soviet Republic, it possesses nevertheless

considerable material and numerous beasts of burden. It is thus a very great, strong hand which will be able to offer us powerful economic assistance. These 100,000 men will be our advance-guard, powerful and numerous, which, if we support it in turn, will finally enable us to leave behind our present state of stagnation.

We must, in the first place, wash Petrograd, clean it, warm it, and make it eat to satiety. Peat will have to be brought to it, and not the five million poods of last year, but twenty-five, at least, extracted from the earth and brought to the very gates of the city. Wood and schists must be brought, so that we may not lack these fuels next fall and winter. The workers of Petrograd must be assured of the potato supplies necessary to them; our province produces a sufficient quantity, but up to this day the Petersburg proletarian had, often enough, to sell his last shirt to buy five pounds of potatoes from the greedy suburban cultivator. We must repair our locomotives. Transport is everything; it is the measure of the final triumph of the revolution; it is the salvation of our children, who are dying of hunger. We must renovate our buildings. We must resume the operation of our great factories. Let us but put a pair of the best in operation, and our guard, the Petersburg workers, will return to us, flying like moths towards a flame.

The creation of the labor army of the Petrograd Soviet opens a new page in the history of our city. Petrograd has suffered more than the other Russian cities, from famine, repeated evacuations, lack of fuel, and other misfortunes. But our city will also be the first to recover from the paralysis which is enchaining it. Petrograd is situated at the crossroads of European routes. In a little while it shall become again an enormous, universal economic center.

The construction of the labor army of the Petrograd Soviet puts before us a series of difficult and complicated questions. They are all in a sphere where there are no well-beaten paths. All here is new and unusual. At each step we shall have to surmount enormous practical embarrassments of which we shall speak again more than once.

However, at the present time, there is only one thing which concerns us: our whole communist organization, all our Soviet organs, the entire working family of Petrograd—must fix their attention upon the labor army which has just been created.

Let the best forces of the elite come to the support of the labor army!

Let the best organizers of public life enter the ranks of the labor army!

We are passing our examination before all Soviet Russia and even before the whole world.

And this examination is definitive. We have already proved that the communists are no mean soldiers when they fight for the cause of the workers and peasants. We must now prove that we are good architects of life and good masters, that,

alone, we are able to heal the wounds of the war, that, alone, we can regenerate the disorganized economic life, and save humanity from hunger and cold.

The bourgeoisie of the Entente countries some time ago created an institution thoroughly bureaucratic—an "international committee to combat cold." The Soviet Republic has already created four labor armies, all for combatting hunger and cold.

We shall see which of the two will be successful.

It is Petrograd which will form the rear of the labor army of the Petrograd Soviet. If in October of 1919 our rear had wavered were it only for a second the city would have been condemned to destruction. That is precisely the situation at the present time. If the rear does not this time support with all its force the laboring van, our labor army—our experiment is condemned to failure.

But we know Petrograd and its workers. We are therefore sure that our experiment will succeed.

We must have iron discipline! The labor army must be fortified with it as is every military army, and the communist must be in the first ranks of the labor front just as he was on the war front.

We address our fraternal greeting to the Red soldiers of the old Seventh Army, who have been renamed from this day soldiers of the Labor Army of the Petrograd Soviet.

All the workers of Petrograd follow you. Let us roll up our sleeves, then, and set to work.

G. ZINOVIEV.

### III.

#### TO WORK!

The government has just published a decree which sends the soldiers from military work to the work of peace, from destruction to creation.

"War produces heroes"—that is very true, but the real hero, is the worker, whose energy has created, and is always creating the innumerable values of this world: material and moral values, the possession of which renders humanity more stable in its war against Nature and against the forces of Nature which it seeks to vanquish.

But war produces also stupidity and greed, and the soldiers know it better than the others, for they see that war destroys, brutally and implacably, the precious results of long years of human effort.

It is only the amicable and close collaboration of all the good men of our republic which can assure to our country the first place in this world, where all the beautiful and precious things are created only by honest and peaceful labor.

We see coming at last the day when we shall be able to take to the reparation of the destruction made upon the body of our country, by healing those deep bleeding wounds and cleansing the ancient dirt of the past; the day when we shall be able to make of half-devastated Russia a beautiful country where men shall live in ease, enjoying

liberty and ignorant of suffering; a country where every citizen will be able to cultivate the best in his nature.

At the present time, when we are free, we can blame nobody for the sad existence we are leading, because we are masters of our destiny and must understand that all here below depends upon ourselves, alone, upon our will, our work.

Let us always recall that all the marvels of this world were created only by the hard enthusiastic labor of man.

It does not suffice simply to take the things that have been created before our time and derive profit from them; it is necessary to know how to use them rationally, and above all, to know how to produce similar things. Now, two forces alone can give us this knowledge: science and labor, and these two forces are within our power!

To work, comrades!

If we do not succeed, this time again, to organize our life as is fitting, we shall have ourselves to blame, for there will be no others to blame.

Long live peaceful labor for the common good!

Let us be courageous and brave in spirit, and let us not forget that the things we lack can be created only by ourselves.

M. GORKI.

### IV.

#### TO THE LABOR ARMY OF PETROGRAD

##### Order of the Day No. 1

*[To be read in all the companies, to the squadrons, and batteries, and in the barracks of the old Seventh Army, the garrison of Petrograd, and the military units of the Petrograd Districts, forming part of the Labor Army of Petrograd.]*

Soldiers of the labor army, commandants and commissaries!

1. The Seventh Army, which has twice defended Red Petrograd and saved it, has irreproachably performed its duty towards the Socialist Soviet Land. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the Seventh Army, we have concluded peace with Estonia. The blockade ring which has encircled Soviet Russia and condemned it to famine, has been broken in some measure following the military successes of the Seventh Army, which has beaten Yudenich.

2. But the enemy has not yet been completely annihilated. The strategic situation of Petrograd is such that attempts to attack it by sea or by land are always possible, as long as the bourgeoisie govern the neighboring states. Also, our army must be on its guard. "Pile arms!"—that is the watchword for the present. But if the least danger threatens the Red Army, we must be ready to hear the old war order: "Shoulder arms!" The Seventh Army has been transformed into an army of labor. But it must not for that reason lose its readiness to fight or reduce its force.

3. On the 13th of February the Council of the

Labor Army of Petrograd was definitely constituted, and it then set to work.

4. Red Petrograd has given all its forces to the front. Red Petrograd is being exhausted under the burden of the privations imposed upon it by the sacred war for the rights of the workers and peasants. The revolutionary army of labor of Petrograd must therefore aid the glorious city where the revolution of the workers and peasants was born. Petrograd is in need of fuel. There is fuel very near the city. Peat, schists and fire-wood are in the vicinity of Petrograd. The soldiers of the labor army must aid the workers of Petrograd to collect this fuel and bring it to Petrograd.

5. The labor army must also aid the peasants in the neighborhood of Petrograd to repair their agricultural tools. Some of our detachments have already done this in several rural communes. Glory and honor to these soldiers of labor. Let us aid the peasants. Let us give electricity to the villages. Let us aid the peasants to perfect their agricultural tools, and help them this spring in their work in the fields, and they will share with us their last bit of bread.

6. Eruptive typhus is raging in Petrograd. After five years of war, the city needs a radical cleaning. The men and women workers of Petrograd are charging themselves with this. The Communists are with them in the front ranks. The military units of the fortified region of Petrograd have the task of aiding the workers of Petrograd in this work. For a soldier of the labor army there is no "dirty" work, if the interests of the workers and peasants demand it.

7. The soldiers of the labor army and their commandants shall have to work side by side with the labor unions and other organizations of workers and peasants. You, who are yourselves laboring men, treat with love and respect these workers' organizations.

8. We order that a detailed investigation be made within ten days of the profession or specialty of every soldier of the labor army. The technicians and special workers will remain in the army and direct its work. We must give all our best working forces to the work of repairing locomotives and trains. Specialist workers will not be sent to the factories and shops except in special cases.

9. The command and the commissaries will have now to perform much more responsible duties than before. They are responsible for the discipline, the execution of work, the maintenance of the fighting strength of the army, the zeal and punctuality of the workers, the exactness, reliability and good condition of the liaison service, just as they were responsible formerly for the execution of military orders.

10. The political section of the army has the very important task of explaining to all the soldiers the enormous role of the labor army, and it must therefore hasten its political work.

11. The revolutionary tribunal of the army has

the task of eradicating by sword and fire the speculators, the deserters, the idle, the indolent, and the thieves.

12. The executive organs of the army are enjoined to reduce as much as possible the military functions of the rear of the army. Besides the measures already taken to this end, similar action also must be taken in all units of the labor army of Petrograd.

13. The more a soldier of the labor army manifests zeal, the more he economizes the national good; the more energetic and constant he is, the sooner shall we conquer hunger, cold, and disorganization, and the sooner shall every soldier be able to return to his domestic hearth.

14. Soldiers, commandants, and commissaries of the labor army of Petrograd! Keep always in your memory the words which the president of the military Revolutionary Council of the Republic addressed to the soldiers of the labor army: "Worker-soldiers, do not dishonor the Red Flag!" The Soviet and the workers of Petrograd will aid you as well as they can. The revolutionary labor army of Petrograd must become a model army for all Russia of the workers and peasants.

*President of the Council of the Revolutionary  
Labor Army of Petrograd,*

G. ZINOVIEV.

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This weekly will carry articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles.

THE London correspondent of the New York *Journal of Commerce* warns his American readers against the current propaganda which pretends that Soviet Russia has no goods to export. "These statements must not be accepted as accurate without substantial proof," he cites, "or without considering the channel through which they come, and the purpose for which they are circulated. It is to be remembered also that in numerous cases where it has been possible to test these depressing reports, quite a different aspect has been given to the facts" (*Journal of Commerce*, June 30). As an instance of this "harmful inaccuracy," the correspondent cites the often repeated statement that there is no surplus grain in Russia and that the present cultivation is not even adequate for the domestic needs. To demonstrate the utter falsity of this story he quotes the reports published last January in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* which contained the findings of the German commissioners who visited Odessa, Kherson, Nikolaiev, Simferopol, Taganrog, and Novorossiysk, for the purpose of learning the truth regarding the available grain stocks. With two exceptions, all the German commissioners reported that they had found immense accumulations of wheat and barley which could be made available for export. According to one of the commissioners, it would be possible to export from Odessa and Nikolaiev, alone, 90,000,000 poods of breadstuffs during 1920. The German reports of January put the acreage of wheat, rye, and barley at about the same figure as in 1919. A later report in March, however, asserted:

"We are now able to state with tolerable confidence that while the acreage this spring under oats, rye, and barley is practically that of 1918, there will be a striking increase under wheat, especially in the Black Earth Zone, where confidence is returning to the peasants and where they are looking forward to secure markets. The desire of agricultural machinery of all sorts is spreading, and the best known manufacturers of Germany, England, and America, if they only seize their opportunity, are certain of doing a roaring business."

The writer in the *Journal of Commerce* concludes that while America hesitates to enter the open field of Russian trade, "there is nothing resembling hesitancy in Germany." He quotes the words of a well-known German businessman, Herr Butman, who recently, in an address before the Bremen Chamber of Commerce, spoke with satis-

faction of the progress which German manufacturers and merchants were making in establishing commercial relations with Russia.

ANOTHER dispatch to the *Journal of Commerce*, this one from Ottawa, reports the lively interest aroused in Canadian commercial and financial circles by the announcement that the Soviet Government is contemplating extensive purchases in Canada. The correspondent learns that the Canadian Government will place no obstacles in the way of trade with Russia. Indeed, he reports, "the proposal is likely to be received with favor, and it is quite probable that the attitude of the government is identical with that of the Imperial Government, which is now conducting negotiations with Krassin looking toward the resumption of trade with Russia." Canada is suffering from an adverse balance of trade which is causing much concern and has seriously affected Canadian exchange. "Such being the situation," the correspondent of the *Journal reports*, "anything that is likely to start a stream of gold into Canada would undoubtedly be welcomed by those prominent in the financial and industrial life. Under existing conditions, Russia seems to be the only source from which this can come in appreciable quantities in the ordinary course of time."

A writer in the *Financial Times* of Montreal, January 26, gives similar explanation of the favorable attitude of the Canadian Government towards the resumption of trade with Russia. "The great attraction for the Imperial Government in the resumption of trade with the Soviet Government is that there is \$300,000,000 in gold in sight, a commodity that is badly needed. Consequently the passing of a goodly portion of this to the United Kingdom for commodities that the Soviet Government badly needs, would do much to strengthen Britain's financial position . . . It would seem probable that the possibility of securing a large supply of gold is a consideration that may influence the Dominion Government towards the proposal of resuming trade with Russia. It, too, has commitments in the United States, though not on anything like the scale that the mother country has; but for these gold is required. Already it is contended in some quarters that the reserve held in this country is too low and the trade situation is becoming such that an even greater demand will be made of Canada for the precious metal."

Propagandists may play with academic arguments to prove that a capitalist country cannot afford to do business with Soviet Russia. More practical considerations, however, prevail upon politicians and financiers. The question which has become immediately pressing in many countries is how much longer they can afford to do without the advantages of Russian trade.

THE departure of Krassin from London was of course eagerly "interpreted" by the Tory press as the "breaking off" of negotiations between England and the Soviet Government. Ever since Lit-

vinov arrived in Copenhagen last fall, these same newspapers, on one pretext or another, have been breaking off the negotiations which threatened to interfere with their plans for intervention and endless war. The negotiations, however, have proceeded slowly but steadily, without interruption, and with constantly increasing significance.

Professing loudly that their conversations with the Soviet delegates related solely, at first to prisoners, and later to trade, the European participants have with increasing insistence interjected matters of wholly political nature into the parleys. The question of Czarist indebtedness, uppermost in the French consideration, and the matter of Persia, haunting the minds of English politicians, carry the negotiations into a much wider field than the mere business of arranging commercial barter. Krassin, no doubt, has been willing enough to discuss any question which might interest his hosts. But he is no imperialist diplomatist, commissioned to sign blank checks upon the policy of his government. He will not go a step further than he is authorized to go. He will make no secret commitments in the name of the Russian people, returning to Moscow with the bond signed and sealed. He will get his instructions first and sign afterwards. The Allies can have any kind of negotiations they want. They can have trade negotiations or they can have peace negotiations. But if it is only trade that they want, then they must talk only about trade. If they want to talk about peace and international guarantees, then they must be prepared to make peace and to give guarantees.

Far from indicating an interruption of the negotiations, Krassin's trip to Moscow plainly discloses that the discussions have entered upon a decisive political phase. The Soviet delegation to London was fully empowered to negotiate all matters of a purely commercial nature. There is a rumor that Chicherin may return with Krassin to London. In any event, we can assure our readers that there has been no breaking off in anything. Quite the contrary.

\* \* \*

**D**R. FRIDTJOF NANSEN, trying to salvage a small part of the vast human wastage of the war, has reported to the League of Nations upon the conditions of the former prisoners of war still remaining in Russia and Siberia. They are no longer prisoners, save under the duress of distance and destitution. There is nothing to prevent their repatriation but the indifference and inhumanity of their own governments. From Vladivostok to Turkestan 160,000 to 180,000 men and boys—termed Germans, Rumanians, Hungarians, Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, Rumanians, Jugo-Slavs, but men and boys in spite of these labels—scattered like chaff across the plains of Russia by the winds of war and left there neglected and forgotten by governments more interested in the fate of a handful of Russian grand dukes and landowners than in the welfare of their workers. The Soviet Government, in spite of blockade and invasion, has not failed in its duty to these unfortunates. It is test

and proof of the thoroughness of the revolution that the Russian masses have never hesitated to share their scanty stores with these fellow workers, with whom so shortly before they had been engaged in deadly, slave-driven combat, and have even stunted themselves to place their meager facilities of transportation at the service of these forlorn bands.

"What is the attitude of the Soviet Government in the matter?" Dr. Nansen was asked.

"They are really behaving extremely well," he answered. "They are extremely anxious to send home the prisoners they still hold, and despite their difficulties of transport they are sending trains of prisoners regularly from Moscow through Petrograd to Narva on the Esthonian frontier . . . There is an old fortress there used as a depot and disinfecting station, but it is found that at present a trainload a day means more than the shipping available can clear, so one train every two days is the rule at present. The Bolsheviki are prepared to double this service when required."

"And how have the men been treated?" he was asked.

"Very much better than I expected," was the reply. "They have, of course, had a hard time, but most of them say they have no reason to complain, as they got as much food as the ordinary population of the district they were in. I met several batches who came through to Berlin, and was favorably struck with their appearance . . . There is no doubt that the Soviet Government is acting in good faith in the matter and doing all it can to get the prisoners out." (*New York Tribune*, June 27.)

Isaac McBride, in his book "Barbarous Soviet Russia," which we have already recommended to our readers, gives a similar report. He questioned a group of English soldiers whom he met walking freely in the streets of Moscow. "Of course food is scarce," said one, "but we get just as much as anyone else. Nobody gets much . . . We are free to go where we please . . . They send us to the theatre three nights a week. That's what they do with all prisoners." And these English soldiers were not, as were most of those described by Dr. Nansen, the survivors of the previous nationalistic conflict, but were prisoners taken on Russian soil in the act of invasion and assault upon the workers' government.

Dr. Nansen's report will be passed over in disregard by those whose eyes and ears are trained to catch only the headlined atrocities. It may perhaps serve somewhat to spur the European Governments to take a more active interest in the fate of their "nationals" hitherto abandoned to the mercies of the "murderous" Bolsheviki. It will serve not at all to restore life and happiness to the hundreds of thousands of Russians who have suffered ruthless barbarities in German, Austrian, and French prisons.

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## Poland and Ukraine

ON APRIL 22 the Polish Chief of State, Joseph Pilsudski, a "Socialist" and a "General," who obtained his first military laurels on the suburban fields of Cracow, where years before the war he had been training Polish volunteers, under the benevolent supervision of the Austrian General Staff, so-called *strzelcy* (fusileers), for a future war against Russia, concluded an agreement with Petlura, an *Ataman* and a "Socialist," too, who again obtained his military fame by forming irregular military bands of Ukrainians with whom he was robbing the peasants and making bloody pogroms on the Jews until the exasperated populace of Ukraine drove him out of the country so that he had to take refuge in the Polish capital, Warsaw. Although no official text of this agreement has ever been published, some details of it have found their way into the Polish and the Ukrainian press from which we were able to compile the following version:

1. Poland recognizes Ukraine as an independent and autonomous state within definite boundaries.
2. The Polish Government refuses to recognize the Soviet Government of Ukraine, considering it as a usurper, and recognizes the government of Petlura as the rightful Ukrainian Government.
3. Poland agrees to leave with Ukraine all the territory lying between Dniester, Dnieper, Zbruch, Gorin, Styr, and Pripet. This territory Poland will demand from Soviet Russia on the ground that it was a part of the Polish Kingdom prior to the year 1772, and will return it to Ukraine immediately after peace is concluded.
4. Poland enters into a military pact with the Ukrainian Republic with a stipulation to clear the part of Ukraine lying on the right bank of the Dnieper from the Bolsheviks, but Poland is not obliged to participate in the military operations on the left bank of the Dnieper.
5. Poland agrees to recall its troops from Ukraine upon the latter's request and promises to defend its land with its own forces.
6. Ukraine drops all claims on the territory located west of Zbruch, Gorin, and Styr, and, in the main, on Eastern Galicia.
7. Ukraine guarantees to Poland free access to Odessa.
8. Two Polish ministers must be admitted to the Ukrainian Cabinet, one a resident minister, and the other delegated.
9. The land question in Ukraine shall be settled by a Constituent Assembly. Until that time the status of the large landowners—Poles—may be changed only upon a special agreement between Poland and Ukraine.

According to this Polish scheme, Ukraine has been divided into three parts: one, comprising Eastern Galicia and parts of Volhynia, Kholm and Podolia, is to fall under the permanent rule of Poland; the second, lying within the boundaries

indicated in point three of the above pact, is to be a "buffer" state under the protectorate of Poland, with Petlura as its political chief; the third, situated on the left side of the Dnieper is to remain, so far as Poland is concerned, as it is, which means a Ukrainian Soviet Republic in union with Soviet Russia.

In a world of general turmoil and depredation it matters but little that by this act Poland has arrogated to herself, among others, a permanent right to Eastern Galicia, a right which the Versailles Peace Conference, despite its friendliness toward Poland, did not feel able to accord her, granting her only the right of administration for a period of twenty-five years (this decision was subsequently reversed and the question left open, supposedly for a settlement by the League of Nations). Nor is it a fact of over much significance that Poland, herself a member of the League of Nations, has completely disregarded her duties with regard to that body, and has acted as if no such thing as a League of Nations were in existence. After all, since the time of its inception, the League was able to manifest a policy common to all of its members and so to be representative of that "comity of nations" for which it is supposed to stand, only in the case of Soviet Russia: by the marvelous silence with which it has viewed all the imperialistic attacks upon the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. Otherwise, things are taking place in Europe that mock any idea of harmony between the nations, cynical imperialism coming now into the open, nations fighting with each other and displaying impudent greed for the possession of raw materials and land, while the League of Nations in its role of supreme arbiter is giving occupation to some renowned international lawyers who, undisturbed by the events of the day, are busy drafting all kinds of regulations, orders of procedure, etc., all of which will probably go as far in mitigating the forces of imperialism and militarism as the laws of "humane" warfare, composed by the Hague tribunal and subscribed to by all "civilized" nations, went in mitigating the horrors of the Great War.

To be sure, League or no League, the success of the Polish plan will depend largely, if not mainly, on the resistance of the Red Armies of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine and on the development of social antagonisms within the territories of Ukraine that do not constitute its Soviet part, and no less within Poland herself. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that in carrying out the designs of her master, France, and in striving to become a "Greater Poland," (according to the French plan she is to border in the south on Rumania, while in the north she is supposed to swallow up Lithuania and base herself on the Baltic Sea) Poland is developing the same methods which Germany did when she tried to become a "Greater Germany" and which cost her so dear in the end. Particu-

larly in dealing with the problem of Ukraine, Poland is copiously repeating the methods of Germany in dealing with the problem of Poland, the analogy going so far as to apply even to the internal political divisions regarding the best methods of annexation. As an indication of this we may regard also the fact that the political alignment in Ukraine with regard to the Polish annexation schemes reminds one much of a similar alignment in Poland with regard to the German annexation schemes.

History is regarded as a guide to peoples and men. And doubtless, in a limited sense, it is for those, of course, who are able to read its lessons and are prepared to draw their line of action accordingly. Their number is, however, small. On the other hand, it is remarkable how a set of men, nay whole social classes, are acting in a similar manner when they find themselves in similar conditions, repeating what the historians are apt to consider as "mistakes" with regard to the predecessors of these classes, and thus tending to prove, against the popular assumption of a "free will," the iron strength of historic determinism. It was a remark of the German philosopher Hegel that historic situations repeat themselves, and, although Hegel himself had in view a rather metaphysical formula of historic evolution, his remark stands true insofar as it means that men act in obedience to certain laws of history of which they themselves are but the instruments.

Viewed from this angle it is not altogether surprising that the kind of social elements which had been directing the policy of Prussia, or Germany, toward a subject nation, when permitted to rule, are developing in Poland identical tendencies towards a subject nation of the latter, Ukraine. A sign of the times being only the circumstance that the same press which had been heretofore untiring in engineering the "Prussian horror" is somehow silent now concerning the "Prussianism" of Poland, though the latter country has much perfected the methods of its predecessor.

The colonization methods by which the governing classes of Prussia—upon the initiative of Bismarck, who, in his ignorance, regarded the Poles, and particularly, the Polish nobles as a band of insurgents—were trying to displace the Poles from their inherited lands and to colonize the country with German peasants, is but recent history. The Prussian expropriation laws and the practices of the *Ansiedelungskommission* were arousing the protests of all Poles, contributing to the world reputation of Prussia and its junkerdom. Is it not remarkable then that the same Poland which had been the victim of this Prussian policy of extermination should apply the same methods with regard to the Ukrainian population of Eastern Galicia? Still, such is the policy of Poland there, and many a Prussian "Hakatist" would stagger at the ruthlessness and brutality of the Polish methods. The land law regarding the parcelling out of large land holdings and their sale to the peasants, adopted by the Polish Diet on July 10, 1919, does

not apply to Eastern Galicia (and other border territories) with its large Polish estates and predominant Ukrainian peasant population. Polish land owners in Eastern Galicia are enjoined from selling their land to Ukrainian peasants. The large estates in Eastern Galicia are to be colonized with Polish peasants who are to be brought over there from Poland proper. It was partly to stimulate this colonization and to induce the Polish peasants to migrate to Ukrainian territory that the Polish Government stopped the operation of the land law, leaving the Polish peasantry in quest of land the only choice of finding the land in the border territories.

Those acquainted with European affairs and particularly with Polish affairs might recall another little incident that took place in 1902 in the little Polish town of Wrzesnia, at that time in Prussia. A German teacher flogged Polish children because they refused to say their prayers in German and insisted on saying them in Polish. The incident—an instance of the policy of Germanization—aroused general indignation and was widely commented upon in the European press—not excluding the German press itself—and was pointed out as an example of Prussian cultural methods. Today Poland is carrying out in the border territories, particularly in Ukraine, a policy of Polonization which leaves the methods of Prussian officialdom far behind. The Ukrainian language is forbidden in the schools and the children are maltreated for using it, everything reminding one of Ukrainian culture is banished from all official institutions; Ukrainian youth, a thing unheard of in the past, are not permitted to study in their own universities. In Kamenetz-Podolsk, hundreds of Ukrainian young men were compelled, by order of the Polish authorities, to leave the university and abandon their studies, which they had already undertaken.

A most remarkable analogy with Germany will be found in the policy adopted by the Polish governing classes in the problem of annexation. It will be remembered that after the occupation by the armies of the Central Powers of what was formerly the Kingdom of Poland (Russian-Poland), there developed in Germany a sharp struggle within the governing circles themselves as to how to solve the Polish problem. There were tendencies active that asked for the creation of an autonomous Polish state, to act as a "buffer" against Russia, and to be dependent on Germany; there were other influences asking for a partitioning of the occupied country between Germany and Austria, and warning the German Government against the formation of an autonomous Poland, as this would mean a constant danger to the Polish provinces of Prussia, which, to be sure, not even the Social-Democratic sponsors of Polish independence thought of returning to this new Polish state. The government adopted neither of these policies, or, more correctly, a combination of both. Acting hypocritically as a "liberator" of Poland, it proclaimed in November, 1916, the independence of Poland, in

the meantime dividing Russian Poland into German and Austrian administrative spheres, thus accomplishing a further division of the Polish lands.

In exactly the same manner, the plan adopted by the Polish Government regarding Ukraine is a compromise between the elements in Poland that are against the creation of an independent Ukrainian state and which want to solve the problem of Ukraine by dividing it up between Poland and Russia, and those that look for a formation on the boundary of Russia of a small Ukrainian "buffer" state under the domination of Poland. For, according to point three of the above pact, Poland is interested only in the creation of a Ukraine whose boundaries are limited by the Dnieper. In the opinion of the Polish politicians, this means leaving a part of Ukraine under the rule of Russia, for they are not able to regard the union of Soviet Ukraine with Soviet Russia in any other light than that of political subjection. Moreover, like Germany, which declared that as a price for the "liberation," Poland must completely drop all claims to its Prussian part and to permit Germany to have her "special economic rights" in "independent" Poland, the pact between Poland and Petlura calls for the abdication of Eastern Galicia and other Ukrainian provinces (point six) and the granting of "special rights" in the "independent" Ukraine (points seven and eight). Point nine is the result of the Russian revolution with its revolutionary settling of the land question, and bears a strong resemblance to the protection accorded by Germany to the Baltic barons against the claims of the native peasants.

It would lead us too far to follow up the analogy and to show how the Ukrainian people are behaving in much the same way towards the Polish aggressor as the Polish people did towards the German conquerors. In both cases the majority of the people look with distrust upon the new masters, and their professions of liberality, and in both cases there was found a group of middle class intellectuals, who, eager for the administrative positions that would open up in the autonomous state, were ready to strike a bargain with the "benefactor" and to become its plenipotentiary. Just as the followers of Pilsudski in Poland did not shrink from bargaining away Prussian Poland for the "benefit" of an autonomous Poland of a German pattern, Petlura and his retinue are ready to hand out to Poland Eastern Galicia and other Ukrainian provinces, only to get hold of a stretch of Ukraine, cut out by the Polish designers.

However, the analogy has its limits. For, whereas the German domination—despite its determining economic factors—appeared to the Polish people predominantly as a form of national oppression, the Polish domination over Ukraine assumes in the eyes of the majority of the Ukrainian people first of all the appearance of a social and only in the second place that of a national (and religious) oppression. Whether toiling on the large estates in Eastern Galicia, or in the naphtha fields

of Boryslav, or in the sugar refineries of Volhynia and Podolia, the Ukrainian worker feels and experiences that his places of work are owned or managed by the Poles. Thus, independently of the national question, which is causing the Ukrainian worker and peasant to desire to unite with their brothers of the same nationality who live on the other side of the Dnieper, the workers and poor peasants of Eastern Galicia and other parts of Ukraine behold in Soviet Ukraine a country where their class is not dominated by the Polish masters, where it has liberated itself from economic bondage and is itself exercising the power, and to which, consequently, they are looking for their liberation.

The governing classes of Poland might nevertheless have agreed to conclude peace with Soviet Russia, but it was impossible for them to decide for a peace with Soviet Ukraine. A rumor in the Ukrainian press, which we are not able to confirm, had it that the Ukrainian Soviet Government intended to bring up, during the peace negotiations, among others, the question of Eastern Galicia, and Poland knew too well on what foundation its domination there was based.

To be sure, the pompous appeal of Pilsudski to the Ukrainian people tries to make believe that it is Soviet Russia which is the invader of Ukraine, from whose "foreign" rule Poland is endeavoring to free that country. We shall not dwell now upon the nature of the union between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, as we intend to discuss the matter in the near future. For the present we may say this much: First of all, Soviet Russia, by the nature of its political program, the basis underlying the whole structure of Russia, even if it should invade another country (which it does not), can never develop the usual tendencies and functions of a capitalist aggressor, because, in order to carry out its social program, it would have at once to call into life in the invaded country all its own political and social institutions, viz., all the kinds of *Soviets* instrumental in the carrying out of such program, and which must be made of the masses of the local working population. Secondly, the character of Soviet Russia's economic and social policies absolutely excludes the necessity of a national (cultural) domination and oppression. Thirdly, a union with Soviet Russia can only be based on the consent, still more on the support of the toiling masses of the population, forming the majority of the people. We shall find opportunity to show that such is the case with regard to the adherence of Soviet Ukraine to Soviet Russia. However, the peace submitted by Soviet Russia to Poland is a sufficient proof, if proof be needed, that it is Soviet Russia which always stands out for the rights of small or weak nationalities. According to the Moscow *Pravda*, Soviet Russia has offered Poland the following terms:

1. The Polish troops are to evacuate the territories of Ukraine, White Russia and Lithuania, and to allow a plebiscite to be taken in these territories.



2. A militia of the local population shall be formed for the duration of the plebiscite.

3. The plebiscite commissions shall be mixed, and shall include one-fourth for the representatives of Poland and one-fourth for the Soviet representatives.

4. The communication between the plebiscite territories with Russia and Poland shall be free.

5. All the native inhabitants of the plebiscite territories to have the right to vote.

6. Russia will demand free communication with Germany across Poland.

Confronted with an eventuality of a free decision on the part of the peoples whom she is so desirous to liberate, what wonder that Poland found no other way out by to have recourse to the force of arms, confident as she was in the support of the Entente.

History will record with irony the fact that by her present schemes of aggrandizement and by her war upon Soviet Russia, Poland has at last assumed that role which the powers of reaction were eagerly preparing for her since the time of her coming into life as a so-called independent state, that is, to stand as a barrier separating the Western European "civilization" from the danger of Soviet Russia, or to put it correctly, as a bulwark of western European reaction against the Russian system.

In his "Eighteenth of Brumaire" Karl Marx, commenting on the remark of Hegel that historic situations repeat themselves, added: "First as a drama, next as a farce." In the case of Poland, it is cogent to note that it is not merely a travesty on her past that the Polish governing classes are performing now, but a direct reversal of that international role which Poland was playing, but to a greater extent, up to the eighties of the past century, was still expected to play in the progress of European democracy. It was Marx who, during the German revolution of 1848, was clamoring for a war against Russia in defense of Poland. The same influence manifested itself at the time of the Polish insurrection in 1863, and later in the First Workers' International. Poland then was regarded as the incarnate fighter for freedom. Polish emigrants could be found wherever a suppressed nation or a class was struggling for its liberation. Polish troops were fighting under their own generals by the side of Hungary in the Revolution of 1848, Polish generals were leading the defense of the Paris Commune in 1871. The restitution of Poland was demanded by the democracy of Europe as a barrier against "Cossackdom," that is, Czarist Russia, whose pernicious influence displayed itself in the crassest way in the aid given to Austrian absolutism against revolutionary Hungary. "War on Russia," and "Free Poland," were for decades the slogans of European democracy, and the knowledge of this fact was used by the German militarism in drawing to its imperialist plans the somewhat disturbed consciences of the German social-democratic workmen. True, as has

been pointed out by some socialist historians and writers (among others Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring), Poland's economic and social structure in 1848 was not what Marx and others thought it to be, and Poland was in no way ready to play the progressive role of a bulwark against Czarist Russia, allotted to her by the democratic world, none the less the fact remains that up to the most recent times Poland's freedom was regarded as being indispensable to the progress of Europe, while the Poles themselves were looked upon as its foremost bearers.

It needed the bloody plough of war and the dissecting knife of the social revolution in Russia, in order to throw full light on the changes that history has brought upon the face of the world during the last decades. And possibly no country has come out in such a surprising costume, no nation has so reversed the verdict of history, as has Poland. It would fill pages to show all the reactionary features of this changeling of international imperialism. It would fill pages to recount all the rotten practices of this new pretender to world power. Suffice it to say that where the thin layer of civilization is a distinct hindrance, viz., in occupied regions, Poland is showing a face that is ugly to the point of abomination. The Ukrainian press of all shades of opinion knows of instances of brutality on the part of the Polish military and civil officials that call forth horror in the reader. Tens of thousands of innocent Ukrainian people suffering in prisoners' camps or in jails for their "disloyalty" to Poland, and dying in batches of hunger and sickness, peasants robbed of their grain, which is being sent to France in payment for ammunition, an entire people starving from hunger and disease, and driven to continuous outbursts of despair and to riots that invariably end in people being shot down by the Polish military, as happened but a few weeks ago in several peasant districts of Eastern Galicia; that is the kind of "liberty" that Poland is holding out for Ukraine, the only consolation for the Ukrainian people being the fact that under the same benevolent rule the Polish people themselves do not fare much better.

Under these circumstances we must not wonder that it was this country (with its favorable geographical position) that France, which is also a country that is playing grim tricks with her glorious revolutionary traditions, has selected to act as a barrier against revolutionary Russia. *Sic transit gloria mundi*, a pessimist might say, mindful of the French and Polish annals, and recollecting the tension with which the democrats of the past were watching the destinies of these two countries. The revolutionary optimist, however, will keep up his spirits with the belief that after all the French rooster has repeatedly changed its mood, and, as for Poland, feudal and bourgeois Poland has displayed more than once its inability to play any kind of historic mission, except that of a historic failure.

## Press Cuttings

### DEBATE ON RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS

The following discussion took place in the House of Commons between Lloyd George and several members of the House on the evening of June 7, 1920. Lloyd George gives his reasons for beginning negotiations with Russia.

In the House of Commons.

Colonel Gretton (C.U.—Burton) moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the negotiations between the Government and Mr. Krassin. According to the best information, he said, the present Russian Government was not a national government and did not represent the people of Russia. It had repeatedly committed acts of war against this country, the most recent being the expedition into Persia. It had entered into an understanding with Afghanistan, and was maintaining an active propaganda in various countries. He asked whether we proposed to enter into negotiations with a Government of violence of the kind existing in Russia?

"Who is Mr. Krassin?" he asked. He wanted full information as to whether Mr. Krassin represented the Government of Russia and held full credentials to act for them in this country and whether he was empowered to conduct negotiations. As a preliminary to such negotiations had we insisted on full satisfaction and reparation to British subjects who had been tortured or murdered during the Bolshevik régime? Also he wanted to know whether a condition of trade relations was that British traders should not enter Russia, and that such relations should be carried on with representatives of the Russian Government. What reason was there to suppose that Russia was producing any surplus quantities of corn, and were we negotiating for gold that belonged to one of our Allies?

It was notorious that Russia owed enormous debts to France and also was under obligations to British subjects, and he asked whether we were negotiating for gold that belonged to others. He implored the government to give the fullest information about matters that were causing the greatest uneasiness and perturbation throughout this country.

Admiral Hall (C.U.—West Derby), who seconded the motion, questioned what Russia had to send in exchange for our trade.

#### *The Need of Peace*

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Lab.—Derby) gathered that the view of the previous speakers was that the opening of relations with Russia would not be advantageous because there was little to trade with. He submitted that that question had no bearing on the situation. (Cheers.) The view the Labor Party took was that never was peace in the world more necessary than now, and that whatever might be the objections to Soviet rule the war could not continue without our feeling its effects. He submitted further that all the predictions about Bolshevik rule coming to an end had been falsified, and that war against a country like Russia tended rather to strengthen than to weaken it.

He noted in particular that a distinction was sought to be drawn between trading with Russia privately and trading officially. If we were not to trade with Russia officially because of the Red Terror, why should we trade with Hungary, where there was a White Terror almost as bad?

#### *Mr. Lloyd George*

Mr. Lloyd George: First of all I should like to give the House just a narrative of how the present negotiations have arisen. The decision to trade with Russia was taken in Paris, with M. Clemenceau in the chair—he certainly is not a Bolshevik. All the Allies were

represented. It was after a year or fifteen months of other efforts to produce some sort of settlement in Russia. To put it quite mildly; those efforts were not a success. The produce of Russia, the contributions of Russia to the essentials of life, were seen to be as remote as ever. Peace in Europe was seen to be as remote as ever, and we came to the conclusion, quite unanimously, that it was desirable, at any rate, to open up trading relations with Russia.

We took the evidence of refugees from Russia who had been driven out of the country by the Bolsheviks. We did not act upon Bolshevik evidence—we acted upon anti-Bolsheviks' evidence. They were Russians who had associated with the cooperative movement in Russia, and upon their testimony and upon the general review of the situation we came unanimously to the conclusion that it was in the interests of the world that we should reopen trading relations with Russia.

That was the first step. Then there was the meeting in London at the latter end of February. France was represented by M. Millerand and Italy by Signor Nitti, and Japan was also represented, and then this decision was taken:

"The Allies cannot enter into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, in view of their past experiences, until they have arrived at the conviction that Bolshevik horrors have come to an end, and that the Government of Moscow is ready to conform its methods to those of all civilized governments. The British and Swiss Governments were both compelled to expel representatives of the Soviet Government from their respective countries.

"Commerce between Russia and the rest of Europe, which is so essential for the improvement of economic conditions, not only in Russia but in the rest of the world, will be encouraged to the utmost degree possible without relaxation of the attitude described above."

#### *Unanimity at San Remo*

That was decided in February. Action had been taken upon those two resolutions, and Russia had offered to send over a delegation to this country, headed by Mr. Krassin and Mr. Litvinov. We knew Mr. Krassin's position in the Soviet Government. With a full knowledge of these facts the Allies passed this resolution at San Remo:

"The Allied representatives will be prepared to discuss with the Russian delegates the best methods of removing the obstacles and difficulties in the way of the resumption of peaceful trade relations, with a desire to find a solution in the general interests of Europe."

Thus by a perfectly unanimous decision of the Allies—France, Italy, Japan and Great Britain—it was decided not merely to open up trade relations with Russia, but to open up those relations with the delegation that was then at Copenhagen, including Mr. Krassin, but excluding Mr. Litvinov.

It is upon that we are acting at the present moment. This was a decision taken by the official leaders of the Allied nations—taken after consultation with their governments. We each were armed with authority from our respective Cabinets before we committed ourselves to this policy. It was discussed fully in Italy, in France, and in Great Britain, and we came to the conclusion unanimously—all the official Allied leaders came to the conclusion—that it was essential in the interests of the world to resume trade relations with Russia.

It is a very serious thing to reverse a policy come to reluctantly, with all the evidence of dislike of shrinking from and natural aversion from doing something which looks like going back upon a policy which you have already embarked upon. In spite of those things, these Governments came to the conclusion unanimously

that it was in the interests of the scores and hundreds of millions they represent to resume trade relations.

Mr. Kennedy Jones (C.U.—Hornsey): Who proposed the policy, may I ask?

*Russia Essential to Europe*

Mr. Lloyd George: I really do not think it very much matters, but if my hon. friend thinks that any one of us shrinks from it I accept full responsibility, not only by taking part but in promoting it, and I am glad that all my colleagues agree with me. Why did they do it? Is it not obvious to any man who looks at the facts through the world that there was an imperative need of it?

Russia is essential to Europe. Russia is essential to the world. Has anyone been looking at the figures of the world production of wheat and raw material, and will anyone—I mean will anyone responsible,—will anybody who can be called to account as I could in every court—the court of public opinion, the court of the conscience of the world and my own,—will anyone with that responsibility stand up and to save his own *amour propre*—because he is afraid of being misinterpreted and misrepresented,—will any man with responsibility say that he will bar the door of Russia against the millions who are waiting in order to get what Russia can produce?

It is because we realized the peril, because we knew the limitations, because we knew the dangers, because we knew the fact that the world was running to a shortage, and that here was a country which before the war produced twenty-five per cent of the imported food of Europe, that we decided that steps should be taken in order to restore relations with her. (Hear, hear.) You may say you cannot do it. If you cannot, then the blame will not rest with us, but you certainly cannot do it unless you try.

*Great Supplies of Wheat*

But I am told, why should we restore relations? I tread with considerable diffidence upon this ground, because I don't wish to misrepresent anything that my hon. friends said. We are told that Russia has not got any food and material. It is more than any hon. member here can say, but the statement I made in this House originally I make again. There are men who say that there is a prodigious quantity of grain and raw material in Russia. I can give a telegram which came this morning from Poland in which the Poles say that they have come to the conclusion that there is a considerable quantity of wheat for export abroad in the Ukraine alone. Men who had got the same opportunities of obtaining information say that there are prodigious quantities in the Ukraine, in the Kuban and in Siberia, and that the peasants are storing because they cannot sell. The mere fact that Central Russia is starving is no proof at all that there is not plenty in other parts.

I agree it is transport stands in the way. There is no doubt from the evidence we have got there is grain in Russia; there is oil, there is flax, there is timber—all of them essential commodities for this country. Equally there is no doubt that the transport is insufficient. But trade is necessary to improve the transport.

*Trade With Turkey Under Abdul Hamid*

I am told that we must not adopt this policy because we disapprove of the government. Is it really suggested that we are not to trade with a country whose government we condemn, that we are not to trade with a country that is misgoverned? When was that doctrine laid down? Unless war has been declared between the countries there is no precedent for declaring that you cannot trade with a country because you abhor its government.

Take the case which has been given by my hon. friend, the case of Mexico. We had a Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico the whole of the time to which reference has been made. Where you have anarchy and where you have civil war, there trade is impossible.

But apart from that, we would have traded with Mexico—we did as a matter of fact trade—where we could.

Take another case. I am told you must not trade with Russia because of the atrocities of the Bolshevik Government. Have we never traded with countries which have been guilty of atrocities? What about Turkey? Were not the atrocities in Russia, bad as they were, exceeded in horror, in number, and in persistence by the atrocities perpetrated in Turkey under Abdul Hamid against the Armenians? Violations, murder, wholesale—hundreds of thousands. Did we cease trading for a single hour?

Mr. Billings: We ought to have done.

*And With Czarist Russia*

The Prime Minister: What a misfortune the hon. member was not in power. Nobody proposed it from any part in the House to my recollection. Our trade with Turkey was a very substantial one, but never was it suggested that we should cease trading with Turkey or leave off trading relations or even diplomatic relations because of these atrocities. It is quite a new doctrine that you are responsible for the government when you trade with its people. Were we responsible for the Czarist Government? Were we responsible for it with its corruption, its misgovernment, its pogroms, its scores of thousands of innocent people massacred? We were not responsible for that, yet we continued our relations.

Why, this country has opened up most of the cannibal trade of the world, whether it was in the South Seas or in Kumassi. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Have we ever declined to do it because we disapprove of the habits of the population. (Laughter.) We exercised caution. We chose our representatives. It is really a new doctrine that you must approve of either the habits, the customs, the government, the religion, or the manners of the people before you start trading with them. (Renewed laughter and cheers.)

It would be very pleasant if there were no trading relations except with people just like ourselves, those who had a sane government—(loud laughter),—and who show the same wisdom and judgment. (Laughter.) But we cannot indulge in these things; they are a luxury. They are beyond the reach of anyone except a favored country. We must take such governments as we find them and thank God how very happy we ourselves are here. (Renewed laughter.)

I think we have displayed in this matter, even if we had taken the initiative, the sort of rough common sense that leads the British people in the end to the right conclusions. They may not be able to give good reasons for it (loud laughter),—but they are generally sound and their instinct has led them to the right conclusion.

*Prejudice—and the Facts*

Let us look at this matter without prejudice. You cannot afford to have prejudices if you are a trading community. Certainly not. You cannot always examine the records of your customers. Let us look at this matter from the point of view of the realities of the situation. What is the position?

It is very easy to get up in this House and say, "Look at this horrible thing; look at this and that atrocity; are you going to grasp this tainted hand"—(laughter)—with a sort of Pharisaic principle that you must wash your hands for fear you touch a tainted customer.

Russia exported 4,000,000 tons of grain before the war, and every grain of it is needed by Europe now—and in Europe I include Great Britain. Millions of tons of timber, scores of thousands of tons of flax were exported before the war, all needed by the industries of the world. When are you going to trade with Russia? Is there any man here who will get up and say: "We will never trade with Russia as long as there is a Bolshevik Government?"

Colonel Page Croft (N.P.—Bournemouth): Not so long as a single British subject is imprisoned in Russia—you ought not to trade with them.

The Prime Minister: My hon. and gallant friend will perhaps be very shocked to hear that in fact I have said so to Mr. Krassin. I am asking is there anybody here who is ever likely to win the confidence of the people to the extent of being chosen to fill the office which I now hold or the office held by my right hon. friend who will say that he will never trade with Russia as long as there is a Bolshevik Government? All I can say is, if there is anybody who says it, then it would be an act of gross folly which either he would repent of or the country that trusted him would repent of.

Lieutenant Colonel Archer-Shee (U.—Finsbury): M. Clemenceau said so.

The Prime Minister: He did say so. I know far more of M. Clemenceau than the hon. and gallant member does. M. Clemenceau said that as long as the Bolshevik Government are guilty of atrocities—

Lieutenant Colonel Archer-Shee: They are.

The Prime Minister: Then they will not be recognized, but to say that you cannot trade with a people whose government is guilty of atrocities is to rule out more governments than I care to think of. To see peace established in the world is not an easy task. I wonder whether any of my hon. friends who ride this particular prejudice have ever put themselves in the position of those who have got to consider the whole situation. We are responsible not merely for what is to be done today but we are responsible for the future. It appals me when I think what may happen unless peace is restored in Russia.

#### *What War With Russia Means*

Lieutenant Colonel Archer-Shee: Why do you not win it?

The Prime Minister: What is the good of talking like that? That is the sort of flighty, irresponsible talk that is responsible for more mischief than I can tell. How can you win unless you are prepared to lose? What do I mean by that? If you are going to crush Bolshevism because it is an evil thing, put your might into it, put your manhood into it. We have lost hundreds of thousands of lives and are we prepared to lose hundreds of thousands more? We have £8,000,000,000 of debt, and are we going to pile up another £3,000,000,000 or £4,000,000,000 more? If you are not prepared to do that, what is the good of talking lightly?

I sincerely hope that my hon. friend's views about the Polish prospects are right. I wish I could be as sure. I think they were badly advised. I earnestly hope that my reading of the situation is wrong, but is there anyone here will predict that I have taken the wrong view?

#### *A World Peace Vital to All*

It is easy to find quarrels. The world is bristling with them. Hand-grenades are scattered over the ground, and you have got to walk carefully forward or you will have an explosion. The world is full of explosive matter. You have quarrels here and quarrels there where the blood pressure is still too high. You won't restore its health until you bring it down to something like a sane normal.

Do not let us excite it. Do not let us stir it up. Do not let us have a prejudice here, a quarrel there, an outrage somewhere else, and do not let us say, "I will quarrel with that man who is not of my way of thinking. I do not approve of him." You will never get peace in the world in that way. I would not guarantee, nor would any Minister holding any responsible position guarantee, the stability of any land unless you get peace in the world. (Loud cheers.)

*Sir Donald Maclean*

Sir Donald Maclean (L.—Peebles) said the House now knew that the action taken by the government was the action of the government as a whole, with the full assent of the Allies. He welcomed heartily what the Prime Minister had said with regard to the mistakes made during the last eighteen months in our dealings with Russia, and wished well to this first step towards bringing about relations which, he hoped, would create a condition of things in which Bolshevism in the future would be impossible. (Cheers.)

Colonel Archer-Shee, answering the challenge of the Prime Minister, declared that he supported the view that we ought not to trade with the Bolshevik Government at all.

Mr. J. O'Grady (Lab.—Leeds), on the other hand, asserted that commercial men, together with the working classes, had made up their minds that whatever might have happened in the past commercial relations should be resumed freely and openly.

Colonel Page Croft continued the debate and the motion was eventually talked out.—*Manchester Guardian*, June 8, 1920.

## CZECHO-SLOVAK MINISTER REPLIES TO CHICHERIN

On the basis of a report in Czecho-Slovak newspapers, we print here the principal parts of the reply of the Czecho-Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs to Chicherin's peace proposal:

No one has ever doubted the sincere loyalty of the Czecho-Slovak people to the great Russian people. During the war we have raised the banner of rebellion for our political and social freedom. Our nation and state has really come into existence as a result of our revolutionary struggle. No one could therefore question our profound loyalty to the ideal of freedom and revolution, which broke open for us the jails of the monarchy. With the object of removing all misunderstandings between the two sides regarding the question of our Siberian army, I am at present preparing a compilation of documents which will make clear the position of our government and of the official leaders of our revolutionary movement, particularly in Russia. This, of course, requires some time. Nevertheless, I am even now already able to state that from the standpoint of law your note does not quite correspond to reality and that the Czecho-Slovak Government has never been in a state of war with Russia.

In Siberia, it is true, some agreements were entered into, which were of a purely local character. But from the standpoint of law, this question should be regarded in a different light. I will therefore, take the liberty soon to send to you the compilation of documents and

### BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1920

At the end of June, 1920, which marks the close of our second volume (January to June), we shall bind two hundred full sets of *SOVIET RUSSIA* for this period (26 issues—half a year), and deliver them to persons who have placed their orders in advance. The price for such a volume, bound uniformly with the first volume, is five dollars. The volumes will be delivered promptly in July.

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our delegates, who will be able directly to discuss with you the question of the situation of our citizens in Russia and of our future economic relations.

This commission could at the same time determine what other questions should be discussed.

The Czecho-Slovak Government expresses the hope that this will lead to successful results which will be of equal advantage to both nations.

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA—UKRAINE—RUSSIA

*Vechernik Prava Ludu*, an organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Czecho-Slovakia, the strongest party in the country, published in its issue of May 11, 1920, an article entitled: "The Direct Negotiations of Our Country with Russia," which we print in full translation below:

Remove all ambiguity!

Yesterday there was published a note sent by the Czecho-Slovak Government and the Soviet power with regard to the relations between Central Europe and Russia, and states that *this constitutes a basis for direct negotiations without any delay*. Simultaneously, the Czecho-Slovak Government communicates that it gives consent to having representatives of the Russian Red Cross come to the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

Thus relations are being started, and soon direct negotiations will follow. Just at a time when Poland is attacking Russia, this act will be greeted with joy by the whole Czecho-Slovak working people, and we are sure to greet with all the greater joy the whole Russian people and nation, which is preparing now to a man to repel the Polish attack.

We consider it, however, our duty to point out that it is necessary to remove all ambiguity. There are residing in Prague and in our republic a number of *reactionary* Kolchak and Denikin officers who are representing here, in some unofficial manner, non-existing governments, and to whom—as we learn—pensions are being paid out which, it is said, the Russian Government will repay in the future; thus these men live here on our money even publishing two reactionary dailies; they have their own Red Cross and receive support from the American Red Cross; and are being used in a political way for purposes of reactionary propaganda among the Russian prisoners. Moreover, in Teresin, a small detachment of the Russian army is still undergoing military training. What does all this mean?

There have remained in our republic about 10,000 Russian prisoners almost all of whom sympathize with the Soviet power. They have thrust and are thrusting aside, away from themselves, those reactionary officers, the masters and their representatives. The situation of these prisoners has been and is still very sad. They stay in camps (in Josephov about 1,300 men), or they are obliged to work for farmers and allow themselves to be shamefully exploited, subjected to the scorn of the local working people. The millions which were handed out to these reactionary officers and representatives might have alleviated, here and there, the difficult situation of the prisoners. It is necessary to ameliorate their conditions immediately: it might be good to issue at once a Russian newspaper for the Russian prisoners which would be run by the prisoners themselves according to their sympathies, and to inform them clearly of the probable negotiations. It is very important to us that these prisoners (who are mostly workers and peasants who will soon return to Russia) think well of us.

In his latest note Chicherin pointed out the fact that Petlura's armies are now in our republic. In Yablontz there is interned the so-called Ukrainian Brigade, an army which after the attack of Haller on Prezemysl had crossed the Carpathians. In this army, Petlura's officers hold sway, and persecuting every one who is opposed to Petlura's views. A communication has reached us from the camp of this army to the effect

that the majority of the camp is against Petlura and his partners, the Poles, and asking that the Czech comrades take up this matter, in order that they may not fall victims to the pressure of Petlura's agents. To what extent the conceit of Petlura's agents, may be judged from an impertinent note of a "representative of Petlura's government" at Prague, Slavinsky, sent to Dr. Benesch.

No ambiguity in these matters must be permitted to stand for even a day, if we are to enter into direct negotiations with Soviet Russia. We learn with horror of speeches which we—if we had known of them before—could not under any circumstances have endured.

*We demand that pensions to reactionary Russian officers be immediately stopped, that complete liberty of opinion and choice be secured to all Russian prisoners. We also demand the absolute termination of all Petlura agitation in the Ukrainian brigade.*

And we ask for a full explanation with regard to these matters!

### THE RUSSIAN ICE-BREAKER SOLOVEI

Our readers will remember reports appearing in SOVIET RUSSIA concerning the Russian ice-breaker *Solovei*, adrift in the Kara Sea. It will be remembered that preparations were being made in Norway to dispatch another ship in order to rescue the crew of the *Solovei*, and, if possible, to tow the steamer out of its present perilous position among the ice packs. From various issues of recent Norwegian newspapers we now are able to report that the position of the *Solovei* on May 10 was 72 degrees 80 minutes north latitude and 63 degrees nine minutes east longitude; and that on May 18 the position had changed to 72 degrees 38 north latitude and 63 degrees and 36 minutes east longitude. Both these figures were communicated to the Norwegian newspapers by Russian Soviet officials; the first by Dr. Shklovsky, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs stations at Murmansk; the second by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs at Moscow.

### THE UKRAINIAN PRESS ON PETLURA

The Ukrainian Socialist (non-Bolshevist) papers are subjecting Petlura's agreement with Poland to a destructive criticism. For example, the paper *Gremadska Dumka* says among other things: "The agreement of April 22 was entered into by officials and persons who cannot be considered as the authorized representatives of Ukraine. The Directorate and the Government of Mazepa actually no longer exist, for their members have departed for various quarters of the globe. What then can the Polish Government hope for in concluding agreements with persons behind whom there is no one, who are by no means the representatives of the whole Ukrainian people, and who have even ceased to represent their own political parties?"

*I'bryod* writes: "History is repeating itself. Within the boundaries of Ukraine the Polish troops have penetrated. They come with the same slogans as did once the German troops: to liberate the Polish people and to give them an opportunity to express their will. We say what the result was then—what shall we see now?"

# Radios

## POLISH AEROPLANES STOPPED

SANTHIA, ITALY, May 22.—As has been already announced, a train stopped at our station with war materials addressed to Poland. This train consists of cars bearing the following numbers: 346,444; 346,439; 346,252; 346,235; 346,467; 346,406; 346,283; 346,264; 346,269; 346,211; 346,202; 346,203; 346,273; 346,426; 346,461; 346,286; 346,219.

Almost all these cars contain SVA aeroplanes which, according to information collected by the railroad workers, were put on board at the station of Collegno, by the Ambrosetti Forwarding Company, to the account of Ansaldo-Pomilio. Two of these cars are also said to contain explosives, although they are put down as cargoes of return freight.

All the railroad workers have unanimously refused to permit these trains to depart. But it is necessary that the railroad administration should not find at any station a crew ready to carry out work of this kind, and it is also necessary that the railroad workers of Turin and of the surrounding stations should organize themselves, together with the truckmen and chauffeurs of the above mentioned forwarding company, to undertake the most rigorous surveillance in order that such attempts may be frustrated in the future.

## THE BOLSHEVIKI IN PERSIA

CONSTANTINOPLE, May 23.—The naval forces of the Russian Bolsheviki on the Caspian Sea left Baku on the 19th of May, and entered the harbor of Enzeli, on the night of the 20th. Here they landed their troops in the harbor city of Kasma. Russian troops are also marching towards Resht, to take possession of that city. The Persian Bolsheviki in Tabris have proclaimed the New Persian Republic, and have mustered a force of 18,000 men, supplied with arms and ammunition, partly by Russia, and partly by Turkey. On the 20th of May, several gunboats steamed into the harbor of Abbasabad, situated north of Teheran, and landed 800 men. The city is being occupied by these troops, among whom there are Persians and Turks: but a force of 10,000 men is expected to reinforce them, to proceed to Teheran. In Tabris, too, the Bolsheviki are pushing on to Teheran, for they are expecting reinforcements from the Caucasus. At Aukhabad, on the boundary of Turkistan, there is a large army of revolutionists, who are ready to cross the boundary. The Shah of Persia has gone from Bushir to Ispahan, but it is believed that he will not return to Teheran so long as the city is in danger. The English troops are so widely scattered throughout the southwestern part of Persia that they can have no effect on the development of events in the north. The Persian gendarmerie are not sufficiently prepared to defend Teheran, unaided. The Russian Bolsheviki are aided by the Persians everywhere. The

foreign representatives at Teheran have all, with the exception of Sir Percy Scott, the English representative, decided to remain in Teheran, even if the Bolsheviki should succeed in taking it. The English troops are retreating toward Ispahan. In the English circles of Persia, it is understood that it is useless to resist, because the Bolsheviki are themselves very powerful, and they are being aided by the population everywhere, so that the danger is doubled. An English squadron, which has just left Alexandria and passed the Suez Canal, is expected in the Persian Gulf. The Indian squadron of the English fleet is also expected to follow with troops. But no military expedition can be thought of for the time being, because conditions in India also demand a great deal of attention. According to wireless messages received by English military authorities on conditions in Teheran, the situation is more serious than the English Government seems to realize. It has come to such a pass that the English are no longer attempting any resistance, but endeavoring to leave the country as soon as possible, and confine themselves to controlling the situation in British India, where a revolution is also expected.

## TWO NOTES ON POLISH ATROCITIES I.

*Copy of a radio sent to Earl Curzon, of Kedleston, Minister of Foreign Affairs, London; M. Millerand, President of the Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris; M. Scialoja, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rome; M. Colby, Secretary of State, Washington.*

May 29.—Information coming from the districts occupied by the Polish White Guards continues to mention acts of violence committed by the Polish civil and military authorities against the peaceful population. The Polish Government does not content itself with reestablishing the old regime, with appointing such outspoken reactionaries as Krachkevich, who have nothing more urgent to do than to publish severe orders for the restoration of the rights of landed proprietors of the soil and of the forests. That government does not content itself with closing the Ukrainian schools and sending the teachers into concentration camps at Demba near Cracow. It hands over the population to systematic pillage. The Polish cavalry particularly distinguishes itself in this matter. By way of example we shall point out an incident that took place at Razivirovka district of Mayochnian, province of Berdichev. A detachment of Polish cavalry, consisting of ten men, immediately on its arrival assembled the village council and ordered to hand over all militant Soviet adherents. When the peasants answered that not a single such person had remained, the cavalry detachment scattered about the village pillaging and sacking all that it could lay hands on. It stole twenty-one horses, eight pigs, 350 poods of flour. In the vil-

lage of Vatavnikha, in the same district, this detachment demanded forty horses, twelve pigs, 350 poods of flour. All this booty was actually carried off with the exception of two horses, whose owner refused to hand them over to the mayor, who had tried to take them by force. This peasant was shot on the spot and his house burned down. As for the policy of national oppression which began to flourish after the Poles arrived, the following facts may give some idea of this work. They are concerned with the province of Volhynia. At Luninets, the director of the High School was obliged to resign his duties to a Pole and to take up the functions of a station employe. The Russian and Ukrainian railroad workers, station masters, lower officials, and conductors have all been discharged and replaced by Poles. The railroad school at Luninets has been transformed into a Polish school, where instruction is given in Polish. Questions and petitions are received only in Polish. The Poles cynically declared to the Russians and Ukrainians that they (the Poles) were once held in slavery and obliged to speak the language of the enemy, and that they were now going to force the latter to speak their language. In a word, the barbarous procedure and action by which the Polish authorities have distinguished themselves in Galicia and in all the territories in their power, are being reproduced on a larger scale, with the difference that the scene is now Ukraine. The Soviet Governments of Russia and Ukraine protest most emphatically against these acts of violence and are informing of these facts the governments of those Entente Powers who are primarily responsible for the attack that has been launched by Poland against the above described regions.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Republic,*

CHICHERIN.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs  
of the Ukrainian Republic,*

RAKOVSKY.

## II.

June 2.—Information which reaches the Russian Soviet Government about the Polish atrocities forces the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to call the attention once more of the powers of the Entente to the responsibility incurred by them for the unjustifiable acts of which the armies of a state which is a member of the League of Nations, and obviously supported by them, is guilty. The commander of the Red Armies on the Western Front gives an account which follows: "The city of Borisov was occupied by Red troops at noon on May 25. The 28th of May, at three o'clock in the morning, the enemy commenced a systematic destruction of the city by a bombardment of the right bank of the Berezina. At nine o'clock in the morning, the Poles opened a rolling fire of artillery with asphyxiating and incendiary shells. About 800 shells of six and eight inch dimensions were thrown, setting on fire several buildings, and, because of the wind, enveloping half of the city in flames. Notwithstanding the rain of enemy shells,

the devotion of the communists and the energy of the Revolutionary Committee made possible the protection of the other half of the city against the fire. The enemy attempted to place obstacles in the way of the extinction of the fire by firing at those engaged in this work, with a resulting loss of more than 500 lives among a peaceful population of men, women and children; more than 100 people seriously wounded perished in the flames, and the rest of the corpses were collected and buried on May 29. The same day the enemy set fire to the rest of the city, and continued during the two mornings of the 29th and 30th so intensive a firing that the rest of Borisov was destroyed. The city is turned into a mass of smoldering ruins; 10,000 inhabitants who escaped from burning buildings are scattered in the woods, naked and starving, without having had time to take aught with them. The condition of the inhabitants is frightful; the number of victims, among whom are women and children, increases constantly. The Military Revolutionary Council of the Army knows the urgency of relief measures, necessary to furnish the victims provisions, money and lodgings. Thus, by the taking of Borissov, thanks to the valor of our military troops, a vindictive army has replied in anger by completely destroying the city and massacring hundreds and thousands of peaceful inhabitants, including women and children."

In bringing these facts to the attention of the governments protecting and allied or associated with Poland, the Soviet Government raises the most energetic protest against these foolish acts of cruelty of an enemy who attacks tens of thousands of innocent women and children, and calls the attention of all peoples to so odious a violation of the most elementary principles of humanity.

*Commissar for Foreign Affairs: CHICHERIN.*

## AGAINST THE "RUSSIAN PERIL"

Comrade Victor Kopp, representative of the Russian Soviet Republic in Berlin, has published the following statement in the *Rote Fahn* of Berlin:

"Following up the failure of the Polish offensive, and the breaking up of the Polish front by the Russian troops, alarming reports of the danger threatening Germany through Russian invasion appeared in the German press. Although the object of these reports is transparent enough, the undersigned considers the matter important enough to assert and affirm that neither the Soviet Government nor the Russian people have any hostile feelings nor intentions against Germany, and that the 'Russian Peril' belongs in the realm of fable or vicious libel. And furthermore, the baselessness of these rumors may be seen, when we consider that the battle front is a distance of 300 kilometers from the frontiers of German territory, and that, between these are two independent states, Lithuania and Latvia, whose independence Russia recognizes, and which are on friendly terms with the German people."

VICTOR KOPP.

### SOVIET RUSSIA PROTESTS

We have received the following dispatch from Stockholm:

Chicherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, has sent a note to the Austrian Government in which he expresses the extreme displeasure of the Russian proletariat with Austria, because of her continued deliveries of munitions to Poland. The Soviet Government calls the attention of the Austrian Government to the fact that this will doubtless affect the fate of the Austrian officers in Russia and cause the exchange of prisoners to cease for the time being.

### KINDERGARTEN AND SOCIAL WORK

*Pravda* reports that at the beginning of May a conference of kindergarten workers took place, for which there had assembled fifty-three delegates from thirty-four Russian provinces. It was learned from a report made to the conference, that there were in the Soviet Republic on January 1, 1919, 1,799 kindergartens, which were attended by 90,950 children altogether. On January 1, 1920, the number of kindergartens was 9,623, with 11,234 workers, and 204,913 children in attendance. The work in the establishment of rest homes at Petrograd is rapidly advancing. Fifteen rest homes are already in operation, providing accommodations for about 1,000 workers. The opening ceremonies will soon be held.

### A NOTE TO COL. BEK'S MILITARY REVIEW

HE news from London dated July 3 about the capture of Lemberg by the Soviet Army reached us when the Military Review by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek was in print. Col. Bek, in his statement, indicates that the Red Army, after having routed the Poles in Podolia and Volhynia, is moving into Galicia with Lemberg as its objective. Today, when asked, Col. Bek confirmed his opinion that simultaneously the Soviet armies are marching also on Rovno, after having captured the most important railway junction of Shepetievka, southeast of Rovno.

Lemberg, which formerly was the capitol of Galicia, and belonged to Austria under the delimitation effected by the peace treaty, became a part of Ukraine. It was captured by the Russians early in the Great War, and evacuated after the German offensive by General Mackensen's army. The fall of Lemberg (Lvov) indicates that neither the Southern Polish army nor its Galician reserves are any longer in existence, and that the enveloping movement of the Red Army in the southern theatre of war has been brilliantly accomplished.

Col. Bek predicts an important movement in Hungary as a result of the successes of the Russian Red Army in Galicia.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

of

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. PROHIBITION IN SOVIET RUSSIA. *A remarkably interesting account on the prohibition situation in Soviet Russia.*
2. WHO TAKES PART IN THE GOVERNMENT? *A review of the work accomplished by Russian workers participating in the government of the country.*
3. THE PROVINCIAL OF PETROGRAD. *An account of the methods by which the government of the often threatened city accomplishes the problem of feeding the citizens.*
4. TERROR IN NORTH RUSSIA. *Describing the blessings of the White Government of General Miller at the time of Allied Intervention.*
5. UKRAINE, by Hannes Skoeld (Stockholm). *An ethnographic and historic sketch, based on the writer's own observations.*
6. *The regular weekly MILITARY REVIEW of Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek. Also, Editorials, Book Reviews, Wireless Notes, etc.*

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## Prohibition in Soviet Russia

[The Swedish prohibition newspaper "Templaren" (so-called because it is the organ of the Independent Order of Good Templars, a powerful European prohibition movement), in a recent number prints a remarkably interesting and detailed interview on the prohibition situation in Red Russia, with the Swedish author, Ture Nerman, a Left Wing Socialist, who has recently returned to Sweden from Soviet Russia. Mr. Nerman's view that prohibition in Russia is permanent must not be taken as final, however, since at least one prominent Soviet leader has expressed a conviction that prohibition in Russia may not be final. See remarks of N. Bukharin, as quoted by Arvid Hansen, in SOVIET RUSSIA for September 13, 1919.]

**I**N SPITE of serious attempts, said Mr. Nerman, he was unable to get hold of any prominent prohibition leader in the course of his journey. The reason for this was that there is practically no separate prohibition movement in that country now, in the sense in which we apply the word in Sweden.

The prohibition question in Russia, says Mr. Nerman, is already disposed of and solved in an entirely different manner, and more fundamentally and effectively, than it ever could be solved in capitalistic countries, where a sort of so-called prohibition has been introduced. On the one hand, it must be admitted that the Bolsheviki have had an easier time in introducing and maintaining prohibition, in view of the fact that in Russia, because of the low supply of grain, caused chiefly by the lack of railway material, there often has been nothing to distill. But, on the other hand, the consumption of alcoholic liquors has never in any country been as great as it once was in Russia. And consequently, the desire for alcoholic liquor must, among great sections of the population, particularly among the peasantry, have been especially developed in Russia.

Vodka was a fundamental factor in the Russia of the Czars, and has now, almost at a single blow, been absolutely eliminated.

The sale of spirits is met with very rarely and is punished—those guilty rarely escape—with unusual severity. The case is quite different from that of Sweden, where the authorities almost always close their eyes to the traffic and appear even to be half in league with the spirit dealers.

### How the Russian Prohibition Was Carried Out

The Bolshevik Party, said Mr. Nerman, to be sure never had any attitude toward prohibition on its party program, but when the revolution came, the leading personalities, wise statesmen as they are, immediately recognized that the victorious putting through and solidifying of the revolution, were unthinkable without an immediate carrying out of a severe and absolute prohibition.

Certain vicious elements desire to make use of the revolution only as a means of satisfying their own lusts, among which none the least was their strong desire for alcohol. The only possibility of preventing these dangerous elements from ruining the revolution and hindering its development into an orderly social system, was to deal harshly with them.

Particularly at the outset, it was necessary to proceed with unusual severity with regard to these elements. In the first stage of the revolution, they were simply shot down. It was considered that individuals who in such a serious situation were so

little conscious of their dignity as men as to drink away their reason in alcohol, which they succeeded in stealing from the saloons, would never be of any use for the future, but would rather constitute a permanent danger to the workers' revolution.

For a long time the opponents of the revolution tried with the aid of alcohol to ruin and undermine the morale of the best Bolshevik troops. And precisely this explains to a certain extent the severity with which prohibition was carried out.

#### *The Leading Bolsheviks Were Not Teetotalers*

Mr. Nerman points out that Lenin, for example, was not a teetotaler, while, on the other hand, he always had led a life that was exemplary and Spartan, both with regard to spirits as well as in general. Otherwise it is certain that his brain could not at the present moment be the clear statesman-like organ which it is.

The same is the case with most of the Bolshevik leaders in Russia. But when they became active revolutionists, as Mr. Nerman points out, they had to be actual enforcers of prohibition, while in Sweden, the grandiloquent leaders of prohibition, such as Arthur Engberg, etc., as soon as their party assumed political power, betrayed their former position, resigned from the prohibition organizations and are now agitating in the Riksdag and in the government for a renewed liberation of the flow of spirits over the whole country!

"I spoke," continued Mr. Nerman, "with a number of the most important revolutionary leaders on the question of prohibition, and all considered it as self-evident that in a revolution one of the most indispensable conditions is the enforcement of an effective and absolute prohibition of alcohol, in order to prevent and obviate the demoralization of the masses. As a matter of fact, the better moral tone among workers and peasants in Russia has its explanation, in addition to the freer air introduced by the revolution itself, also in the complete liberation from the consumption of alcohol."

"It would be awful," continued Mr. Nerman, "to imagine a revolution here in Sweden with the popular masses in the condition in which they are now in the cities, particularly, in Stockholm.

"As long as a great part of the working class consists of demoralized appellists\* and other lumpen proletariat, terror is as absolutely necessary, at the moment of revolution, in dealing with such anti-social elements, as it is in dealing with the counter-revolutionary bandits."

#### *How the Bolsheviks Got Rid of the Great Stores of Alcohol*

"At the outbreak of the revolution," Mr. Nerman said, "there were great quantities of liquor in Russia. In the Kerensky revolution, liquor therefore played a prominent role. But the Bol-

\* The "appellists" are readers of a Swedish periodical called *Appel*, which is edited by a prominent "Socialist" anti-prohibitionist, August Palm (born 1849).

sheviki viewed the matter in an entirely different way, from the very outset. I need only mention a single case to indicate what often was the procedure.

"A Bolshevik patrol encountered a tremendous store of valuable old wines in the cellars of the Winter Palace. Some of the Red leaders made efforts to intoxicate themselves with this wine, but were prevented. A conduit was prepared leading from the cellar down to the Neva river, and then the entire stock was shot to pieces with machine guns. The spirits flowed down to the river in great streams."

Mr. Nerman added that it would be a positive pleasure, in a possible Swedish revolution, to have charge of a few such machine-guns, directed against a certain cellar under the Stockholm castle.

A great portion of the liquor stocks confiscated in Russia have been a valuable addition to the seriously depleted medicinal supplies of the country.

#### *Smuggling in Russia*

Mr. Nerman further pointed out that very little smuggling was going on. Of course it is not impossible, particularly on the southern fronts, such as the Crimean, to smuggle liquor in among the soldiers of the Red Army, and even to forward it into the country through them.

But all offenders are punished very severely, and the spirit among the soldiers is one of such consciousness of purpose that cases of this kind occur with great rarity. On the other fronts, smuggling in liquors is impossible, if only for the simple reason that these frontiers have thus far been almost hermetically sealed.

Of course, now that relations with Russia are to be opened, there is a great danger to prohibition precisely in these possibilities of smuggling. But the wisdom and energy thus far shown by the leading elements in the great Russian social system will surely be able to combat even this danger so powerfully that it will finally be eliminated.

#### *Temperance Propaganda in Russia*

Mr. Nerman also reports a number of interesting details concerning the temperance propaganda of the Russian Bolsheviks.

He says they are carrying on an instruction concerning the dangerous effects of the use of alcohol everywhere, in the cities as well as in the provinces, through their extraordinarily well organized schools. In addition they give instruction in all subjects connected with general hygiene.

In the ubiquitous and very artistically drawn posters you behold not rarely the vodka drinking peasant, lying on the ground like a pig, a horrible example of the destructive effect of liquor. Similar pictures are also seen in the famous propaganda trains which traverse Russia in all directions. In the newspapers and periodicals also, the ineluctable duty of the class-conscious worker and peasant to abstain from alcoholic liquors is also duly emphasized.

As counterparts and opposites of this horrible example from the period of the Czar and of vodka, one often beholds accompanying pictures of sober workers, studying their books or circulating literature among their comrades. On one of the trains you see painted on the side "What did the old regime give us?—Vodka, the nagaika (the knout), czarist oppression, etc." The accompanying picture is that of an intoxicated worker being led to prison. "What does the new regime give us?—university, books, instruction for children, etc."

There is no doubt that a powerfully conducted agitation of this kind will have a profound and serious influence on the masses. And there is also no doubt that such an intensive and purposeful agitation, coupled as it is with the fundamental principles of social justice and the dignity of man, will soon make the Russian people, who once were completely steeped in drunkenness and dissoluteness, the most sober nation of the world.

#### *Effectiveness of Russian Prohibition*

Mr. Nerman says that prohibition is so well carried out that in a stay of more than five weeks in Moscow and Petrograd, during which he has been as much as possible among the people on the streets and in the public places he was unable to find more than two or three slightly intoxicated persons. "On the first day of my return to Stockholm, on the other hand, I saw more than a dozen heavily intoxicated persons in barely an hour.

"It may be objected that the punishments for intoxication, inexorable and severe as they have been in Russia, have gone somewhat to excess in severity. But it is a fact that it was only this

method that made it possible in Russia to create a general respect for prohibition. And it is just this fact, in great measure, that made the Russia of the workers so strong and invincible. For, in the last analysis, it is this which made it possible to create the Russian Socialist society which is now being built up by the people with such enthusiasm and self-sacrifice."

#### *Russian Prohibition Permanent*

At the end of his interview Mr. Nerman said the following:

"I asked, among others, one of the leading men in the Soviet Republic whether he believed that prohibition in Russia would be of permanent character and would be maintained even after the complete establishment of the revolution. His answer was short and definite, and was spoken without hesitation: 'Yes, that is absolutely certain!'

"My opinion is that only a sufficiently well founded and therefore successful workers' revolution can create a truly effective and permanent prohibition of alcohol. The so-called total prohibitions which were finally carried out, in other countries, in Finland, Norway, and America, can be only half-measures as long as the capitalistic system of society endures. The ruthless and never seriously impeded lust for personal profit will never succeed in respecting the purely human demands that constant prohibition involves. Only in a socialistic society, where the welfare and happiness of the individuals composing it are the first considerations, where private property has been abolished and the watchword is '*Socially useful work by all for all!*' can the traffic in liquor be completely abolished."

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

New York City, July 10, 1920.

**I**N MY interview published in the *New York Call* of June 30, I stated definitely that the town of Minsk was already in the hands of the Red Army, and I pointed out the fact that the press is withholding the real truth about the situation on the Polish front.

For a long time I was suspicious that something of importance was going on in the northern part of the Polish front, which extends to the north of the Pripet Marshes, and that General Szeptitzky's army had suffered a considerable tactical defeat. This has become certain to me, now that I observe a considerable advance of the Russian armies between the Berezina and the Pripet Marshes, which could not have been accomplished to such an extent as one hundred miles west of Bobruisk, situated on the river Berezina, had Minsk remained in the possession of the enemy.

The dispatch from London, of July 9, informs us that all the bridges along the Brest railway, between Minsk and Baranovichi, have been destroyed by the Red cavalry. This absolutely con-

firms the opinion expressed by myself that Minsk has been captured by the Russians and consequently Vilno has had to be evacuated by the Poles.

Today I received a copy of *Krasnoye Znamya* (The Red Banner) of May 27, 1920, the official organ of the Communist Party at Vladivostok, in which I noticed some most important data connected with the capture of Minsk by the Red Army, a translation of which may, I think, interest the readers of *SOVIET RUSSIA*:

"*The Polish Defeat in the Region of Minsk. Omsk, May 24 (Sibrosta).*—The Moscow radio informs us that the resumed offensive of the Red Army progresses with success. The main blow was inflicted on the enemy in the region of Minsk, where, after three days of fighting, more than 60,000 Poles were made prisoners. There were captured also the Polish officers and great quantities of artillery and booty. The latter is being counted." Another dispatch in the same paper says that "Trotsky and Brusilov have left for Minsk, where a great quantity of property was left by the enemy."

So there cannot be any doubt that Minsk is in Russian hands.

In the same issue of the *Krasnoye Znamya*, a radio of the Central Executive Military Committee characterizes the situation on the Western Russian front. "The blow," the message says, "prepared by the Red command, has been inflicted upon the enemy, and the initiative henceforth is entirely with Brusilov. The Red General Staff will develop its plan, combining a wedge attack with parallel operations on the flanks." "Our former experiences," continues the message, "convince us that our plans will be accomplished in a masterly manner."

Indeed, it was so accomplished, in spite of all the lies of the capitalistic press agencies, and the prophecies of the western military experts, with General Foch at their head. It is perfectly well-known that the famous trench-warfare strategist, Foch, inspired in his victories, as he himself confessed, by God, brilliantly lost the Great War strategically, and that the same "great strategist" carefully prepared the Polish plan of campaign against Soviet Russia.

But unfortunately for General Foch, the Polish God was weaker than that of France, and the Poles are defeated not only tactically, like the Germans, but also strategically. Fieldmarshal Foch, a student of the old military routine, did not even dream of the possibility of accomplishing the daring and unprecedented strategical plan which the Red General Staff not only designed but also carried out, with a success unseen in military history.

Now, acknowledging the approach of the unavoidable end of the entire Anglo-French Polish scheme, the supreme French command is trying to utilize the last means which, they suppose, remain at their disposal, namely, Rumania and Germany.

According to the *Evening Sun*, of July 8, "a French delegation has arrived at Bukharest to urge the Rumanians to give all possible aid to the retreating Polish army." On the other hand, news reaches us from Sofia (Bulgaria), that "Rumanian mobilization is under way, and the Rumanian General Staff has announced its intention to erect a strong defence against the Bolsheviki along the entire Bessarabian front."

In one of my previous articles, I already stated that Rumania cannot intervene in the Russian-Polish war, after having suffered the German invasion, and herself accomplished a most disgraceful invasion of Hungary. Rumania knows what both things mean. It would be incredible to believe that Rumania, surrounded by enemies like the Hungarians and the Bulgars, would dare to attack victorious Soviet Russia, or support the beaten Poles at the moment when an uprising against the imperialistic Rumanian government is threatening Bessarabia.

My conjecture is now confirmed by Karl H. Wiegand, whose letter from Berlin of July 8, appeared in the *New York American*, of July 9,

1920. This staff correspondent of the above-mentioned paper says: "Advices reaching here state the Rumanian Government has refused to lend any assistance to the Poles and that Hungary likewise has turned down Poland's plea for aid."

And in addition to this hopeless situation of Poland, it may be noted that the social revolution already has begun in Poland. The most important strategical railway line, between Warsaw and Vilno, is afflicted with a strike, and this at the most critical moment for the Polish army. It is said that "the railway men in that area refuse to move additional troops to the front" (*N. Y. American*, July 9, 1920).

In short, the situation behind the Polish battle front reminds me of the situation of the great "strategical" retreat of Kolchak through Siberia, with the difference that before the Kolchak army there lay the extent of Western Siberia and Transbaikalia, as well as the Amur and Maritime districts, with Kamchatka in addition, while the last stand of the Polish army can be accomplished in the region of Brest-Litovsk only, where the Poles may try to defend themselves by using the railway communications for operations on inner lines. But this could only be possible of accomplishment in case the Polish army had concentrated toward Brest-Litovsk in full order. In reality, as far as can be judged from the hysterical Polish reports, confirmed by the British War Office, the situation of the Polish fighting forces must be in a state of general confusion and disorganization approaching that of a panic-stricken horde, flying before the energetic pursuit of General Budenny's cavalry. Had it been different Lloyd George, the protector of the small imperialistic nations, would never have so rudely refused the Polish delegation any aid whatsoever, besides looking after General Baron Wrangel's army, which officially he does not consider as a support to Poland. In such circumstances, there cannot be any question on that the Poles, in spite of the formation of a new militia, including even women, will be unable to avert the unavoidable end.

If the Polish army is in reality as numerous as it is claimed to be, its situation must be only worse, because in the Brest-Litovsk region, as well as in a possible future resistance on the Warsaw lines of defense, there will be not enough room to manage a large army and to undertake any serious manoeuver. The gloomy economic and sanitary conditions of Poland, on the other hand, besides all the disadvantages, military as well as political, of the Polish nation, make further resistance by militaristic Poland an impossibility, and the Polish command must know this, and therefore, in order to avoid a most criminal and useless bloodshed, it must surrender to Soviet Russia.

While the American press is keeping the public in complete darkness about real happenings on the Polish front, and, for one reason or another, is afraid to tell the people the truth, great events are in full progress in Central Europe.

The collapse of imperialistic Poland, created by

the coalition of the Entente world, may be considered as a prelude to a new sanguinary drama, more terrible and longer than the so-called "Great War," which will be child's play in comparison with the gigantic events which the "peace-loving" imperialistic Entente is so carefully preparing. Do Lloyd George and Millerand understand that by their unprovoked aggression on Soviet Russia they are challenging not only the Russian people, but also almost all Asia and very probably also Africa? Have they calculated the number of fighters whom their old-fashioned imperialistic armies have to meet on the battle-field, and do they really believe that the armies on which they are reckoning would all obey their criminal orders.

Far from any idea of friendly peace established with Moscow, and camouflaging her new preparation under trade negotiations with Soviet Russia, England in reality is planning a new plot against the Russian Soviet Republic. Her intention is now to create a new military coalition in Europe, in order to meet the Red Armies in Poland, and therefore England must have militaristic Germany at her disposal, which, together with the French colonial (colored and yellow) troops, and the remainder of the beaten Polish armies, supported by the child of England, the reactionary forces of Wrangel, would create a new front against Bolshevism.

This can be accomplished only on condition that the entire German population and part of the German army shall be disarmed. Only then would militaristic Germany be able to control the country, as British imperialism has promised to establish in Germany a regime suitable for the Junkers, able to help the Entente to carry out the new British plan against "Bolshevism," a plan similar to that which fell down so perfectly in Russia in 1917, when the Allies tried to create a new front against the Germans. For this purpose only, England, in spite of the complete collapse of the counter-revolution in Russia, still found it necessary to arm and to maintain Baron Wrangel's adventure.

It is an absolute absurdity that Germany, in her present economic condition, would present a menace to France, even if the Germans should have in their possession an army of more than one million men. I can say without any hesitation that even 2,000,000 German soldiers would be not at all dangerous for France and her allies, and, as a matter of fact, neither France nor England fears the military strength of the German regular army. They are afraid of the German workers and the transformed German proletariat, who are the possessors of weapons in Germany. The persistence of Lloyd George in forcing the German government to disarm them proves this. Lloyd George well knows that the German working class, as long as they are in possession of confiscated arms and ammunition, great quantities of which are hidden by the civilian population, would never allow the Entente to accomplish its new plot against Soviet Russia, and only this has forced

Lloyd George to be so persistent in his demand to disarm the German people. I can firmly state that in spite of all the attempts of England to utilize Germany as a weapon against "Bolshevism," at the moment of the collapse of militaristic Poland, England will not succeed, as she also did not succeed when she tried to entice Germany to participate in the blockade of Soviet Russia, so monstrous and criminal to humanity.

There is not the slightest possibility that Germany will be disarmed, regardless of the nature of the agreement she may be forced to sign at Spa.

The moment has come when the German workers may show their determination to overthrow the hydra of reaction which poisons their country, and they may rise once more in arms, to bar the way to the western invaders in their attempt to crush the Russian Revolution.

The workers and peasants of Germany, humiliated, ruined and oppressed by their imperialistic enemies, are anxiously watching the Russian people, ready to support them at the decisive moment.

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# The Provisioning of Petrograd

## I.

### *DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD PRODUCTS*

The system of communist economy differs from the economic conditions of capitalist society: in place of the anarchy in production and free competition, it establishes as the basis for the construction of all life, a complete inventory, made in accordance with a certain plan, of all the products and articles of consumption of the greatest necessity, as well as of their distribution.

At present, when the food crisis, determined by the world war of five years, is at its height, the regulation by the State of provisioning and the distribution of food acquires a capital importance, for the quantity of available food products and other articles of consumption is insufficient to satisfy all needs, thus necessitating a certain classification in their distribution.

Under such conditions, the application of the principle of the inventory prevails most completely in the great centers of consumption, first of which is our Red capital. Despite a considerable diminution of the population, a diminution produced by temporary causes, the total number of inhabitants in Petrograd is not below a million, of which about 250,000 are children. The entire mass of the population receives food products and articles of prime necessity, although in very small quantity, through the aid of a single organ—the Commune of Unified Consumption of Petrograd. This body is little by little enlarging its sphere of activity and aims to meet all the needs of the working population of the city. At the present time the Commune of Consumption is organized upon the following principal foundations of the economic system:

1. The concentration of baking, by which all the bread for a million of the population of the capital is baked in the minimum number of places: eight factories for bread making, and eleven bakeries.

2. Communal feeding with a large network of refectories for children in particular, and feeding stations near institutions, etc., in which most of the working population may eat.

3. A system of distribution by depots, Community shops, and distributing stations, from which products are distributed by card, the products being other than those destined for the "food commune."

4. A system for the distribution of articles of prime necessity, among which are: raw and manufactured tobacco, matches, soap, oil, etc.

5. The distribution of clothes, shoes, fabrics, and other articles of prime necessity.

6. The feeding of cattle with fodder and other foods.

In this manner, the Commune of Petrograd is a real center, affecting all sides of the life of the working population of the city. This center directs an enormous technical system which, in turn,

is divided into separate branches, sections, auxiliaries, etc.

All food products, all fodder, etc., arriving at Petrograd and addressed to the Commune of Consumption, are allotted at the moment of their storage in the depots—inventoried by the organization of distribution. They are then transferred upon special orders and according to established rations.

On the average, there pass each month, through the system of the distributing organization, one million poods of products.

Following is an approximate table of the daily distribution of products by the distributing organization of the Commune of Petrograd:

The bread is delivered daily in accordance with established rations to the amount of 15,000 poods. Next come the following products, delivered to the Communal refectories and the food stations: the vegetables which are daily distributed to the amount of 10,000 poods, the fish 4,000 poods daily, various groats almost 2,000 poods, fats distributed according to the quantity available, etc.

Bread is distributed to the population according to the ration calculated for two days. The products are delivered to the communal refectories and the institutions twice monthly, according to the established rations of consumption.

## II.

### *COMMUNAL PROVISIONING*

Immediately after the first realization of the principles of the October Revolution, energetic measures were taken for the solution of the problem of the socialization of popular provisioning at Petrograd. This problem each month acquired an increasingly greater importance, in view of the food crisis, which became steadily worse.

Under the pressure of circumstances, the solution of this problem proceeded so speedily that as early as the 1st of July, 1919, the working population of the Commune of Petrograd, more than a million in number, commenced to be fed by a single food commune. The infantile population had been, for more than a month, fed altogether without cost.

The advantage of communal provisioning, compared to individual provisioning in the home, are so evident as regards the economy of fuel effected in this fashion, the economy of products and of labor, and thus the diminution of the price of foods, that from the first moment of the appearance of the food crisis, communal food organization began to arise as if created by the forces of nature.

Towards the beginning of the month of December, 1918, the number of refectories under the jurisdiction of the Central Section of Communal Provisioning of the Commissariat of Provisions of the Commune of Petrograd, reached fifty-seven, the general number of consumers was about 108,578, and that of the personnel was about 4,011.

Towards the end of the year 1918, the refectories in question numbered sixty-two, with 120,133 consumers.

Parallel to the refectories dependent upon the center, communal refectories of another type were operating, such as the section refectories and the refectories near various institutions. In all, in the beginning of the year 1919, 281 refectories of different types were operating with 269,234 consumers.

In view of the continuation of the critical state of provisioning, the number of consumers in the communal refectories naturally increased a great deal. Considering this circumstance, the Commissariat of Provisioning took energetic measures for the proper operation of communal provisioning. The Commissariat attracted to an active participation in this work, on the basis of autonomy, principally the workers of the union of popular provisioning, the workers of the syndicates of employes of provisioning, the organizers of factories and shops, and the workers taken from the large masses of proletarian workers.

Thanks to these measures, an increase in the number of refectories and consumers was observed in the first half of the year 1919.

In the month of January of the same year, the central refectories alone reached the number of sixty-eight, with 154,700 consumers. In the month of February, the number of refectories remained the same, the number of consumers was about 150,111, and in the month of March about 160,687.

Parallel to the central refectories, there arose spontaneously in different quarters of the city, various organizations for communal provisioning, of lesser size. These organizations were under the jurisdiction of the Provisioning Committees of the districts and were calculated for a special number of consumers united by the place of their service, their work, or their occupations. The organizations mentioned served a relatively limited number of consumers who had attached themselves to them.

In the month of September, there were twelve great sectional refectories with 1,000 consumers and over, but less than 2,000. In the month of October there were twelve, and in December, fifteen. During the course of the year 1919, the general number of consumers in the sectional refectories continued to increase greatly.

Simultaneously with the sectional refectories a great number of refectories operated, which were closed to general consumption, as well as provisioning stations near institutions, as: hospitals, asylums, prisons, refuges, schools, etc., where the provisioning proceeded by lists. All these stations reached in the month of August, 1919, the number of 550.

If one calculates the number of refectories of all kinds which operated at the moment when the whole population of Petrograd began to receive communal provisioning, one arrives at the important number of 679 refectories with 480,423 consumers.

This reform, realized the 1st of July, was ef-

fectured very rapidly and energetically, despite the enormous difficulties encountered in the course of this realization, because of the necessity of promptly increasing the capacity of the refectories to meet the increased needs.

From the moment of this reform, the need naturally arose to concentrate the number of consumers in separate refectories with the purpose of encouraging products and fuel. This resulted in a subsequent increase in the number of central refectories among which arose several refectories of another type, and, at the same time, this led to a great increase in the number of consumers.

Thus, for example, in the month of July, the central refectories increased in number thirty per cent from 157 to 204, the number of consumers increased more than 100 per cent from about 340,657 to 695,852.

In the month of July, 1919, in keeping with the introduction of communal provisioning for the whole population, a very marked increase was observed in the number of consumers receiving provisions by card. The number of consumers rose to 825,363. In this manner almost the whole population of Petrograd was fed by the food commune and of ten persons an average of two children were fed without cost.

Simultaneously, a concentration of the food stations was effected, by the increase in the capacity of the best-provided refectories and the decrease in the number of the refectories having few consumers.

These results were attained in the course of but one year, and under conditions very unfavorable to the development of communal provisioning; these conditions became especially difficult in the month of July, at the very moment of the realization of communal provisioning for the whole population.

### III.

#### FEEDING OF CHILDREN

Solicitude for the children is always one of the principal problems of the Soviet power, and it marked with red ink all the enterprises of the latter. Free feeding of children, realized from the beginning of the month of May, 1919, represents one of the gigantic historic events which mark the world progress of the general unique proletarian commune.

The decree for free infant feeding, promulgated on the 17th of May of last year, declared that all food products distributed to children by the local food organs, with the exception of the food shops, as well as the public refectories, must thereafter be furnished free, at the cost of the State.

All the feeding organs were to distribute food products primarily to children. The right to free food was granted to all children, independently of the class ration received by their parents.

The right to infantile feeding was established primarily for infants, it was then extended to children under fourteen years, and later to all children to the age of fifteen years inclusive.

This right proclaimed also one of the most im-

portant principles of the new life: all children are children of the Socialist state. The importance and the historic role in the work of the organization of the Soviet Republic, of the decree regarding infant feeding, obliging the Section of Feeding of the Commissariat of Provisioning of Petrograd to take all effective measures for its realization,—are evident.

For all that has just been mentioned, the Council of Direction of the Commissariat of Provisioning of Petrograd issued a detailed order for the distribution of dinners to children, anticipating a whole series of prescriptions concerning the hygienic phase of the preparation of the dinners, the possible variety in the preparation of the dishes, and the general attitude to be taken towards the children.

In practice, the realization of the decree for free feeding of children in Petrograd was brought about very rapidly. Towards the 16th of June, that is, no less than one month after the promulgation of the decree, eighty per cent of all the children from one to three years of age enjoyed free feeding in the communal refectories. It is almost exclusively women who direct the children's refectories; they bring to this work much gentleness and cordiality; the refectories are often decorated with flowers and greens, and are distinguished by perfect order. In the course of these few months, the children have become accustomed to their refectories, they love them, and to frequent them has become for them a necessity. The work of infantile feeding in the institutions is not limited to the distribution to the children by the Sectional Communal Feeding of food products according to established rations: a bond is established with the Commissariats of Public Assistance and of Public Instruction. This bond had a very special importance in the summer for the organization of infant colonies, playgrounds, and excursion stations for children. The representatives of the institutions participate in the meetings of the communes; the preliminary lists of distribution and the menus are sent to them; for the control of the products dispensed, special persons are sent by the Section, etc.

#### IV.

#### *DETACHMENTS OF PROPAGANDA FOR FEEDING, ORGANIZED BY THE COM-MUNE OF PETROGRAD*

In the month of July, 1918, the Petrograd Soviet resolved to form among the workers of Petrograd detachments to list and secure the results of the harvest. A difficult task then fell to the Soviet power. The state of provisioning in Petrograd became disastrous. Several times telegrams were sent to the places of harvest, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, with a prayer to increase to the maximum the shipments of food products for the famished northern center. But that was unavailing. A certain measure had to be taken, very simple, but effective, a

measure of internal organization of the masses. This measure was the creation of detachments of conscious workers of Petrograd who went to the villages of the Red north to inventory and distribute in a just manner the small amount of food products to be found in the Northern provinces, as well as the little excess which might be found in separate places. In the month of August, these detachments, under the general direction of their creator, Comrade Badaiev, set out for the provinces, dividing themselves into organized groups, assigned to various provinces, districts, cantons, villages, communes, and hamlets. The workers of Petrograd were for the most part communists. There has been described before the enormous work of organization of the party, the work of construction and cultivation which fell to the workers of Petrograd, and which was, for the greater part, accomplished by them. Committees of the poor were created in the provinces by hundreds and thousands. It was the period when, by the iron will of the revolution, division of the peasant class took place in the north, separating it into two groups: that of the poor peasants, and that of the well-to-do peasants. History decided that an important part of this work should fall to the workers' detachments of Petrograd, sent to list and secure the results of the harvest.

In the late autumn, after the harvesting in all the provinces of the north, in the districts, the cantons, the communes and villages, and after tens of thousands of pages of investigation were collected with exact figures, then only did the chiefs of the detachments of the cantons, the districts and provinces permit their detachments to return to Petrograd.

Those who took part in this campaign without precedent in the whole world, in its conception and its revolutionary character, assembled at Red Petrograd with their materials, their figures relating to their work, with interesting reports, a great acquired experience and revolutionary impressions.

The inventory of the crops and the realization of the harvests were accomplished, and, incidentally, the organization of the masses of the Red North was effected.

The surplus found in separate districts was sent to the places harrassed by famine.

The reserves which could be divided between the cantons and villages, were distributed in small quantities, but with perfect equity.

The different committees of provisioning began to operate more spiritedly and energetically.

Then these detachments under their organizer, Comrade Badaiev, set out for the provinces of Viatka, Ufa and others. From the province of Viatka alone there were exported, according to the report of the Commissariat of Provisioning, as many as 8,000,000 poods of wheat.

A considerable quantity of wheat was exported from the government of Ufa, etc.

Here the detachments, called Detachments of Propaganda for Provisioning, worked not only to



make an inventory of the crops, but principally to prepare reserves of grain.

In the spring of the year 1919, the detachments, after their stay at Petrograd, with renewed spirit, and reinforced by hundreds of fresh communists, were sent to work some in the Ukraine, some in the Don district. After a slight interruption in their work caused by the retreat of the Red troops, the detachments of provisioning propaganda of Petrograd were sent again to the provinces of Ufa,

Viatka, Samara, Saratov, and to Siberia.

These detachments were again reinforced at Petrograd before being sent to solve new problems of provisioning. After the arrival at the places, as before, these detachments have their provincial general staffs supported by chiefs of districts, cantons and villages. They are scattered through every province, and, as before, there is going on without interruption, a work of organization and reserve of the grain supply.

## Ukraine

By HANNES SKÖLD (*of Stockholm*)

**WHAT** is Ukraine? What sort of people are the Ukrainians?

"They are a nationality by themselves," say some, "who were oppressed by the Russians, and who when the revolution began, made a number of attempts to cut loose from the Muscovite yoke."

Let us examine this statement more closely.

What is it that constitutes a "nationality?" To be sure, the members of one and the same nationality speak the same language; they have the same manners and customs, the same culture, and in most cases, centuries of common history, which unite them into a single whole as opposed to other "nationalities." However, purely ethnographic descent plays a very small part in the feeling of "national" solidarity. The Swedes, who are considered as the most purely Germanic people, have probably in their veins the overwhelming proportion of about ten per cent of Germanic blood, and the "leading Germanic nation," the Germans, to judge by all available indications are, from the purely ethnographic standpoint, a Slavic people. While the leading Romance nation, the French, are descended chiefly from a blend between Teutons and Celts, and the leaders of the "Slavs," the Great Russians, are doubtless from the anthropological standpoint a mixture of various Finnish and Tartar tribes.

If you apply this rather generally recognized yardstick to the Russians and "Ukrainians," do you think you will be able to show that the latter are a separate nationality?

By no means! Their customs may in certain respects differ from those of their Great Russian brothers, particularly in those sections of the Little Russian linguistic territory which were under the authority of the former Austrian empire. But not more than, let us say, a difference between the customs of a Dalecarlian and a Skouing, or, between those of a native Gudbrandsdal, and one of Troender. And as to language, it is much easier for a Little Russian to understand a Great Russian than—let us say—for an adherent of the Norwegian Landsmal (the Norwegian provincial dialect) to make himself understood by one speaking the Norwegian Riksmal (the official language of the Norwegian kingdom) or, for a native of Lulea in Sweden to understand a man from Trelleborg. The

Little Russian and the Great Russian languages are, in other words, dialectic divisions of one and the same main language.

And, as to culture, Kiev, the capital of "Ukraine," is the cradle, not of a Ukrainian separatist culture, but of Russian culture as a whole. If "Ukrainian" did ever exist as a separate language, the entire Russian culture would have become "Ukrainian" instead of Russian. Not even the most daring "Ukrainian" national ambitions go so far as to deny that Kiev was the first city in which Russian culture flourished.

Great portions of the Ukrainian language territory have also a history in common with that of the rest of Russia.

The close connection between Ukraine and Russian culture is most clearly seen perhaps from the manner in which all attempts to draw it into another cultural sphere have ignominiously failed. In the last century, when the church was the chief bearer of the cultural development, it was attempted to convert the Little Russians from the orthodox Russian church to the Roman church, but these attempts, on the whole, were failures, as were likewise those to arrive at a compromise between the two peoples by a "union" on Little Russian territory, in order to draw the Little Russians away from their community with the Great Russians in the religious field.

Propaganda for the "Ukrainian" idea in our days has likewise turned out to be a failure. The "Ukrainian" movement from the very start was essentially a movement among the Intelligentsia, who have never succeeded in penetrating into the great masses of the people, who always felt that they were "Russians" and not "Ukrainians."

But, one may object, it is hardly possible for such a thing as the Ukrainian "national movement" to have arisen from nothing.

Of course not. There are, or rather, there were, important political moves behind the origin of the "Ukrainian" movement. The fact was that the Little Russians living within the former Austrian-Hungarian monarchy did feel a natural tendency to unite with their kindred in Russia. And this is the case all the more, since the Austrian policy in the last decades did aim at a combination of Germans, Hungarians and Poles in a sort of ruling

caste in Austria, as opposed to the other nationalities of the Dual empire. Now, the Poles were the ruling class in Galicia, while the impoverished tillers of the soil were precisely Little Russians, and therefore there came about the almost inconceivable condition, from the standpoint of the policy of nationalities, that the Slavic majority in Austria-Hungary was condemned for decades to be powerless, and this, above all things, in the very period of the strong nationality movement.

But if it was to the interest of the Austrian state to sow dissension among the Slavic nations and to make use of the Polish plans against the Little Russians (Ruthenians), it was nevertheless in Austria's interest not to permit the Little Russians within the state to cast their eyes too much to the East. The latter condition was particularly dangerous in view of future warlike collisions, and therefore there was created in Austrian territory a "Ukrainian national movement," which naturally, apart from the direct support by the Austrian Government, also enjoyed a certain not less important support in the stupidity and folly of the Russian Government system, which found its expression in a number of repressive measures.

The close connection between the Vienna Government and the "Ukrainian" propaganda cannot be disputed. Personally, I have a very lively recollection, from the earliest days of the war, of two "Ukrainian" students, who had come to Bulgaria in order to carry on a propaganda for the erection of a "Ukrainian" national state, under the rule of an Austrian archduke. I met these young men at the house of the Bulgarian Party Secretary, Kirkov, and we both laughed heartily at the two propagandists when they tried to convince us that they were Socialists. Their central office was of course in Vienna. Even Pilsudski is a Socialist—God save the mark!

It was striking, that not only was the Ukrainian propaganda carried on diligently as long as Austria had any means to support it, but that it suddenly suffered a remarkable atrophy, as soon as Ukraine became a "nation" by itself. It then no longer received the powerful support it had gotten before.

The history of the Ukrainian idea after the outbreak of the revolution is of too recent date to require more than a hasty recapitulation.

Under the early revolutionary governments, the Ukrainian "Rada" did not dare make any attempts to separate Little Russia from the rest of Russia. These "Socialistic" nationalists, of the type of Grushevsky and Vinnichenko, allied themselves however with the great opposition party, with the Bolsheviks. But it turned out, as was also the case with Finland, that the opportunism which expressed itself by cooperating with the nationalists was destined to avenge itself in the most terrible manner. Hardly had the Bolshevik revolution been victorious, than its friends of yesterday grasped every opportunity to fall upon the Bolsheviks from behind, and to proclaim independent

worlds with arbitrarily chosen boundaries, without even consulting the other parties interested.

But the Ukrainian peasants were as little inclined to tolerate a bourgeois republic as were their Great Russian brothers, and when finally the usurpers in the Rada was forced to take to their heels before the Soviet troops, they turned in their distress to the enemy of all democracy, to the German imperialists, which was very natural after all, for, as Austria was allied with Germany, Austria's vassals were also, of course, allied with Germany.

The reward for this treachery was not lacking. After the Central Powers had made use of the Ukrainian nationalists who had been literally driven out of the Ukrainian territory, at the peace comedy in Brest-Litvosk, they were considered to have done their duty, and one fine day the German military forces dispersed the Rada and installed as a director one of the former creatures of the Czar, who naturally wanted to hear of no "Ukrainian movement."

Well, the sacred Ilium of the Central Powers was destined to fall, and one fine day Skoropadia collapsed. The Soviet power was reestablished, but the statesmen of the "Directorate" and the "Rada," who, like the Finnish bourgeoisie, had suddenly discovered that they were pro-Entente, now turned, with the aid of Black troops, merely for the pleasure of beating their heads against another ally of the Entente, to Denikin, and finally, together with him, were turned out of the country by the discontent of the people and the Red Army of the Bolsheviks.

What happened during the past year, particularly the refusal of the Entente to drop their support of Denikin, produced a great change of opinion among the "Ukrainian intelligentsia," that is, among the university trained *petite bourgeoisie*, which had held aloft the flag of nationalism. Both Professor Grushevsky, the President of the former Directorate, and one of the most sympathetic and able advocates of the "Ukrainian idea," and Vinnichenko, the famous author, chairman of the Rada, have recognized that the Entente intends only to reestablish the old Russian Czarism. They have therefore declared themselves to be advocates of the Soviet system. Personally, I regard the Soviet Republic of Ukraine also as an unnecessary cession to a petty bourgeois Ukrainian ideology, but one thing is certain: the Little Russian individuality has certainly developed more freely under the Bolsheviks than under Denikin, who began his rule in Ukraine by closing all the Little Russian schools, as well as the university at Kiev. When Petlura, this king without a kingdom, allies himself in an armed coalition with the Poles, this is no more than the logical conclusion of the Ukrainian movement.

We in Scandinavia cannot as a rule be in a position to understand the ridiculous baseness that is involved in the declaration of the Poles, with Petlura as their right hand, that they are again going to "liberate" Ukraine. For the Poles are hated by the Little Russian population with a

hatred that has been kept warm by centuries of maltreatment and exploitation. About one-half of the territory of Little Russia was in the possession of the great Polish magnates, and it is the ruling junker class of Poland that now wants to recover the dominions lost by it during the revolution. This is the real cause of this war of "liberation." Another element is the desire of Poland, at the command of the Entente, to cut off Soviet Russia from the granaries of southern Russia for the lifting of the blockade could not otherwise be materialized, in other words, the blockade could not be maintained in practice in any other way!

And the national hero Petlura is beginning to do his share in this nation liberating process, by ceding to his great political companions the genuinely Little Russian territory of Galicia and Cholm! And his further cuts will probably not be better than his beginnings.

We are now beginning to understand what it was that lay behind the constant Polish shouts of the last half year, concerning a projected Russian offensive. It is precisely the same mode of thought, as lay behind Germany's herostratically notorious act of war when she marched through Belgium for the reason, as she said, that France had planned to march through it if she did not.

But it is always a very risky thing to attempt to force the Lord's hand. Pan Pilsudski will learn this to his cost. For it is no use putting any faith in the fact that his army, as Karl Ferdinand Lundin maintains, is far more disciplined and trained than Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich's armies. The fact is that a revolutionary war is not the same as any other kind of war. Great masses of the population of the country itself will sympathize with those attacked, and these feelings cannot be prevented from spreading to the army also. And this will be all the more the case in a country like Poland, where Bolshevism is, as a matter of fact, already gnawing away the ground under the feet of the present system, and there is the additional fact that all the social classes of Russia will rise as one man against the plans of these mad imperialists. A consideration of these facts will enable one to understand what a dreadful mess the Poles have prepared for themselves, and that they will probably have no cause to be pleased with the outcome. The consequence will probably be that the catastrophe which was feared, and which they wish to avoid, will befall them all the earlier.

It is my opinion that Poland will be ruled by Soviets within six months.

### THE VERDICT ON KOLCHAK'S REIGN

A revolutionary tribunal of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee has announced its verdict over the members of Kolchak's former government. The verdict records:

1. That these members of Kolchak's government took part in a conspiracy together with foreign governments against the Government of the

Workers and attempted to reerect the old Czarist regime;

2. That they organized an armed war of starvation against the Soviet Government;

3. That they plundered the property of Soviet Russia and handed it out to foreign governments;

4. That they treasonably invited the armed troops of foreign imperialistic governments to come in against the state to which they themselves belonged;

5. That they brought about a gigantic devastation of Russian national property as well as that of the working population;

6. That they systematically organized mass executions.

In all twenty-four persons were sentenced, including five sentenced to death by shooting. The others were sentenced to hard labor either for life or for periods of five or ten years.

The telegram does not report the execution of the death sentences. While the death penalty has been abolished in Soviet Russia, this does not apply to the front, and the tribunal referred to is within the war zone.

### ENGLISH PRISONERS AT BAKU

AMSTERDAM, June 3.—A representative of the military authorities in the English House of Commons, declared, upon inquiry, that when the Bolsheviks occupied Baku, they took five marine officers and twenty-five sailors prisoners and that all attempts on the part of the English Government to obtain their release had thus far been fruitless. When asked why the English Government was continuing her peace negotiations with the Bolsheviks when they were holding English seamen prisoners, the representative of the War Office replied: "This is a matter of diplomacy which does not concern our department."

### NEW SCHEMES AGAINST RUSSIA

*Mad France.*

KOVNO, May 22 (Lithuanian Telegraph Agency).—The chief of the French Military Mission of this city, has set out for Riga to attend a conference, the object of which is to strengthen the Entente Cordiale between the three Baltic States.

The mad imperialists of France are continuing their machinations against Soviet Russia. It is their purpose to drag the countries round about France into the same destructive policy; Foch, the greatest bandit and assassin of the continent, desires new victories. The working people of every country must do away with this monstrous policy of intrigue on the part of France, no matter what the cost may be.

### MOSCOW DISINFECTION STATION

The Council of People's Commissars has published a decree stating that Moscow is to erect a disinfecting station. All travellers arriving in the capital must take a bath there, and their clothes must be disinfected.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the  
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU  
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will carry articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles.

**T**HE blockade is broken. Not by the recent announcement of the American State Department, which changed nothing and left the barriers as high as ever between America and Russia, as the official statement published elsewhere in this issue points out. But the blockade is broken, nevertheless. Indeed, at this moment when we are forced to take a most pessimistic view of the prospects of an early resumption of trade between Russia and America, we are all the more glad to be able to bring our readers the good news, which reaches us from many sources, that at last the gates are down and a great stream of long awaited supplies is steadily flowing into Soviet Russia. Trade has begun, and large consignments of tools, machinery, medicines and food stuffs are actually crossing the border at many points. The first shipments are only the beginnings of the enormous quantity of goods of all sorts needed to fill the requirements of a population suffering from the deprivations wrought by war and blockade. But even these first shipments are large. Before the end of June several hundred carloads of agricultural implements had already reached Reval consigned to Soviet Russia. According to the London *Daily Herald*, a list of shipments shortly expected, as published in *Pravda* last month, included: fifty-two locomotives to be delivered by July 1; over a million scythes; 15,000 threshing machines, 7,000 reaping machines, 400 cultivators; 102,000 ordinary files and 330,000 saw files, of which half were to be delivered by July 1. In view of the large amount of goods expected at Reval and Petrograd, arrangements were being made to run a daily freight train of six cars from Reval to Petrograd and a daily train of forty cars from Petrograd to Moscow. On June 22 the third cargo of Swedish merchandise, consisting of agricultural implements, machinery and books, valued at one million kroner, left Stockholm for Reval consigned to Soviet Russia. It was announced at that time that regular weekly freight sailings would shortly be inaugurated to carry the increasing volume of Swedish manufactures ordered for Russia.

According to a recent Moscow radio message, between May 8 and June 19 the following consignments from abroad had passed through Yamburg into Soviet Russia: 269 carloads of agricultural implements, 117 carloads of paper, eight carloads of leather, three carloads of saws, eleven car-

loads of tanning extract, sixty-two carloads of garden seeds, 827 carloads of potato seed; a total of 1,297 carloads. In addition, the same wireless message reported, among the goods unloaded at Reval and awaiting shipments to Russia were thirteen automobiles, 2,400 poods of sole leather, 5,000 barrels of herrings.

Cheerful news of the same sort comes from the south. Traffic is moving. Fuel and oil are coming to the factories and the wheels are turning faster and faster. A correspondent of the London *Daily Herald*, recently returned from a trip down the Volga, reports a brisk revival of the river traffic:

All day we passed tows, tank and wood barges, and long processions of lumber . . . The river presented a busy scene. A good percentage of the 2,000 river craft is back in use.

This means a great deal to Russia. In all the cities along the route, factories had been crippled on account of the lack of fuel, oil and wood. In Nizhni the great Samarov steel works, and in Samara the flour mills, have been hampered. Now they are commencing at a high speed to work again, because oil from Baku is moving up the river via Astrakhan.

Samara now has a store of 400,000 poods of oil, and her mills will turn out more than 30,000,000 poods of flour this year.

It will be long before all the want and wastage of the last two years is repaired. But the period of isolation is over at last and a start has been made towards replenishing the depleted stocks. The volume of commerce is steadily swelling and before long factories in all lands will be contributing their products to supply the needs of the Russian workers. In the end, even the United States will send its share.

\* \* \*

**F**OR the present, American manufacturers and merchants remain debarred from entering the Russian market. The announcement from the State Department regarding the lifting of restrictions against trade in certain unspecified commodities in no way removes the main obstacles. Indeed, the official declaration of American policy, unless considerably modified by further explanation, appears to proclaim a continued policy of non-intercourse and embargo. Postal and cable communications between Russia are not restored. Travelling facilities are not to be granted. There is no hint of any provision for the establishment of Russian credits in America and no suggestion of any means by which Americans can be paid for their goods. So far as its actual effect upon the resumption of trade is concerned, the recent announcement is an empty gesture. Without the essential means of communication and financial exchange, trade cannot be resumed. Russia remains as effectively blockaded from America as ever.

Comparatively small lots of American goods have already been purchased and shipped to Russia. But these transactions depended upon the willingness of the American merchant to wait for payment until the receipt of his goods in Esthonia. No considerable volume of business can be tran-

sacted in this inconvenient and uneconomical manner. So long as the Soviet Government is not permitted to establish credits in this country and so long as drafts upon Russian funds abroad cannot be safely brought to New York, there is no way in which the vast purchases commensurate with Russia's needs can be made in America.

Of the great volume of manufactured articles already in transit to Soviet Russia only a very small portion are of American origin. Moreover, as this commerce rapidly increases, as it will during the next few months, the American share of it will not increase proportionately. Some articles of American make, sold to middlemen in Europe and Scandinavia, will find their way into Russia. But the Soviet Government will desire, so far as possible, to avoid uneconomical commission transactions of this kind. If the goods manufactured by America cannot be purchased directly from America, substitutes will have to be found for them elsewhere.

We see it confidently predicted in the usual quarters for such predictions that the so-called "lifting of the blockade" will result in the unmasking of Bolshevik propaganda and the speedy downfall of the Soviet Government. The line of reasoning involved here is not quite clear to us. So far as we can see, the only effect to be anticipated is the further confusion and entanglement of the American exporter, with perhaps a further acceleration of the activities of British and other European merchants who may have been spurred to even greater haste by a mistaken notion that the Americans were at last to be permitted to enter the field.

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**A**LTHOUGH every returning traveller of intelligence brings the same report, it is pleasant and reassuring, nevertheless, to remind ourselves now and then of the constant normality of many phases of life in Russia, even in the midst of civil war and invasion, and in spite of plague and blockade. We dwell so much in our thoughts upon the unexampled hardships and sufferings of the Russian workers, we rejoice so greatly over their fortitude and are so constantly inspired by their heroism in battle with the enemy and their no less heroic successes in the daily economic struggle, that the picture we carry of the whole of life within Russia suffers a certain distortion, which the monstrous perversions of the capitalist daily press in no wise serve to correct. The proportions are restored by reading such a letter as that sent out by one of the British Labor Delegation to Soviet Russia, William McLaine of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

The people, McLaine writes, live their lives much as we do at home. They go to work; they take their leisure; they read their daily and weekly newspapers, and do all the thousand and one things that ordinary people do.

The theatres are full every evening, and it is rather interesting to note that they are open on Sunday, when the people can more easily get there, and closed on Monday, so that the artists and workers can rest. Last

Thursday we went to the Summer Theatre to hear Shaliapin in the "Barber of Seville" . . .

On Saturday we went for a week-end in the country. We took our food with us, and travelled third class in the usual way. It was just like a week-end from London or Manchester. Crowds of people were doing the same, and as we came back on Sunday they were to be seen on the station platforms with great bunches of wild flowers gathered from the fields and woods. There is nothing very exciting about all this. I know, but I am just trying to show that the normal is the dominant note.

For those who desire religion there are the enormous number of churches for which Moscow is noted, all open in the usual way.

Another English observer gives a similar picture after a trip through the southern provinces. Mr. George Young, the correspondent of the London *Daily Herald*, writes:

The provincial cities present a normal appearance. Everywhere reigns perfect order without the apparent use of police. I sat in the Park at Saratov and watched the parade of pretty girls in white and young men neatly dressed, and almost thought myself in a prosperous English provincial city . . .

In the villages . . . the peasants have everywhere they want to eat and look very fit . . . In most villages you see plenty of pigs running about the lanes. One village of 5,000 inhabitants boasted 7,000 head of cattle . . .

I spent Sunday in one little hamlet and watched the peasants streaming out of the local church. They stated that religion is not interfered with and that they supported the priest now themselves instead of the State. Said they: "Maybe he doesn't get quite so fat as he used to."

So life runs on in the towns and villages of Soviet Russia: the peasant better fed than ever before, and the priest perhaps not quite so overfed. Where, then, is all the "chaos," where the "utter collapse," where the "dissatisfaction," which we are told is so shortly to bring on the downfall of the Communist regime? Is it in the ranks of the Red Army hurling the Polish invader out of the land? Or is it concealed in this picture of peaceful, normal people going about their work and play, in and out of church and theatres, on Sunday picnics in the country or walking out in the parks? Or is perhaps only in the bitter minds of those who hate this new thing so that they will never stop to learn that it has come to stay?

\* \* \*

**S**OME must remember the glorious visions and proud programs that were developed in the press of this country and elsewhere when, after intervention had become a fact, the means were discussed by which the western civilization, with its highly developed industry and orderly process of economic life, would come to the aid of Russia, to rehabilitate the country and make happy its people as soon as the hateful Soviet regime should be overthrown. To be sure, prosaically speaking, the magnificent program would reduce itself to investments and trading with that country, so rich in natural resources. But in the situation in which Russia found itself after the devastations of war, this prosaic program meant progress and better life to the Russian people.

The program, however, had a "string to it" in

the form of the Soviet rule in Russia, and so the sphere of its action had to be reduced, to apply only to those parts of the country which, thanks to intervention, were prevented from having a government to their liking, and had to accept, for a time, one of foreign choice. But, unexpected to the "civilized" world, the hateful Soviets were able not only to establish their rule firmly in the regions which Allied intervention was not able to reach, but even slowly but steadily to drive out the interventionists from the occupied territories of Russia. As a result, the scheme of "aiding the Russian people" had to undergo changes, shrinking more and more in its field of application. One by one, Odessa, Archangel, Murman, Siberia, the Don and Kuban territories, the Caucasus, had to be abandoned, and the people left "to help themselves," as the "benefactors" of Russia invariably put it. Still, they have not lost all hopes for Russia's "rehabilitation" for, in certain recent issues of the *New York Times*, we read of the great hopes that are being pinned, in some circles, to the development of trade with—the Crimea. Mind you, of the hundred and sixty million people that were to receive the benefit of western trade, the "benefactors," with strange self-restraint, are ready to accept the homeopathic dose of some two million of Crimean population.

How is the head by hope not all forsaken,  
That ever cleaves to stalesst stuff, and when  
With greedy hand he digs for treasures, then  
Is overjoyed, if earth-worms he hath taken!

So Faust might repeat in this case. On our part, we wish to console the "benefactors" with the thought that in case even these "earth-worms" should fail, and the Crimea be captured by Soviet arms, there nevertheless still remains a limited but grateful field of action in the persons of the Russian *émigrés* living in the large cities of Western Europe and America. Let the interested business world take heed, especially pawnbrokers, ready to cash aristocratic family jewels, smuggled out of the country, runners of card games, *petits chevaux*, roulette, bookmakers, and men of kindred occupations. Here is their opportunity. And perhaps the clients of these gentlemen—and the idle Russian nobility has always afforded them many clients—are more likely to "fall for" the schemes of ambitious "promoters" than the real people of Russia, who want real business for the real interests of both sides.

\* \* \*

WHEN large masses of mankind are stricken with calamities, it is next to impossible to expect even from sympathetic souls any attention to individual cases of misery and sorrow. The human field of vision is limited, and cannot be concentrated on a microcosmic world at a moment when its eye is focused on the great macromosm.

And yet a calamity that befalls the masses of people is reflected in multiform ways in the life-struggles of individuals and quite often attains,

in this little world, an intensity that brings it to the point of tragedy.

It is over two years since the intervention and the blockade of the Allies began to subject the people of Russia to war, starvation and all kinds of miseries. The Russian people bear all this heroically, happy in the consciousness that out of this misery and sorrow there will come a better and happier world, if not for themselves, then for their children. They go to war, they exert themselves in the Sisyphus task of building up their country, they limit their needs to the demands of the most primitive life, and they are nevertheless happy, with the happiness that great achievement gives to man.

Much worse is the case of the tens of thousands of Russian war prisoners, scattered all over Europe, some even in the hot regions of Africa, undergoing worse privations, in the concentration camps in which they are kept; and they must pass through even worse mental torments, due to the constant attempts on the part of the reactionaries to compel these innocent men to join the counter-revolutionary bands, and to war on their own brothers, and suffer maltreatment owing to their invariable refusal to obey the call of their masters.

A different case is that of the Russian emigrant workers and poorer intellectuals living in a strange land, and unable, because of the blockade, to return to their home country. Although they are in most cases better off materially than they were before they left Russia, and surely incomparably better off materially than they would be on their return to Russia, they invariably long with all their heart to return to their home land, ready to sacrifice all their savings to buy passage for themselves and their families, and suffering from their inability to do so. They feel that there, far away, their kin are passing through a great historic upheaval that is radically changing all that had existed before and that, by the way, had driven them away from their country and sent them to a strange land. They feel that their kin are living a great life, despite the fact that it is full of privations, and they want to unite with their brothers in their inspirations and in their sufferings, at the cost of abandoning a more comfortable and easy life, which is for them devoid of that human element that gives meaning to life. Those that have families may forget, through the worries of every day life, the longings of their hearts. But there is a considerable number of Russians who, in their exile, have no one to whom they could attach themselves, and are as lonesome as shooting-stars in the immense spheres of the universe. They wander around without aim, and sometimes, in despair of a better day, they put an end to their unenviable lives. A case of this kind, which recently was brought rather forcibly to the attention of this office, impels us to say these words concerning the unhappy lot of the solitary Russian in America.

## Terror in North Russia

[A recent number of "Krasnaya Gazeta" published the following article under the title "The White Guard Torture Chambers," written at Archangel by A. Dedikov, describing the customs prevailing under the "government" of General Miller, on the island of Yokanga, a place of banishment for political prisoners.]

THE head of the prison at that place was a certain Sadukov, a former convict in a prison for criminals, who had acted as warden in a Siberian prison. This "head" was a grim executioner, a real Sadist, who delighted in murdering and torturing prisoners. He commanded his subordinates to shoot the victims in their cells whenever the slightest noise could be heard on the part of the prisoners within. The latter had a categorical order to "sleep from five o'clock in the afternoon until eight o'clock in the morning." After five o'clock the earth huts (the place where the prisoners were kept) were as if dead, for the people in them, sentenced to a slow death, lay there without the slightest motion.

Whenever any seriously ill person in the earth-huts was heard to cough, the warden would step to the window and call out: "Quiet, or I shoot!"

Occasionally, at night, Sudakov would get up a little massacre in which the prisoners were the victims. In such cases he would have his henchmen surround the earth-huts and order them to beat with their gunstocks all the prisoners that happened to come their way. The "White" hangmen would pass from one hut to the other, leaving behind them the cries and moans of the maltreated victims. To find an occasion for such massacres Sudakov would also resort to provocation. He once decided to arrange a little "flight," for which purpose he made use of tunnels that had been dug in the huts. After a shot was fired as a signal there came a general shooting, which resulted in seven killed and more than twenty wounded, of whom several died later. With the aid of provocative denunciations Sudakov also succeeded in arranging a special trial concerning the above-mentioned "flight," thirteen prisoners were put before the court-martial at Murmansk and it was only due to some accident that they were not shot. The general conditions of life for the political prisoners were fully in accord with the character of the head of the prison. They were obliged to sit naked in their earth huts, practically without air, tortured by monsters. Under the floor they heard the trickling of water; when it rained, streams of water would flow into the huts through the roofs, which were full of holes. Every day, regardless of the weather, all the prisoners, half naked, were led out into the yard, where they were subjected to inspection. When the unfortunates requested clothes with which to cover their bodies, the guards would answer with derisive laughter and with assurances that things were better as they were, for they would die quicker. Under these circumstances the prisoners fell ill in great numbers. The "hospital" was not better than the earth-huts; it is not surprising that no one got well at the

"hospital." Of the prisoners, 185 died; the number who were ill rose to 400.

The author concludes: Yokanga will constitute the blackest page in the golden book of capital, which is soiled with the blood of tortured men.

The story of this prison should be trumpeted forth all over the world, so that men may shudder at its horrors.

This article is stated to be only the first of a series which will give accounts of the doings at Yokanga. The reports of those who will return from the other world—from Yokanga—will contain even worse things.

The bourgeois press of the world, daily reports every possible kind of fabricated story concerning the "cruelties" of the Bolsheviki, but guards carefully against reporting any of the acts of the Whites, who in this matter have really beaten the record in the history of the world.

### ARCHANGEL UNDER ENGLISH RULE

A recent number of *Krasnaya Gazeta* gives additional details of terror by describing scenes from the period in Archangel when the English were the administrators of the city.

Most of the schools in the northern territory were not operating during that period. English soldiers had broken up school benches and blackboards. Many schoolhouses had been transformed into Anglo-French barracks. At school entertainments the director of the gymnasium, as well as the students, were in the habit of drinking themselves into a state of intoxication. The English officers molested even school girls. In a girl's school in Archangel, eighty girls were found to be pregnant, a great number of whom were infected with venereal diseases. And from Archangel, syphilis cases were being spread in the northern region to an alarming extent. These gentlemen were so enterprising with regard to Russian women that no woman dared to go out into the streets at night. The English did not even hesitate to carry off women by force in broad daylight. The women who were so unfortunate as to be found infected with venereal diseases were shot down without further warning.

In addition to these diseases, English whiskey and other liquors were also imported by the English. The bourgeoisie at Archangel had expected entirely different things from the English. The "White" Russians had imagined that these bearers of civilization would bring them white bread and sugar as well as "order." In reality they acted as a "civilized" nation is accustomed to act towards an "uncivilized" colony. The English soldiers called the Russians pigs and treated them as such.

Street fights between English and Russian sol-

diers, as well as between Americans and Englishmen, were the order of the day. In June, 1919, such a street encounter, which had begun, quite "modestly," between a Russian civilian and an English soldier, finally assumed such gigantic dimensions that the number of English participants rose to about two thousand persons. To put down this "peaceful" scrimmage, a detachment of English sailors was sent out, and even the English Commander-in-Chief made a trip to the scene of battle. The greater part of the Russian participants in the encounter were immediately locked up. On the next day, the English Commander-in-Chief, General Miller, declared in the order of the day that those who were guilty of preparing for "Bolshevik uprisings," would be sentenced according to the rules of war.

Before their evacuation, at the end of September, the English stationed on the Northern Dvina (to be distinguished from the Western Dvina, which flows through Latvia) sank in that river 25,000,000 cartridges, 80 aeroplanes, cannons, several lighters full of coal and many automobiles. Intensive labor is being carried on now to recover these valuable properties. The English tried to make their flight appear as an intended evacuation. They tried to carry with them a part of the Russian population, in order to point out to the English workers that "the peaceful" inhabitants of Russia were fleeing before the "cruel Bolsheviks." But in spite of these indications of "evacuation," in spite of the promises of a splendid trip on an Atlantic steamer, and other alluring things, the English were compelled to leave Archangel in empty steamers on which they had loaded only a number of dilapidated German locomotives, which the Englishmen were annexing from Archangel.

But the English "benefactors" were boasting of their sugar and white bread. Thus, for example, an Allied officer said to a Russian lady who was cautiously censuring the conduct of the civilized nations at Archangel:

"Yes, that is the gratitude shown us by these Russian pigs for our white bread and sugar."

#### THE FAR EAST ECONOMIC POLICY

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Government placed before us a number of questions of a political and economic nature. Having introduced by force with the aid of the laboring masses, Soviet forms of rule in central Russia, the Soviet Government considers that in the interest of establishing the peace of the country, both internal and external, it is necessary to substitute peaceful methods for those of force. The boundary regions, which are in direct contact with capitalistic countries, must enter upon the path of a slow transition to unified state forms. The compulsory methods used in the Far East injured the interests of foreigners and created a state of nervousness among the people. It is necessary to make it understood that in these regions we considered forcible measures necessary in so far as the

Allies were in active opposition to Russia. At present, however, when the Allied policy towards Russia assumes a peaceful character, there is no need for a severe attitude towards the interests of foreign capital. Inasmuch as Russian proposals are received sympathetically by Europe and Asia, we, in the Far East, in our financial and economic relations with foreigners, will meet sympathetically and discuss all of their proposals.

Soviet Russia believes that it is possible to settle peacefully all questions pertaining to the exploitation of the natural resources of the Far East, and it does not hesitate to permit to a certain extent the participation of foreign capital in such exploitation, provided the capital is assigned to carry on long, serious work. One of our direct problems is to eliminate the private and cooperative capital now invested in the Far East, and to endeavor to set it to the task of increasing productivity; it is necessary to create, of these capitals, two compact active forces, and to direct their activity into one channel. We must turn these two forces into a strong competitor of the possible great aspirations of foreign capital.

Having admitted the view that the development of this region is to be carried on with the aid of capital, we modify only that portion of our labor policy which states that the workers are to take a direct part in the management of the affairs of the enterprises. This modification pertains to all private enterprise. The forms of contracts between labor and capital will continue their transformation, and will gradually assume the legislative form. We believe that productivity of labor and the development of industry can only be possible when the workers are well organized; the organs of the state power will only then be able to introduce the well-drawn up economic plans of the state, when they will deal with organized capital and organized labor.

The government organs will give enough attention to labor as well as to capitalist organizations, and will utilize all the efforts of either of these to cooperate with the government for the purpose of strengthening the economic and political power of Russia as a whole.—*Krasnoye Znamya*, April 28, 1920.

#### ELECTIONS TO MOSCOW SOVIET

At Moscow the elections of the Council of Workers' and Red Soldiers' Deputies are now taking place. The communists are elected in overwhelming numbers. Among the elected deputies are, the celebrated savant, K. A. Timiryazev and Maxim Gorky.

A resolution was adopted by the elective assembly of more than 1,000 persons. It declared that the railroad workers of the shops of Kursk elected Professor Timiryazev, thus symbolizing the union of labor and science; similarly, the workers of the railroad station of Parkhovo (Kazan railroad), in electing Maxim Gorky, wish to mark the union of labor and art, of which the popular proletarian writer is a brilliant representative.



## A Communist Manifesto from Poland

[The following is a translation from "Swit," Vienna, May 28, 1920.]

INSTEAD OF PEACE—A NEW WAR.

### SOLDIER WORKERS!

A new conflagration has come upon the Polish land.

Pilsudski is proclaiming in his manifesto a war for the "liberation of Ukraine." He announces that Polish armies will drive the "foreign invaders" out of the territories inhabited by the Ukrainian people. And the Ukrainian hireling of the Warsaw Government, Ataman Petlura, promises in his manifesto to conquer Ukraine beyond the city of Yekaterinoslav with the aid of the Polish arms.

That means a new war for life!

For almost four months the Polish Government has been deceiving the masses of the Polish people, concealing first the peace proposals of the governments of Russia and Ukraine, and then simulating a desire to take up peace negotiations. Public opinion was being hoodwinked with disputes over the place of negotiations, Borisov. Meantime, behind the scenes, in concert with French generals, a great offensive was being prepared against Soviet Ukraine, a bargain was being negotiated with Ataman Petlura, Ukrainian detachments were being reorganized and armed. The Government was speaking falsely of peace while it was preparing for a new war.

In the year 1918, Petlura, together with his government, brought upon Ukraine the German invasion, in order to strangle in its blood the workers' and peasants' revolution. Today, the same bandit becomes a convenient tool in the hands of new "liberators," the Polish conquerors, masquerading under the cloak of defenders of the "people's" Republic of Ukraine.

The real nature of such "liberation" a la Hindenburg can be seen right now in Lithuania and White Russia, in Volhynia and Podolia, where by the order of Pilsudski the predatory occupational authorities are now ruling. They are robbing the whole country, throttling the popular strivings for liberation, shackling the people with the chains of peonage while crushing all resistance with blood and iron.

The manifesto of Pilsudski is a declaration of war upon the revolutionary Ukraine. Revolution is to be crushed on the vast stretches of Ukraine—is to be swamped in the blood of the Polish soldiers. *The comedy of the peace negotiations is finding its conclusive end.* A war is beginning for the destruction of the Ukrainian revolution, and later the Russian as well.

**SOLDIER WORKERS!** The mad campaign of the Polish militarists cannot end with a victory. By squandering the blood of the Polish people for the purpose of strangling the revolution in the neighboring countries, Polish reaction is digging its own grave. But it depends upon us to bridle

this bloody madness, to prevent the war being drawn out into the seventh year.

Let us understand once for all, that they are deceiving us infamously those who under the cloak of defending Poland or liberating Ukraine are spilling ever new streams of our blood, placing Poland in the position of a gendarme of the capitalist counter-revolution in the east of Europe. Let us thrust aside the infamous deceivers of the Polish Socialist Party, who are hoodwinking us with their peace agitation, but who in reality are supporting Pilsudski and the imperialist government, who have drawn Poland into a new slaughter, in order to strangle the rule of the workers and peasants in Ukraine.

The Polish people will gain nothing from this predatory war under the leadership of bourgeois hangmen—nothing except famine, misery, and destruction. The toiling masses of Poland have an enemy not in the workers and peasants of Russia and Ukraine, but in their own exploiters. The toiling masses of Poland would trample upon their own rights and interests if they allow themselves to be thrust into war against their own brothers liberated by the revolution.

It is not Ukraine which we must liberate now, but *Poland from the rule of the bourgeoisie*. Our arms must be raised against the ruling band, always greedy for spoils and acquiring them at the price of our blood.

Only one thing can extricate us from the abyss of constant war calamities—the conquest of power by the proletariat, a Government of Workers' Councils.

In the face of the new terrible war that has been started, new slaughter for capitalist profits, there is only one way out for us—revolution.

Let the new criminal campaign of the ruling hangmen awake to a struggle the entire proletariat of the villages and cities.

Down with the piratical campaign against Ukraine!

Down with the Government of Mass murder!

Long live Soviet Ukraine!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live a Polish Republic of the Workers' Councils.

*Central Committee of the Communist Labor Party of Poland.*

### SUBSCRIBE TO SOVIET RUSSIA

If you are going to the country, you will not want to depend on chance or on a small news-stand for your copies of SOVIET RUSSIA. You may be sure of its delivery regularly for ten weeks by sending us one dollar for that purpose.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## An Appeal to the Labor Army of Petrograd

[The following appeal was adopted in the course of the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet after the report of Comrade Zinoviev on the creation of the Labor Army of Petrograd.]

Comrades, Soldiers of the Labor army! The Petrograd Soviet salutes you in the name of the entire working population of Petrograd on this day that you enter a new and glorious arena. The heroic Red Army having repulsed the attacks of the world organization of the "White Guard" on all fronts, has obtained for the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia the possibility of giving themselves to the works of peace. But the counter-revolution, defeated on the fronts, is not yet entirely crushed.

Remnants of the Denikin bands are still to be found in the Northern Caucasus. The Ukraine is not yet entirely freed of the "White Guard." The North of Russia is still in the hands of the creatures of English imperialism. The capitalists of the Entente countries are still trying to set the Polish "White Guard" upon Soviet Russia.

These pitiable remnants of the counter-revolution must be completely settled with, or they may again become a formidable menace.

Thus, we must in no way diminish our military force. But also we must not for a moment abandon the most energetic struggle against economic disorganization, hunger, cold, disease. That is why the Soviet Republic is transforming entire military armies into armies of labor, without demobilizing them, but maintaining them as military units. These labor armies now devote all their forces and means to the fight against economic disorder, while remaining a formidable military force, ready to rush into combat at any moment, at the first call of the workers' and peasants' government.

Comrades, Red soldiers of the old Seventh Army, now soldiers of the Revolutionary Labor Army of Petrograd! Your heroic and glorious army, united with the workers of Petrograd, twice defended the city against a menacing danger. Thanks to what were we strong in this struggle? What was the force which annihilated Yudenich and wrested peace from Esthonia? It was the force created by the union of the Red front with the Red forces in the rear. We have now before us a new and immense work.

And we can accomplish this work, upon which depends the fate of Soviet Russia, if we not only preserve this military union, but increase it five-fold, and transform it into a union of labor. Our factories are idle. The railroads are destroyed. Locomotives are wanting. There is no fuel. There is no bread. Peasant exploitations are disorganized. The country is suffering from lack of articles of the greatest necessity. We must procure fuel, repair the locomotives, operate the factories, in order that the city may aid the country—to bring its products there.

The peasants must be supplied with agricultural implements. Agriculture must be raised to the necessary level. The country must be given elec-

tric light, and chemical fertilizers; the peasants must be given fabrics, nails, oil. The labor army will help the peasants work the soil, and harvest and store the products. We cannot do it without your aid and if we should not do it, it would mean that the sacred blood of our best comrades, fallen for the defence of Red Petrograd, shall have been shed in vain. We must overcome the economic disorder. And we shall vanquish it with the aid of the Revolutionary Labor Army of Petrograd.

Comrades, soldiers of the labor army! It is together that we beat Yudenich, let us then march together, shoulder to shoulder, to a new combat against the cursed misfortunes of the people.

And let our enemies know that the fighting strength and military discipline remain the same in the ranks of the labor army of Petrograd, and that at any moment it can again, from a labor army, become a military army. And if the frou-sards and the lazy are still found in the ranks of the army, let them know well that deserters from labor will be punished as pitilessly as those deserting from the war.

Defenders of Petrograd against the white hands, forward! Forward in the name of the regeneration of Petrograd!

Eternal glory to the heroic Seventh Army—the protector of Petrograd. Long live the Revolutionary Labor Army of Petrograd!

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### ADDRESS ON LABOR MOBILIZATION

At a meeting of railway engineers held several days ago, Professor Gredeskul, a former Cadet, delivered a particularly important address on the mobilization of labor, and admonished his colleagues to devote all their energies to the economic reconstruction of the Soviet state. In an article in *Economic Railway Exploitation*, the same professor states that the Soviet Republic has undertaken the task of realizing the ideal of the liberation of labor from economic and moral oppression.

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### REVIEW OF THE GARRISON OF PETROGRAD

The second day of the fetes on the occasion of the second anniversary of the creation of the Red Army began on the 23d of February with a review of the troops for internal defence of Petrograd. Towards noon, the vast Place Uritzky was black with troops of all the armed branches. There was also numerous cavalry, bristling with a forest of lances, prettily decorated with Soviet emblems. On the two flanks of the Art Palace (the old Winter Palace), were the infantry and the military aspirants, forming a circle ringed, near the Arch, by the marines and the troops for internal defence.

## Official Soviet Radios

### RADIO SENT TO LORD CURZON BY CHICHERIN ON JUNE 11

The Russian Government cannot refrain from remarking that the change of attitude of the British Government towards the new offensive of Wrangel's White guards against Russia would have been more beneficent to the real interests of the Russian and British people and to the cause of the mutual understanding of the two Governments had it happened at an earlier state of the above offensive. As much as the declaration of the British Government disassociating itself from Wrangel's attack upon Russia is to be welcomed, the fact remains that this attack is the outcome of the political protection lent to Wrangel's White Guards by the British Government's diplomatic intervention, and of the direct help rendered to them by the Allies. If, under the cover of Great Britain's diplomatic protection, the White Guards have prepared their offensive, the latter cannot be considered as being in no connection whatever with the British Government's attitude. The White Guards Commander-in-Chief, Wrangel himself, in an order to his men, dated May 6, openly and bluntly refers to Great Britain's diplomatic intervention on his behalf as to a means for securing for him Crimea and for preparing a new blow against Soviet Russia. It is true that it is Wrangel with his White Guards and not a British general who is once more attacking Russia, but the arms and munitions he is using have been given to him by the British Government and other Allied Governments; his strategical movements have taken place under the protection of British and other Allied ships; he has received the necessary coal from Great Britain and the Allied fleet has partly assisted him, partly directly participated in his landing operations. The Russian Government cannot therefore share the point of view of the absence of responsibility of the British Government as to this new aggression against Russia. It considers it the more important to ascertain what actual effect will be given by the British Government to their present opposition against Wrangel's offensive move. Seeing that at the time when the British Government, on the basis of the non-reception of our answer which was held back by its own agents, considered us as being adverse to the British proposals of amnesty—the same government threatening us with new military operations of the British forces against our troops and our territory—we claim the right to expect that the same measures will be applied to Wrangel now that it is he the obstacle to the accomplishment of the British Government's will, and we would find it expedient to be timely informed thereof in order to enable us to coordinate our measures in this respect with those of the British Government running in the same direction. Seeing likewise that in this question all that hindered a full community of views between both govern-

ments seems to have been removed, we would like to know what is the obstacle still in the way of general negotiations between our governments aimed at a full agreement upon all pending questions.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*  
CHICHERIN.

### LITHUANIA'S DEMANDS

Moscow, May 26.—At the fourth meeting between the Russian and Lithuanian Peace Delegation, the Lithuanian delegation presented its objections on the boundary question. These were chiefly to the effect that Lithuania should receive, in addition to the Kovno provinces, also certain districts of the provinces of Suvalki, Vilna, and Grodno. The objections were based on ethnographic data and religious statistics, which assumed that the entire Catholic population should be considered as belonging to Lithuania. Rosenbaum, representing the Lithuanian Jews, spoke in favor of the right of self-determination not only for nations but for all groups living on certain territories. In his answer, Yoffe expressed his distrust of his correctness of the historical "facts." To demand that every Catholic should be considered belonging to Lithuania would be very bad for the Poles, for instance. The only righteous and acceptable principle is the right of self-determination of populations. To yield this right to every group would be equivalent to making every town an independent republic.

At the congress of White Russians, recently held at Minsk, the wish was expressed for independence, while other delegates spoke for a union of White Russia with Russia. The province of Grodno can therefore not be given to Lithuania. Yoffe proposed that all boundary questions should be treated in detail by a special commission.

### SUPPLYING POLAND WITH MUNITION

Moscow, June 3.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, sent a telegram to the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, Benesch, in which he protested against the action of Czecho-Slovakia, in continuing the delivery of war supplies to Poland, in view of the fact that this occurred at a time when the governments of both countries had agreed to begin an exchange of prisoners and citizens of their respective countries.

### SOVIET RUSSIA AND AZERBEIDJAN

Moscow, June 5.—The Central Committee of the Communists of Azerbeidjan have expressed the gratitude of the peasants and workmen of Azerbeidjan to Lenin and Trotsky for the help given them by the Russians. They have offered their aid against Poland.

# Press Cuttings

## Russia's Raw Materials

[The following interview with Rykov, President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" on June 18, 1920.]

REVAL, June 10.—Rykov, the President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, is one of the hardest-worked men in the Republic, and the only day on which I was able to have a long talk with him (although on several occasions he snatched minutes to give me information on particular questions which interested me) was on a holiday in Easter-week, when the old Siberian Hotel, now the offices of the Council, was deserted and I walked through empty corridors until I found Rykov and his secretary at work as usual. Most of our conversation was concerned with particular economic perspectives of Russia on which I was collecting information. Some parts of it, however, were of more general interest, and these I am putting together here.

After talking of oil, the building of the railway from Alexandrov Gai to the Emba, the prospects of developing the oil industry in that district, the relative values of those deposits with those of Baku, and the possible decreasing significance of Baku in Russian industry, generally, we passed to broader perspectives. I asked him what he thought of the relations between agriculture and industry in Russia, and supposed that he did not imagine that Russia would ever become a great industrial country.

He replied: "Of course not. But we may have to wait a long time before the inevitable arrives, and there is a Supreme Economic Council dealing with Europe as a single economic whole. If that should come about we should, of course, from the very nature of our country, be called upon in the first place to provide food for Europe, while the western countries would supply our mechanical needs. We should hope enormously to improve our agriculture, working on a larger scale, using mechanical ploughs and tractors, which would be supplied us by the West. But in the meantime we have to face the fact that events may cause us to be, for all practical purposes, in a state of blockade for perhaps a score of years, and, so far as we can, we must be ready to depend on ourselves alone.

### *Gigantic Electricity Schemes*

"For example, we want mechanical ploughs, which could be produced abroad. We have had to start making them ourselves. The first electric plough made in Russia and used in Russia started work last year, and this year we shall have a number of such ploughs made in our country, not because it is economical to make them so, but because we could get them in no other way. In so far as is possible, we shall have to make ourselves self-supporting, so as somehow or other to get along even if the blockade, formal or perhaps willy-nilly (imposed by the inability of the West to supply us), compels us to postpone cooperation with the rest of Europe. Every day of such postponement is one in which the resources of Europe are not being used in the most efficient manner to supply the needs not only of our own country but of all."

I referred to what he had told me last year about the intended electrification of Moscow by a station using turf fuel.

"That," he said, "is one of the plans which, in spite of the war, have gone a very long way towards completion. We have built the station in the Ryazan government, on the Shadul peat mosses, about 110 versts from Moscow. Before the end of May that station should be actually at work. Another station at Kashira, in the Tula government (on the Oka), using the small coal produced in the Moscow coal fields, will be at work before the autumn. This year similar stations are be-

ing built at Ivanovo-Voznesensk and at Nizhni-Novgorod. Also, with a view to making the most economic use of what we already possess, we have finished, both in Petrograd and in Moscow, a general unification of all the private power stations, which now supply their current to a single main cable. Similar unification is nearly finished at Tula and at Kostroma. The big wyter-power station on the rapids of the Volkhov is finished in so far as land construction goes, but we can proceed no farther until we have obtained the turbines, which we hope to get from abroad.

"As you know, we are basing our plans in general on the assumption that in course of time we shall supply the whole of Russian industry with electricity, of which we also hope to make great use in agriculture. That, of course, will take a number of years." (I have collected detailed information and maps on these wider perspectives of Russia's economic development which I hope to include in a separate article. They are of interest as indications of future geographical redistributions of industry in Russia, of eventual tendencies and not of immediate possibilities.)

### *Raw Materials: A Transport Problem*

Considering the question of the import of machinery from abroad, I asked him whether in existing conditions of transport Russia was actually in a position to export the raw materials with which alone the Russians could hope to buy what they want. He said:

"Actually we have at hand about two million poods (a pood is a little over 36 English pounds) of flax, and any quantity of light leather (goat, etc.), but the main districts where we have raw material for ourselves or for export are far away. Hides, for example, we have in great quantities in Siberia, in the districts of Orenburg and the Ural River and in Tashkent. I have myself made the suggestion that we should offer to sell this stuff where it is—that is to say, not delivered at a seaport, and that the buyers should provide their own trains, which we should eventually buy, paying with the raw material itself, so that after a certain number of journeys the trains should become ours. In the same districts we have any quantity of wool, and in some of these districts corn. We cannot, in the present condition of our transport, even get this corn for ourselves. In the same way we have great quantities of rice in Turkestan, and actually are being offered rice from Sweden because we cannot transport our own. Then we have over a million poods of copper ready for export on the same conditions. But it is clear that if the western countries are unable to help in the transport they cannot expect to get raw materials from us."

I asked about platinum. He laughed.

"That is a different matter. In platinum we have a world monopoly, and can consequently afford to wait. Diamonds and gold, they can have as much as they want of such rubbish; but platinum is different, and we are in no hurry to part with it. But diamonds and gold ornaments, the jewelry of the Czars, we are ready to give to any king in Europe who fancies them, if he can give us some less ornamental, but more useful locomotives instead."

I asked him if Kolchak had damaged the platinum mines. He replied, "Not at all. On the contrary, he was promising platinum to everybody who wanted it, and he set the mines going; so we arrived to find them in good condition, with a considerable yield of platinum ready for us."

(I am inclined to think that, in spite of Rykov's rather intransigent attitude on the question, the Rus-

sians would none the less be willing to export platinum, if only on account of the fact that in comparison with its great value it requires little transport, and so would make possible for them an immediate bargain over some of the machinery they most urgently need.)

Finally we talked of the growing importance of the Council of National Economy. Rykov was of opinion that it would eventually become the center of the whole state organism, "it and the trade unions, which will then be the purely productive unions organizing the actual producers in each branch."

#### *Political Parties Disappearing*

"Then you think that as your further plans develop, with the creation of more and more industrial centers, with special productive populations concentrated round them, the councils of the trade unions will tend to become identical with the Soviets elected in the same districts by the same industrial units?"

"Precisely," said Rykov, "and in that way the Soviets, useful during the period of transition as an instrument of struggle and dictatorship, will be merged with the unions." (One important factor, as Lenin pointed out when considering the same question, is here left out of account, namely the political development of the enormous agricultural as opposed to industrial population.)

"But if this merging of political Soviets with productive unions occurs, the questions that concern people will cease to be political questions, but will be purely questions of economics?"

"Certainly. And we shall see the disappearance of political parties. That process is already apparent. In the present huge Trade Union Conference there are only sixty Mensheviks. The Communists are swallowing one party after another. Those who were not drawn over to us during the period of struggle are now joining us during the process of building, and we find that our differences now are not political at all, but concerned only with the practical details of construction." He illustrated this by pointing out the present constitution of the Supreme Council of National Economy. There are under it fifty-three departments or centers (textile, soap, wool, timber, etc.), each controlled by a "college" of three or more persons. There are 232 members of these colleges or boards in all, and of them eighty-three are workmen, seventy-nine are engineers, one is an ex-director, fifty are from the clerical staff, and nineteen unclassified. Politically 115 are Communists, 105 are of no party at all, and twelve are of non-Communist parties.

He continued: "Further, in following the other parties, the Communists themselves will cease to exist as a political party. Consider only that youths coming to their manhood during this year in Russia and in the future will not be able to confirm from their own experience the reasoning of Karl Marx, because they will have had no experience of a capitalist country. What can they make of the class struggle? The class struggle here is already over, and the distinctions of class have already gone altogether. In the old days, members of our party were men who had read, or tried to read, Marx's 'Capital,' who knew the 'Communist Manifesto' by heart, and were occupied in continual criticism of the basis of capitalist society. Look at the new members of our party. Marx is quite unnecessary to them. They join us, not for struggle in the interest of an oppressed class, but simply because they understand our aims in constructive work. And as this process continues we old Social-Democrats shall disappear, and our places will be filled by people of entirely different character grown up under entirely new conditions."

#### **WHAT THE CONFISCATED ISSUE OF "OSAKA MAINICHI" CONTAINED**

The first wire sent by Fusse on April 12 from Moscow was printed in *Osaka Mainichi* of April 18. This issue was confiscated by order of the authorities. The

Central Information Bureau succeeded in obtaining a copy of this issue.

The wire is headed: "A disclosed secret of the workers' and peasants' Russia." At the beginning of the report Fusse states that he received from the Soviet Government an official permit to enter Moscow. In Reval he boarded a train put at his disposal by the Soviet of People's Commissars. On entering the territory of Russia Fusse received a definite amount of bread and sugar. He was greatly surprised by the surroundings: women were cleaning the stations while singing the "Internationale"; the word "Tovarishch" (comrade) was heard everywhere. The correspondent further says: "It seemed to me that I had entered a new world."

The correspondent, Fusse, passed Yamburg and Gatchina—these places of recent terrible battles. The suburbs of Petrograd have wire obstructions and trenches everywhere. The correspondent regrets that he was unable to stop in Petrograd for lack of time, and he had therefore to content himself with just a walk within the surroundings of the stations. He states that the appearance of Petrograd had not changed at all; the streets of Petrograd are very crowded. The correspondent observed the faces of the inhabitants but could not detect traces of fatigue and privations, although much is said about this in foreign countries.

On the 7th of April Fusse arrived in Moscow. The city has changed entirely. Almost all the stores are closed and no signs with golden letters may be seen. Instead of these, government stores can be seen; these issue all sorts of articles on presentation of cards. The correspondent saw in various places small stores, in which handicraft articles were being sold.

Fusse noticed that the change in the psychology of the population is much more serious and profound than the change in the exterior surroundings. The workmen and women, soldiers and children, are full of energy and merriment. One can seldom meet a "bourgeois." The Intellectuals, who placed great hopes in Kolchak and Denikin until last fall and have since been sabotaging, are now convinced that it is futile to struggle against the course of events.

Further, Fusse describes his meeting with one of the former rich landowners, who lost their property on account of the Bolsheviks. This former landowner said that he was employed in a factory in the capacity of engineer, was getting a decent salary, and, in general, lead a quiet life.

According to Fusse the situation within the Republic is gradually getting better: the disturbances have ceased, the epidemics of typhus and other illnesses are disappearing. The future of Russia can be looked upon optimistically. Economic disintegration and the shortage of food are felt keenly.

The correspondent admits that before he entered Russia he did not expect to find such a fine situation. Immediately upon arriving in Moscow, Fusse visited the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Eastern Division, Mr. Voznessensky, told Fusse: "Your arrival coincided with the opening of military operations by the Japanese troops in Khabarovsk and Nikolaevsk; you have come at an unpleasant time. Is the position of your military party really so strong?"

Fusse was given a room in one of the luxurious buildings. The Afghan representative lived in this building during his visit to the Soviet Government. When Fusse arrived in Moscow, two conventions were held there at the time: the Ninth All-Russian Conference of the Communist Party, and the Third Conference of the trade unions.

The Communist Party number at present 600,000 members, and the trade unions unite three million workers. Fusse declares that the 600,000 Bolsheviks are the kernel of the Soviet Republic; all responsible posts in all government institutions, factories, schools, railroads are filled by them.—*Krasnoye Znamya*, Vladivostok, April 30.

### UKRAINIAN SOVIET CONGRESS

The newspaper *Byednota* for May 27 prints a short account of the Ukrainian Soviet Congress. There took part in the Congress 811 men and 784 women. The following resolution on the question of the war with Poland was unanimously adopted: "Before all the working people of Poland and all the Soviet republics, the Soviet Congress vows to devote all its forces and all its thoughts to the struggle against the Polish masters.

"All the delegates to the congress must place themselves at the head of every provincial uyezd, volost, and rural trade union, at the head of the workers and peasants organizations, in order to strengthen the front and the work of defence behind the front.

"All the members of the Congress are mobilized as one man for labor and for war against the Polish masters."

In addition the Congress passed resolutions on the food stuffs and agrarian questions. In the first named resolution, the necessity is emphasized of continuing in the future the system of state confiscations of grain, and of fixed prices. In addition a resolute struggle must be begun against all speculation. In the resolution on the agrarian question occurred the following words:

"Peasants having no land or too little land are to be provided with land according to the working norm of each land worker. Such individual farm lands as exceed the norm but do not exceed the land area fixed in certain districts are to be retained, but all lands going beyond the latter limits must be taken from the individual owners."

### A DECREE ON THE ELIMINATION OF ILLITERACY

[The following decree on the elimination of illiteracy among the population of the Russian Soviet Republic appeared in "Izvestia," Petrograd, on December 30, 1919.]

Moscow, December 29 (Rosta).—In order to enable the entire population of the Republic to participate consciously in the political life of the country, the Soviet of People's Commissars decrees:

1. That all citizens of the Republic, between the ages of eight and fifty, who cannot read and write, must learn to read and write in their native tongue or in Russian, as they may choose. Such courses are given in the existing government schools, as well as in those which are now being organized for the illiterate elements of the population in accordance with the plans of the People's Commissariat of Education.

*Note:* This decree extends to the Red Guards. Responsible work in the military units is carried on with the direct participation of the Political Departments of the Red Army and Navy.

2. The period of time in which illiteracy is to be eliminated shall be determined by the provincial and city Soviets of Deputies. The

general plans for the elimination of illiteracy in the localities are to be worked out by the organs of the People's Commissariat of Education within two months from the publication of this decree.

3. The People's Commissariat of Education and its local organs have the right to call the literate elements of the population, which were not recruited, for the purpose of teaching the illiterates. They are to be called in the compulsory labor order and are to be remunerated in accordance with the standard of educational workers.

4. All organizations of the toiling population, such as: trade unions, local branches of the Russian Communist Party, unions of the communistic youth, etc., are called by the People's Commissariat of Education to participate in the elimination of illiteracy.

5. If those who are taught to read and write are employed (except those working in military organizations), their working days are made two hours shorter for the period of learning, and they receive full wages.

6. For the purpose of eliminating illiteracy the organs of the People's Commissariat of Education are given the right to utilize public houses, churches, clubs, private houses, appropriate space at the factories and works of the Soviet Government, etc.

7. The supply organizations are ordered to give preference to the needs of the organizations combating illiteracy before the needs of other organizations.

8. Those who disregard the rulings of this decree and prevent the illiterates from attending schools, are held liable under criminal law.

9. The People's Commissariat of Education is to issue within two weeks detailed instructions for the execution of this decree.

*Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars:*

VLADIMIR ULIANOV (LENIN).

*Chief Clerk:* BONCH-BRUEVICH.

*Secretary:* BRICHKINA.

### PRAVDA ON THE POLISH DEFEATS

*Pravda* on May 25 prints a leading article entitled the "Red Army a Liberator," which says among other things that the Polish imperialists began their campaign against Soviet Russia with the object of driving the Reds from Ukraine. But the Polish agents miscalculated and underestimated the military forces in Soviet Russia. The Red Army will not retire from Ukraine, but will instead drive the Poles from the Lithuanian and White Russian districts occupied by them. On an earlier occasion the Red troops were not able to come to the assistance of the Lithuanians and White Russians in their battle against the Polish imperialists. Now, however, Soviet Russia is strong enough to be successful in its aid to Lithuania, and White Russia, in shaking off the Polish yoke.

**EXPEDITION TO THE KARA SEA**

The rescue expedition to the Russian ice-breaker in the Kara Sea, as is well known, was delayed at Tromsoe because the Norwegian Government had required assurance that the Russian Government would also cover the insurance for the English ice-breaker *Sviatogor*. To our request for information on this subject from Foreign Minister Chicherin, we today received the following radio-telegram, dated May 30:

"According to Minister Ihlen's communication of April 29, the total expense of the expedition was estimated at about 2,000,000 crowns, including the sum of 350,000 crowns insurance against the total loss of *Sviatogor*. In pursuance of this estimate from the Norwegian Government, the sum of 2,350,000 crowns was remitted on my order to the *Centralbanken for Norge*, for the rescue expedition, and the sum, as acknowledged by Minister Ihlen is already at the disposal of the Norwegian Foreign Department.

After we received the latest communication from Minister Ihlen concerning the necessity of providing the Norwegian Government with two additional millions, especially for insurance, I on May 25 telegraphed to our Representative Litvinov, asking him to communicate personally with Ihlen in order to adjust this question. In this telegram I presumed the possibility that the Russian Government would assume the general responsibility for any damage that might occur to *Sviatogor* in the course of the expedition, if the Norwegian Government was satisfied with this regulation of the insurance question.

"By wireless message of May 25, I informed Minister Ihlen of the steps that had been taken by Litvinov, simultaneously asking the Minister to use his influence that the expedition might not be delayed by reason of the insurance question."

In connection with the above mentioned telegram the press bureau of the Foreign Department reports that the 350,000 crowns mentioned in the telegram for the insurance are for the coaling ship that was to accompany *Sviatogor*. The Department has received a telegram from Litvinov, proposing that the Soviet Government take over the responsibility for the entire Kara Sea expedition, including the insurance. The Department has accepted this proposition, and declares that the Norwegian state will advance the money while Russia may regulate the payment. As soon as Litvinov's approval is received for this arrangement, *Sviatogor* will receive clearing papers.

**RESUMPTION OF TRADE RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA**

As is well known, the Norwegian Trade Department has appointed a committee to treat the question of a resumption of trade relations with Russia, as well as all questions connected with it, including also the Norwegian indemnity demands.

The committee (under its chairman, Director of Fisheries, Asserson, has recently been holding

daily meetings at Christiania. Its transactions have now been closed and the members of the committee have traveled to their homes.

The Trade Department has received the committee's report, which will be used as a basis for the further work of the department in this matter.

Most of all, this is interesting the fishermen and merchants of northern Norway, who have already received information as to the contents of the report.

Essentially, the report states that the Norwegian nation will not place any hindrance in the way of a continuance of the local trade between Russia and northern Norway and guarantees that the vessels coming from Russia to purchase fish may return unmolested to Russia.

The state will also assume an accommodating attitude if the Russian authorities should wish to have the resumption of trade take another form. It will support an eventual other form by declaring a guarantee.

Large deliveries of fish to Russia may be based upon gold or other species in Norway. The Norwegian state guarantees that the gold or species deposits sent to Norway for this purpose will not be confiscated.

The report further states that the exchange of goods should be encouraged upon the broadest possible foundations, that sales bureaus should be opened in northern Norway and that the Russian business men should have the easiest possible access to Norway, and that holders of commercial scholarships should be sent to Russia.

Note: *Social-Demokraten*, of the same date, prints a strong editorial demanding that the report of the committee be complied with, and that full trade relations with Russia be entered into at once.

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**STATEMENT BY L. C. A. K. MARTENS**  
*Representative in the United States of the Russian  
 Socialist Federal Soviet Republic*

July 8, 1920.

I welcome the announcement by the State Department that the restrictions which have hitherto stood in the way of trade between Soviet Russia and the United States have been removed.

I must say frankly, however, that the statement published this morning, as it stands, does not at all dispose of the problem of establishing trade between Russia and the United States. There is no indication in the statement as to how or whether Russia is to be permitted to pay American business men for goods purchased in this country. We have long been prepared and willing to establish credits in favor of American manufacturers in Esthonia. The Federal Reserve Board, however, some time ago, issued a warning to all American banks advising them against honoring any drafts drawn upon Esthonian banks. In this manner all plans for the payment of American goods by drafts on Esthonian banks were effectively checked. We cannot establish credits by the deposit of Russian gold in American banks so long as there is danger that these deposits may be molested. The statement published this morning gives no assurance that any practical credit arrangements may be effected. It is further stated that postal communication and travelling facilities are not to be restored. It is plain enough that trade cannot be resumed if there is to be no opportunity for the establishment of the essential means and facilities for international commerce. Trade is dependent upon an intricate machinery for transfer of funds with proper guarantees and securities on both sides, and commerce cannot be successfully carried on without postal and cable communication and the ordinary facilities for

travel and international intercourse. The announcement of the State Department, while ostensibly setting aside restrictions, appears actually to announce a policy of continued restriction.

Although the question of diplomatic recognition in all its formalities and niceties may be indefinitely postponed, the effective resumption of trade relations must depend upon the establishment of a certain minimum of political relations. The English and Canadian Governments in their commercial negotiations with Russia have already recognized this fact. Mr. Krassin has returned from London to Moscow for the very purpose of perfecting the political arrangements essential to the resumption of trade. The Canadian Government has sanctioned the establishment of a Commercial Bureau of the Soviet Government in Canada and has officially approved the commercial arrangements already entered into between Canadian business interests and the Russian Government.

This morning's announcement of course has excited much interest and we have been overwhelmed by inquiries from American business men who desire to know just how this statement affects their opportunities for trade with Soviet Russia. We can only refer them to the American Government for a further explanation of its policy. The Soviet Government is ready, as it has been ready for over a year, to establish trade relations with America. We will gladly go more than half way to meet any practical arrangements. All we ask is the right to buy goods in the American market, to have them shipped to Russia and to pay for them. If the statement means that these things can be done we are heartily glad. But the spirit in which the statement is composed, with its many reservations and ambiguities, compels us to await developments before deciding upon its practical outcome.

**THE NEXT ISSUE**  
 of  
**SOVIET RUSSIA**

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. **AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION**, by *V. Milyutin*. *This highly instructive article, written by the Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy in Soviet Russia, contains a historical review of the development of agricultural cooperation in Russia and its present stand.*
2. **THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY**. *An account of festivities in celebration of the creation of the Red Army that is saving Russia from the onslaughts of her enemies.*
3. **REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW**, by *Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek*.
4. **IMPORTANT OFFICIAL COMPILATIONS OF RECENT ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.**
5. **WHO PARTICIPATES IN THE GOVERNMENT?** *An analysis of the party affiliations and social class of those who control the destinies of the Russian people.*
6. **POLAND AND WHITE RUSSIA.** *A letter just received from our Paris Correspondent.*

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## Agricultural Cooperation

By V. MILYUTIN

AGRICULTURAL artels (cooperative teams) must be considered the oldest form of agricultural cooperation. The artels have behind them a history of more than one century, and many works have been devoted to their theoretical analysis and interpretation.

Information of hunting and fishing artels goes as far back as the 13th century. One of the latest investigators of the artels, Sergey Maslov, writes: "Artel forms of toil in agriculture go far back into the past. The peasants worked in artels for men called into military service, for monasteries and churches, and during the period of serfdom, on jobs for landowners. We find agricultural artels' labor even in the pre-reform period. At this time it manifests itself in common tilling, in work for the clergy, in so-called 'nest exploitation,' which was described by N. V. Shelgunov, in artels of scythemen who were tramping every year to the far off steppes of the Don and Kuban."

In the period of serfdom, we find also instances of "artel" experiments by the landed proprietors, which were quite characteristic although not very numerous. There are detailed descriptions of such artels, as, for instance, by Stremuhov, Vilkins, Zhukov, and others.

After the sixties (of the nineteenth century, that is, after the liberation of the peasant), the artels developed independently and became the refuge of the *narodniki*, who were seeking in them the realization of new forms of social life.

But despite the long history of the agricultural artels they have always been very few in number and very weak. Coming into existence with the object of practicing cooperative economy, cooperative tilling, the artels would speedily disintegrate

under the pressure of the slightest economic changes. As soon as the economic situation would improve the artel would fall apart.

Usually the artels consisted of a few members. An artel would have only from ten to twelve men, heads of families. There was no internal economic bond in the artels; the petty bourgeois aspirations and delusions would not die out; they had absolutely no technical equipment, and they, therefore, naturally could not develop into an important social movement.

The following at bottom deadly characterization of artels was written by the same Sergey Maslov, who is a *narodnik*, a Right Socialist Revolutionary, but whose characterization, in our opinion, nevertheless correctly interprets the nature of the artel movement:

"Summing up the characterization of the Russian agricultural artels as a type, we will say that the impression of the extreme weakness and primitiveness of our artels remain upon closer examination. There is not the slightest indication in them of broad social tasks; there is no adequate technical equipment; the productivity of labor is low in true Russian fashion; all the inter-relations are extremely reduced and simplified; there are absolutely no written forms; and the artels have no common fund of finances and resources. The Russian artel is very weak in membership, very weakly organized and probably disintegrates easily."

As a *narodnik*, Sergey Maslov is trying to soften his verdict on the artels, but it is, nevertheless, deadly.

Thus, as attempts of small owners to organize cooperative production, the artels were a failure,

and never had a serious social significance or interest from the economic or any other standpoint.

Of much greater extent and importance were the new cooperative forms in the domain of agriculture, which are an independent movement and the product of the new period—the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Agricultural cooperation spread to many phases of agriculture and succeeded in becoming so large that it has even formed the basis for the origin of new theoretical Utopias, or the possibility of creating an ideal cooperative system by the exclusive means of economic changes, by uniting millions of small owners, or for the peaceful and painless attainment of the Socialist system.

The basic forms of agricultural cooperation until recent days were: (1) credit cooperatives, (2) buying and selling cooperatives, (3) some special associations, such as control unions, insurance associations, etc., and (4) artels, of which we have already spoken.

The consumers' associations, which are very strong in the villages, ordinarily do not belong to the forms of agricultural cooperation, since they are not directly connected with agricultural production, but are, on the contrary, connected with urban industry.

Cooperation in Russia in general, and in agriculture in particular, began to develop and reached serious dimensions only after 1905. During ten years all the forms of cooperation made great advances.

The War of 1914-1918 not only did not weaken the cooperative movement, but on the contrary hastened its development. On January 1, 1918, there were 54,400 local cooperatives in Russia. They were distributed in different groups as follows:

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| 1. Credit cooperatives .....                                     | 16,500 |
| 2. Consumers' associations .....                                 | 25,000 |
| 3. Agricultural associations .....                               | 6,000  |
| 4. Agricultural corporations .....                               | 2,400  |
| 5. Dairy artels .....  | 3,000  |
| 6. Artisan and home manufacturing<br>and other cooperatives..... | 1,500  |
|  | 54,400 |

From these data we can form an opinion of the relative development and spread of one or another form of cooperation. We see that, with the exception of the consumers' cooperatives, the credit cooperatives have the greatest development and popularity.

The agricultural cooperatives are united into several large central organizations. At their head at the present time is the "Selskosoyuz," which is analogous in its functions to the "Centrosoyuz," the central organ of the consumers' cooperatives. An important part in the agricultural cooperatives belongs also to such organizations as the "Central Association of Flax Producers" and the unions of Butter Producing Artels of Vologda and Siberia.

But what place can be taken by the agricultural cooperatives under the new social conditions, and what is their future?

This question is of great importance for our work of socialist construction.

Heretofore we have had interpretations of the socialist cooperatives only from the standpoint of the cooperators themselves, who adhere firmly to the basis of private economy.

In the capitalist system the cooperatives are not only of great economic but also of great social importance. The different kind and forms of cooperatives not only bring definite economic advantages to their members as well as to non-members, but they also wage a struggle—both economic and ideologic—against the capitalist forms. To be sure, this struggle is first of all conditioned by the competition inherent in the capitalist system. Under the capitalist system a struggle prevails of each against all and all against each.

In their economic life and activity the cooperative organizations, inasmuch as they desired to exist, naturally and inevitably were forced to wage this struggle, and frequently not only against the capitalists, but also against each other.

But besides this struggle, which arose on the basis of competition—a struggle for existence, the cooperative organizations, uniting those who were oppressed by large capital became united in the struggle against the capitalist system, and in the workers' cooperatives as class organizations,—these elements appeared stronger and clearer. In the other cooperatives, the civic and agricultural, that are essentially petty bourgeois, this appeared much weaker. The last kinds of cooperative organizations have almost never risen to a consciousness of the political struggle—the necessity of overthrowing the yoke of capitalism. The sphere of their struggle was confined to the aspirations to improve their economic organizations, the position of their members, or to the purely ideologic propaganda of their cooperative principles and their cooperative virtues. Many have tried to define the nature of the cooperatives. Among the well-known definitions are those of Tugan-Baranovsky, Nikolayev, Prokopovich, Semen Maslov, and other cooperators. As a typical definition, we will cite the following of Semen Maslov:

"The cooperatives are first of all organizations or unions of toilers. This union consists in the creation by the collective effort of the toilers of special economic enterprises or economic organizations. The aim of the cooperative organizations is the removal of those losses and hardships which are inflicted on the toilers by the power of modern capitalism in its various manifestations. The cooperatives are thus a voluntarily organized economic activity of the toilers the aim of which is to raise the income from the toil of its members and, as much as possible, to liberate them from the tribute which the toilers are forced to pay to the owners of capital."

In this, quite precise, definition we see the boundaries which limited the activity of the cooperatives in general and of the agricultural cooperatives in particular. This economic organization aims to raise the income, to improve the

conditions of living, but it is not concerned with questions of changing the basis of the social and political system.

This nature of the cooperatives in the profiteering capitalist system and their opposition to capitalist principles appealed to many. But in the present conditions of Soviet Russia, when the power, the whole power, both economic and political, passed into the hands of the toilers,—all these features of the cooperatives lose all their meaning. There is no more room for competition. The world of competition and speculation is dying out, being replaced exclusively by organized and social forms of economic activity.

Opposition to the power of the state loses its significance, for opposition to the Soviet power, to the power of the toilers, inevitably turns into its very opposite, becoming reactionary. Inasmuch as the cooperative organizations tried to take this path (as, for instance, in Siberia and in the Urals) they inevitably became counter-revolutionary organizations, helping the power of the capitalists and landed proprietors.

Thus, from the standpoint of the development of new social forms, there was no reason why the cooperatives should set themselves up in opposition to the new Soviet state forms.

The existence of private social organizations of toilers (and not of those who frequently hide behind this flag) side by side with the Soviet state organizations of the toilers, both in the cities and villages, is an absolutely superfluous parallelism which, if anything, can be only harmful.

Only those who cannot go forward, who value the old division of society into separate groups, who grasp at the old and dying, would advocate the continuation and the safeguarding of this separate existence of two social organizations. There are many such groups among the millions of small owners and particularly among the petty bourgeois ideologists.

Behind this, of course, is a definite reason. To make it clearer, the aspiration to save the bourgeois property forms of social relations. However, since the elemental forms of social development are being replaced by the consciously regulated, the harmful remnants of the past, also in this domain, which are hindering the unity of social development must be broken and replaced by new forms in harmony with the Socialist content of the social development.

Under the Soviets the private organizations must be included in the unified network of Soviet organizations. Life has taken this path with regard to the consumers and credit cooperatives, and the agricultural cooperatives must also follow the same path.

This becomes particularly clear when we consider the economic tasks of the agricultural cooperatives under the conditions of the economic developments of the Soviet system.

In distinction from the agricultural artels whose activity consisted mainly of agricultural production, the agricultural cooperatives have had as the

center of their activity intermediary operations. The agricultural cooperatives stand between the city and the village, and are engaged, on the one hand, in collecting manufactured products which they sell in the villages and, on the other hand, in gathering raw materials, flax, butter, grain, etc., and selling these in the cities or abroad. Few people have paid attention to this circumstance, and yet precisely in this consists the essential nature of the agricultural cooperatives.

Indeed, the strongest cooperative organizations, such as the butter producing union, the associations of flax producers and others, are important as intermediary and not as producing organizations. Production remains in the hands of individual peasants, while the cooperative organizations direct their activity to collecting the products of individual small producers.

In this respect the agricultural cooperatives play the part of a large buyer of raw materials, which they do not use themselves for manufacturing purposes, but sell to others. Of course, there are exceptions, but they have no important, determining significance for the character of the cooperatives. Again, the role of the associations for the purchase of agricultural machinery is merely of an intermediary nature, just as is the role of the credit associations. Only in Russia they do not act as large buyers, but, on the contrary, as wholesale sellers.

However, precisely in this activity of the agricultural cooperatives lies the secret of their stability, of their capacity for development and entrenchment which they have manifested in the capitalist society, differing in this respect from the agricultural artels, which had but a pitiful existence.

The intermediary activity of the agricultural cooperatives was a response to the vital and necessary needs of the peasants. This quite justified their existence and this economic activity furnished the soil on which alone they could live and develop.

The significance of the agricultural cooperatives can be fully expressed in the word intermediary.

However, inasmuch as the agricultural cooperatives precisely by this activity grew strong and won the sympathies of the broad social groups in the bourgeois society, growing economically strong, in so much do they become weak in the socialist system, when the very basis for such activity between the city and the village becomes unnecessary and superfluous. Indeed, of what use is the private intermediary activity under the conditions of a food monopoly, of a monopoly on flax, of state distribution, of agricultural machinery, when state collecting and distributing organs come into existence? Of course they are of no use!

Furthermore, against whom would the cooperative organizations fight and compete when the class of landed proprietors has disappeared as a class and the capitalist enterprises have been nationalized? With the Soviet institutions? But this would be useless and harmful. If the cooper-

atives would undertake such activity they would be the first to suffer. Thus, the agricultural co-operatives lose under the Soviet system their most vital and practical function—the intermediary function, which passes to the state organs organizing the whole society. We, who advocate a united co-ordinated national economy, do not need to prove the necessity of such a transition.

If we desire the development and strengthening of the industry, if we desire to raise the national economy to higher stages we must concentrate in the hands of the state organs the collecting of raw materials and the distribution of these to our factories and workshops, and only then can we be sure that no private or group interests will hinder the development of the national economy, particularly in its most advanced parts.

For this purpose Soviet organs have been created during the first two years of the existence of Soviet Russia for the purchasing of flax, wool, leather, etc.

Hence, from the standpoint of the collectivization of the village, the agricultural cooperatives have played only an auxiliary part. They were necessary and useful both from the standpoint of economics and education only in the capitalist system. In the Soviet Socialist system they become useless, at least, as an independent private organization.

Of course, the process of the dying out of the old forms proceeds slowly. It will probably take a good deal of time before the cooperative organ-

izations will change from private or group organizations into Soviet state organizations, into real social institutions.

But the development towards these results is irresistible.

The collectivization of the village must proceed, but not through the agricultural cooperatives. They lack the necessary qualifications for this purpose. First, as we have seen, their direct connection with agricultural toil and, in general, with the productive processes is extremely weak. Secondly, they are organizations of separate groups of peasants, and their interests will therefore always be opposed to the general interests and to the interests of the national economy as a whole. Thirdly, their intermediary activity is passing to the state organs. Fourthly, their educational activity, in the presence of the extensive educational efforts of the Soviets, is losing its importance.

From all this we must conclude that the process of the collectivization of the village must not be expressed in the old forms, even if they have a respectable past. It must be expressed in new forms in harmony only with the demands of the national economy, and such forms are only the agricultural communes and the Soviet economy. We regard with respect the role of the cooperatives in the past, we do not refuse to take advantage of their present useful functions, but we respectfully tell them: "give way to new forms of life and change yourself into these, if you can."—*Narodnoye Khozyaistvo*, September-October, 1919.

## Who Takes Part in the Government?

**M**ILLIONS of workers participating daily and directly in the difficult work of management, which sometimes appeared insignificant, gave birth in their ranks to thousands of experienced constructive workers, sacrificing all their strength and ability to the work of organization. The work of the congresses of Soviets and of their committees was devoted principally to the work of the Soviet creation. Let us see who takes part in these congresses and of whom the Executive Committees are composed. We will speak first of the number of Soviet congresses which have taken place. The figures relative to the 119 congresses (of provinces and districts) meeting in 1919 in a third of the territory of Soviet Russia indicate that almost half of the congresses (fifty-five district congresses, or forty-six per cent; and eight provincial congresses, or fifty per cent) have already been held for the fifth and sixth times. Almost one-fourth of the congresses (twenty-two district and two provincial) are meeting for the seventh and eighth times. Certain congresses, chiefly district congresses, have met from nine to fourteen times. There should be noted a certain considerable group of congresses (eleven congresses or ninety per cent) which met for the first time: this

was the case in places near the front; nearly half of them are in the province of Archangel.

The figures relating to the parties of which these congresses were composed are also available. Although incomplete, these figures furnish a general idea of the principal creative forces in Soviet Russia. All the congresses are divided into three periods: From October, 1917, to July, 1918—the first period of the work of Soviet construction; from July, 1918, to January, 1919—when Soviet work was carried on almost exclusively by the forces of the Russian Communist Party, and the third period, from January, 1919, to the present year, when the great masses, finding themselves without party affiliations, took part in the work of Soviet organization.

The members of the Communist Party, together with persons sympathizing with that party, form the fundamental group of the members of the congresses for all three periods. In the first period they constitute a little more than half of the members of the congresses; one-fourth of the members of the congresses was represented by other political parties, principally by the Social-Revolutionaries of the left: twenty-one per cent of all the members of the congresses; the number of

**Table I**  
PARTIES COMPOSING THE CONGRESSES

| Dates of the Congresses           |               | Total No. of Congresses | Total No. of Members of the Congresses | Communists     | Communist Sympathizers | No Party Affiliation | Other Parties |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|--|----------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| From October, 1917, to July, 1918 | Provincial .. | 5                       | 1,681                                  | 722<br>42.7%   | 103<br>6.1%            | 290<br>17.3%         | 566<br>33.7%  |
|                                   | District .... | 20                      | 1,912                                  | 836<br>43.9%   | 309<br>16.2%           | 450<br>23.5%         | 317<br>16.6%  |
|                                   | Total No...   | 25                      | 3,593                                  | 1,558<br>43.4% | 412<br>11.4%           | 740<br>20.6%         | 883<br>24.6%  |
| From July, 1918, to January, 1919 | Provincial .. | 10                      | 1,447                                  | 957<br>66.1%   | 353<br>24.4%           | 90<br>6.2%           | 47<br>3.3%    |
|                                   | District .... | 24                      | 3,960                                  | 1,470<br>37.1% | 1,781<br>44.9%         | 505<br>13.0%         | 204<br>5.1%   |
|                                   | Total No...   | 34                      | 5,407                                  | 2,427<br>44.9% | 2,134<br>39.5%         | 595<br>11.0%         | 251<br>4.6%   |
| From January to October, 1919     | Provincial .. | 12                      | 1,780                                  | 1,045<br>58.7% | 355<br>18.8%           | 378<br>21.3%         | 22<br>1.2%    |
|                                   | District .... | 68                      | 8,679                                  | 3,447<br>39.7% | 2,276<br>26.2%         | 2,732<br>31.5%       | 224<br>2.6%   |
|                                   | Total No...   | 80                      | 10,459                                 | 4,492<br>42.9% | 2,611<br>24.9%         | 3,110<br>29.8%       | 246<br>2.4%   |

**Table II**

COMPOSITION OF THE PERSONNEL OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES OF THE PROVINCES, CITIES, DISTRICTS AND SOVIETS, ABOUT OCTOBER 19, 1919

| Type of Executive Committees    | Distribution by Party Members |            |              |       |       |            |                      | Work in Soviet Organizations |                  |           | Education  |           |         |         |           |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|--------------|-------|-------|------------|----------------------|------------------------------|------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------|---------|-----------|
|                                 | Total No. of Members          | Communists | Sympathizers | S. D. | S. R. | Anarchists | No Party Affiliation | Less than 1 Year             | More than 1 Year | All Other | University | Secondary | Primary | At Home | All Other |
| Provincial Executive Committees | 516                           | 456        | 20           | 6     | ..    | 1          | 33                   | 66                           | 309              | 141       | 51         | 118       | 251     | 40      | 56        |
| % of Total                      |                               | 88.3       | 3.8          | 1.1   | ..    | ..         | 6.3                  | 12.7                         | 59.8             | 27.3      | 9.8        | 22.8      | 48.6    | 7.7     | 10.8      |
| City Executive Committees       | 404                           | 292        | 28           | 3     | ..    | ..         | 81                   | 47                           | 175              | 182       | 35         | 67        | 249     | 34      | 19        |
| % of Total                      |                               | 72.2       | 7.           | 0.7   | ..    | ..         | 20.                  | 11.7                         | 43.3             | 45.       | 8.6        | 16.6      | 61.7    | 8.4     | 4.7       |
| District Executive Committees   | 4,166                         | 2,879      | 461          | 30    | 14    | 6          | 776                  | 857                          | 2,313            | 996       | 124        | 605       | 2,772   | 406     | 259       |
| % of Total                      |                               | 69.1       | 11.          | 0.77  | 0.32  | 0.1        | 18.6                 | 20.5                         | 55.5             | 23.9      | 2.9        | 14.5      | 66.5    | 9.7     | 6.2       |
| General Total                   | 5,086                         | 3,627      | 509          | 39    | 14    | 7          | 890                  | 970                          | 2,797            | 1,319     | 210        | 790       | 3,272   | 480     | 334       |
| % of Total                      |                               | 71.3       | 10.          | 0.8   | 0.3   | 0.1        | 17.5                 | 19.1                         | 55.              | 25.9      | 4.1        | 15.5      | 64.4    | 9.4     | 6.6       |

Social-Revolutionaries of the right was insignificant (1.2 per cent), there were still fewer Mensheviks (0.9 per cent), the rest (twenty per cent)—were without party affiliation. In the following period the number of Social-Revolutionaries of the left after the July agreement became almost nothing (about three per cent), and the Communist Party with its sympathizers constituted more than four-fifths of all the members of the congresses. The Communist Party became stronger and stronger, to the loss not only of the other political parties, but also of persons without party affiliation, the process of dismembering the classes proceeded in a more striking and profound manner in the country; in the cities persons outside of the parties joined the ranks of the Communist Party. In the third period the influence of other political parties is diminishing still more, although the Maximalists and the Revolutionary Communists appear in their ranks. The representatives of the great mass without party affiliation, and of the peasants of the middle class appear at the congresses, especially the district congresses. (Composition of personnel of the provincial committees, of the cities, the districts, and the Soviets about October, 1919—see Table No. 2.)

Thus the work of Soviet construction proceeded all this time under the direction of the Russian Communist Party. Table No. II, relating to the composition of the Executive Committee shows the participation of this party in the daily current work of the Soviets.

The above figures refer to June-September, 1919, embracing the largest number of Executive Committees, 211 district committees, and thirty-six urban committees. In the provincial committees the Communist Party is represented by an overwhelming majority (eighty-eight per cent) of all the members, who together with the party sympathizers constitute ninety-two per cent of the

composition of the Executive Committees. The number of those not affiliated with any party is much greater in the districts; they constitute 18.6 per cent. (In the last congresses the representatives of the middle class peasants joined the Executive Committees). The Communist Party sympathizers are here also in comparatively greater number, but the Communists constitute the principal nucleus of the workers (ninety-six per cent). The urban Executive Committees occupy a middle place between these two groups: four-fifths of the Communists with their sympathizers, and one-fifth of those not affiliated with any party.

Who then represent the Communist Party which dominates the Soviets? Unfortunately, the collection of figures relative to the professions of the members has not yet been completed, and we cannot form a judgment while waiting except by basing it merely on the figures concerning their education. Four-fifths of the members of the Executive Committee, including a small group (six per cent) which have not yet given any information with regard to their education, belong to the workers, having received very primitive instruction in the primary schools or having instructed themselves.

Persons having the highest education, the intellectuals, are insignificant in number—four per cent.

Persons with secondary education constitute fifteen per cent—they are all sorts of employes, factory technicians, etc. In the district Executive Committees, the persons with primary education predominate; in the provincial Executive Committees, on the other hand, there are some who have a higher education. The table is clear: in Soviet Russia where all the power belongs to the workers, four-fifths of the workers who manage the state machine are workingmen and peasants.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

Detroit, Mich., July 14, 1920.

**A**N OPPORTUNITY came to me to learn about the real state of affairs in the Russian Far East. Now that the Polish army is completely routed, and on the eve of its final annihilation, we may look to the Pacific, where soon another dangerous enemy—imperialistic Japan, will undoubtedly meet the fate of those who dared encroach on Soviet Russia's territory by armed invasion.

But before touching upon the question of the Russian Far East Republic, let me explain the significance of the strategical term *annihilation*.

Strategy does not tolerate hesitation or uncertainty, and therefore the Russian strategists are firm in their determination to annihilate the military power of their enemies, that is, to destroy its unity of direction, and divide it into scattered

bands that will be easy to capture.

If the morale of an army before its defeat was at a high level, there is a possibility that the fragments of such an army may undergo some process of reorganization, and its further defense may then assume the character of so-called *partisan* warfare, with the help of the local population.

In order to prevent the possibility, the victor must by means of a most energetic pursuit of the fragments of the defeated army of the enemy, break them up as much as possible, thus affecting their morale to such an extent that there will be no possibility for them to accomplish any regroupment.

The small bodies of a defeated army, even one whose prior morale was very high, usually do not resist the superior forces of their adversaries, and

### The Military Situation in European Russia on July 18, 1920



The heavy dotted lines indicate the Polish and Crimean Fronts. The lighter dotted line indicates the farthest Polish advance before the present drive of the Russian armies.

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must surrender. The history of the Great War gives us numerous examples, on both belligerent sides, which prove this.

After a series of important tactical defeats, the morale of the defeated armies is gradually lowered, and finally attains the complete undermining of the fighting spirit of the majority of the soldiers, who begin to look with absolute indifference on all that is happening around them.

Such a state of universal paralysis of a fighting body is known in military art as *annihilation*.

When a pursuit is vigorously accomplished by cavalry, and the retiring enemy is not definitely demoralized, and refuses to surrender, he may suffer high casualties and the greatest part of his forces finally will lay down their arms before the victors.

We have at present before us a most characteristic example of a general pursuit of the beaten Poles by Russian cavalry.

The victorious Red Army has succeeded in dividing the Polish front in several separate groups, which have lost communication with each other. The Red cavalry, after breaking through the Polish lines, penetrated far to the rear of the enemy, cut off all his means of communication with his base, and forced them to seek shelter at any suitable position which they may meet on their way.

The military situation of such detachments is in reality very critical. They are practically surrounded on all sides, and can exist only for a very short period. Sometimes they are capable of capturing one or two insignificant places, and such occupation may be used by their general staff for publicity; they say they have obtained "victory," in order to increase the morale in the rear, but all this is useless.

For instance, the American press has issued a report of the Polish War Office that the Poles have captured the town of Ovruch about sixty miles southwest of Muzir, about 120 miles northeast of Minsk, about 120 miles north of Zhitomir, and 120 miles northeast of Rovno. All these towns have for a long time been in the hands of the Soviet armies.

The important railway junction of Sarny, situated 100 miles west of "captured" Ovruch, has been captured by the Russians and its capture was reported in the same dispatch in which the capture of Ovruch by the Poles was mentioned.

The Polish General Staff, in advertising such a "victory," are gambling on the psychology of the public and on ignorance of most of the editors, who generally do not like to look at the map. But if anybody should glance at the map, he certainly would understand that by "taking" Ovruch, the Poles mean that they have hidden in that town, being completely defeated by the Russians, especially if we take into consideration that the Red Army is also approaching Pinsk, at the western end of the Pripet marshes.

I noticed also a similar dispatch, issued some days ago by the Associated Press, referring to the Baron Wrangel Army. First it was said that he

had captured Orehov during his march northward from Berdiansk, on the Sea of Azov, and—after a series of great "victories" of that adventure, the cables of the same Associated Press now state that Wrangel's army has captured Melitopol, about fifty miles southwest of Orehov. This means in reality that Wrangel had retreated towards Melitopol, after having been well beaten at Orehov. I shall not be at all surprised if very soon we should be informed that the victorious Pilsudski army has occupied Cracow, and some people may then believe that the Poles have won a very important victory.

But all the efforts of the Allied governments and their satellite press agencies are unable any longer to camouflage the real happenings in Europe. Lithuania has joined the Soviets, and is fighting now hand in hand with the Red Army. The Poles are anxiously expecting that the so-called great powers will be able to stop the Russian strategical pursuit of the routed Poles by frightening Russia with the prospect of a new European War.

Any man in his senses certainly will understand that such a declaration is nothing more or less than a new blunder of the Allies. Far from being in a position to declare war on Russia, they cannot even force Germany to fulfill the peace treaty. Russia is ready at any moment to sign a peace, to establish an armistice with Poland, and to enter into negotiations with the Polish government, and in order to do this Russia requests the present Polish imperialists, beaten and helpless, to cede their power to the Polish people, who will be able and ready to make peace with Russia. Can the Allies prevent this? Never. Can the Allies any longer support Pilsudski's band? They cannot. Do the Allies think that after two years of bitter lessons in dealing with the hypocritical Allied policy, the Russian people would lose the opportunity to obtain guarantees of the security of the western border of the Soviet Republic, and that the Russian General Staff will sacrifice its strategical superiority, which the Red Army has won at such an enormous sacrifice, to the new political tricks of the Entente? If they think so, they are greatly mistaken.

Russia may be forced to "dictate peace at Warsaw," as Yoffe says.

Now let us look at the Far East, leaving the Poles to the mercy of the Red Army.

It was generally supposed that Kolchak was overthrown by the Bolsheviki, and the reactionary press, together with the Japanese newspapers, tried to persuade the public that the Kolchak army was demoralized chiefly by Bolshevik propaganda. An exceptional opportunity permitted me to learn the truth from a most trustworthy source.

The uprising against Kolchak did not originate in his army. In spite of the fact that there were among his officers some individuals who hated the usurper, and who desired his early downfall, they were in such a minority that there could not have been even a question of an open mutiny. The



men were terrorized by cruel discipline, tortures and capital punishment. The officers were treated severely by their superiors. Everybody who even dared to show the slightest vacillation in his feelings towards the Supreme Chief was shot without mercy. Even the famous adventurer, General Gaida, the leader of the Czecho-Slovaks, though disgusted with the conduct of Kolchak and his subordinates, hesitated for a long time to rise openly against the man whom he considered a monster and outcast. Only after the first serious defeat of the Kolchak army at Perm, did Gaida start his campaign against his Supreme Commander.

The uprising against Kolchak originated in the villages. It was the peasants themselves who first rose against the Russian autocrat and his captains. There was no propaganda in those days amongst the Siberian peasants, who were by no means Bolsheviks. The atrocities and violations of human rights by the Kolchak men, and the Allied troops which supported them,—this was the real propaganda which transformed the local population into real Bolsheviks, and forced them to rise in arms against the invaders.

This uprising, in almost all the villages of Eastern Siberia, and especially in the Amur and Maritime provinces, began in the period when the Kolchak armies were in full advance on Moscow and "victoriously" approaching Perm.

After the first defeat inflicted on the invaders by the young Red Army, the revolutionary spirit penetrated the rank and file of the White forces. The men organized themselves very rapidly and, some of them deserted, joining the local partisans, already operating in the rear of Kolchak's army, while some remained in the ranks, awaiting a favorable opportunity. Amongst the officers there already existed in those days several revolutionary organizations, controlled by the Central Bureau of the Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East and Siberia.

This organization, together with General Gaida, decided to overthrow Kolchak and put an end to the civil war in Siberia.

The revolution against Kolchak was to be started at Vladivostok on November 18, 1919, and, in case of its success, the new provincial government was to proclaim Kolchak a traitor and arrest him.

The local Russian garrison was fully prepared to act in harmony with the local Communist party, practically submitting to its orders. There was little doubt that in case of success, the whole White Army would mutiny and support the provisional government.

November 18, 1919, General Gaida arrived in Vladivostok with sixty of his own men and issued orders to start the attack on the reactionary government and their defenders. There is no doubt that the revolutionaries could have overpowered the hated regime without difficulty, but the Japanese interfered, and after sharp fighting dispersed the Reds, thus precluding any possibility that the

revolutionists should accomplish their plan. The uprising of November 18 ended in complete failure.

The remainder of the dispersed Reds found refuge in the Czecho-Slovak barracks, and, under the protection of the latter, reorganized themselves on new, purely Bolshevik lines. The presence of the Allies prevented the revolutionary organization from forming Soviets, and this complicated the situation.

General Gaida was forced by the Japanese command to quit the Far East, and was allowed to return to his country. General Rozanov, commander-in-Chief of the White forces in the Maritime province, did not dare either to arrest or court-martial him, being afraid of the Czecho-Slovak army, still in Siberia.

It is very interesting to note that the Americans were in sympathy with the revolutionists, and helped the Reds at each favorable opportunity.

Under the protection of the Czecho-Slovaks on the one hand and the Americans on the other, the new revolutionary organization grew so rapidly that it became known that a new uprising against Kolchak would take place at the end of January, 1919.

The Japanese were fully prepared to crush this new outburst of revolution also, and General Oi, commander of the Japanese troops of the province, issued a warning to the Reds that he was instructed to prevent the uprising, by force, with Japanese arms.

But the American Commander-in-Chief, General Graves, very energetically intervened, and advised the Japanese General to maintain strict neutrality, and in no case to repeat what the Japanese had done during the uprising of November 18, 1919. By order of General Graves, American patrols were sent out in different parts of Vladivostok, and when the Revolution was completely successful, the Americans remained at their posts during the whole day of February 1, thus protecting the formation of the first Russian Revolutionary Government in the Far East.

It may be imagined how great was the rage of the Japanese command whose plan was frustrated by the energetic and determined action of the young American general.

On the other hand, the Japanese were powerless to protest to General Graves. They were not strong enough to retain control of Vladivostok, the forts and batteries of which had been disarmed even during the Great War, and all the cannons and ammunition transferred to the western front. So that all the fortifications surrounding the town represented simply hills, requiring to be properly armed with suitable artillery, an equipment which the Japanese in no case would have been able to accomplish, as they were not numerous enough and had not sufficient time to complete such a serious task. Finally, the Japanese were obliged to recognize the Russian Provisional Government and to keep themselves quiet while the Americans remained in Vladivostok. And they did so, and only

when the last American contingent left Russian territory, they attacked the town of Vladivostok, April 4, 1920, the very day after the Americans had completed their evacuation.

General Rozanov, together with a group of Kolchak officers, under cover of the Japanese troops, left for Japan, already after the second uprising in Vladivostok, on the Russian transport Orel, taking with them part of the Kolchak gold, stolen from the Russian people by that monster of czarist reaction, and all the cadets of the Vladivostok Naval School.

The Provisional Government was established and became known as a "Zemstvo" government. This curious name was given to it only because all the members of the newly formed government belonged to the local Zemstvo, created during the time of Kerensky's premiership.

The success of the second revolution in Vladivostok was chiefly due to the fact that the greatest part of General Rozanov's White army at a most decisive moment deserted Kolchak's general and joined the Reds.

The political situation in the newly created Russian Far Eastern Republic has become very peculiar.

There were no Soviets in Vladivostok after the formation of the Provisional Government, and meanwhile the government was pro-Soviet and obtained instructions from Moscow to such an extent that Lenin found it possible to recognize the young republic, and Commissar Vilensky has been appointed representative of Soviet Russia in the Far East.

Practically the new government may be considered as Socialistic, being supported and directed by the Russian Soviets. Only the abnormal position of the Far Eastern Republic with regard to Japan prevented it from immediate association with Soviet Russia, a consummation which naturally must and will take place at the first favorable opportunity.

On the Russian population of the Far East Republic, Moscow can reckon without reservation. Every Russian of the Maritime Province dreams of throwing off the Japanese yoke and of joining the Soviets.

The second uprising against Kolchak was successfully accomplished in every town of both the Amur and Maritime provinces, and in many towns and villages of Siberia. In Irkutsk, for instance, the revolution broke out as early as January 20, and as we know, it was very successful.

This was the beginning of the end of the rule of the Eastern tyrant.

The military operations of the revolutionists were mostly of guerilla character, and while the retiring Kolchak army melted like snow in the spring, the number and the activity of the partisans were steadily increasing. Practically the main forces of the Red Army only followed the fleeing Kolchak hordes, which were gradually annihilated by partisans recruited by men of its own forces, and who existed at the expense of the rich

supplies carefully prepared by the Allies along all the immense distance from the Urals to the Pacific.

After the revolution of January 31, in Vladivostok, the partisan detachments started to concentrate toward their former headquarters, situated in the principal cities of the various regions, and finally a new Red Army of the Far East was formed in a very short time. In the Maritime Province, this army was not numerous. There were scarcely 12-13,000 men under the Red banner, while the Japanese have almost an army corps, namely, 40,000 men. But although they were superior in numbers, the Japanese did not dare overthrow the Vladivostok Government, knowing that they would be unable to police the whole province and guard the Ussuri railway in the presence of the hated partisans, who at once appear when the Japanese troops show any aggression towards the Russians.

The Japanese, who before the second Vladivostok revolution, were in occupation also of Amur Province, started then to evacuate it with the object of concentrating a sufficiently strong army in the Maritime Province for its final annexation. The treacherous attack of the Japanese on Vladivostok on April 4 and 5, 1920, caused a series of sanguinary fights throughout the country, since they attacked the Russians in all the cities occupied by the Far East Red Army. Nikolsk, Spassk, Iman, Khabarovsk, and Nikolaievsk, all were attacked. Consequently, the forces of the Reds were much weakened. Most of them were compelled to hide in the woods or in the hills, because the peasants could no longer feed the partisans. It must be noted that the whole Maritime Province lives only on imported food, and besides the normal population, there were the Japanese, who had requisitioned everything, and the country was filled up with refugees.

So it was decided that only a part of the Red forces should remain in the Province to protect the peasants and to garrison the big towns, but the rest were to break through the Japanese guard lines, into the Amur Province, rich in food, and now absolutely free from Japanese.

Besides that, in the Amur Province a considerable army was already in existence, and the proclamation of universal service promised to double the number of the fighting element.

In addition, desertion from Ataman Semionov's bands became more and more frequent, as well as from the army of the reactionary General Voitzevsky. Both these armies were in occupation of that part of the Transbaikalian Province that lay east of Chita, backed by very strong Japanese reserves.

The rear of the Amur Province was secured by the presence of the Soviet Army concentrated in the Irkutsk region. This army, after successfully fighting Semionov's troops, occupied Verkhne-Udinsk and advanced on Chita, showing the intention to establish a junction with the Amur Province.

The presence of the bandits Semionov and Voitzevsky in Transbaikalia cut off the Amur Province from direct communication with Eastern Siberia and it was possible to reach the Irkutsk region only through the Yakutsk district, by means of very difficult rocky roads, many of which were unsuitable even for mounted troops. Communication through Mongolia, or with China through Manchuria, practically became impossible, first, because of Japanese intrigues amongst the Mongols, and secondly, because the Eastern Chinese Railway is practically under the control of the Japanese.

This situation at first glance seems gloomy for the Russians, especially if we understand that thanks to the oppressive policy of the Japanese the Far Eastern Russian Government had compromised in many ways in order to avoid a conflict with the invaders.

But in reality the position of the Russians is not so hopeless as it may seem.

The approaching events of great importance in Chita will certainly alter the situation in the Far East in Russia's favor. The Japanese will necessarily lose control over the Eastern Chinese railway; they have already begun the evacuation of Transbaikalia and withdrawn their troops from Chita, leaving only the bands of Semionov and Voitzevsky. Both these traitors will soon be annihilated by the Red Army—they cannot withstand the approaching winter in that vast and uninhabited country, and will have to join their brother in arms, Rozanov, in Tokio.

The Chinese, if they are masters of the Eastern Chinese Railway, will never allow the Japanese to dispatch their troops by this railroad, and finally, at the disposal of the Japanese General Staff, there will be only Port Arthur and Dairen, the bases of the South Manchurian railway. This is not at all sufficient for their serious operations in the Russian Far East, because Amur Province, adjoining Transbaikalia, where the Red Army is still concentrating, would have in its rear East Siberia, West Siberia, and, last, victorious Soviet Russia. And the Japanese will learn that the Russia of 1920 is not the effete Czarist organization of 1904.

### FRENCH AND GERMAN PEOPLE SUPPORT SOVIET RUSSIA

BERLIN, June 6.—According to newspaper reports, the executive body of the association of German railroad workers and state employes has decided to order their members to refuse flatly to render services in the transportation though Germany of troops of the Entente for Poland against Russia.

The permanent commission on administration of the French Socialist Party unanimously passed, at its last meeting, among other things, the following resolution:

"The Polish imperialists, the faithful executors of the decrees of the council of imperialists of

the West, have invaded Soviet Russia. The permanent commission on administration conveys to the revolutionary government of Russia its most profound sympathy and fraternal greetings. It announces that it has fought with every means against every military assistance to the enemies of Soviet Russia. It has always told the workers, and will always tell them, that it lies chiefly within their power to help the Russian Revolution on to victory. It invites the party in parliament, as well as all comrades, to offer a solid front against the coalition which has been formed between the entente power, capitalistic and feudal Poland, and the Russian monarchists, against the regime of the People's Commissaries. It promises to make use of all forms of propaganda in order to support the Soviet revolution in this most critical hour, from which it must emerge victorious, in order that all humanity may be liberated."

### "SOVIET RUSSIA PAMPHLETS"

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau is issuing a series of pamphlet reprints of important Soviet documents. The following are the first four of these pamphlets:

1. *The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia*. Official text, with introduction, by the Bureau, and an answer to a criticism by Mr. W. C. Redfield. 52 pages, stiff paper cover, price 10 cents.  
This is a new edition of the Labor Laws, and every owner of the old edition should have it.
2. *The Laws on Marriage and Domestic Relations*. To be ready about September first. Price 15 cents.
3. *Two Years of Foreign Policy*, by GEORGE CHICHERIN. The relations of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic with foreign nations, from November 7, 1917, to November 7, 1919. 36 pages, stiff paper cover, price 10 cents.
4. *Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia*, by S. KAPLUN, of the People's Commissariat of Labor. This pamphlet, an interpretation of the labor laws of Soviet Russia, is necessary to a full understanding of these laws, and readers should therefore order it in addition to their copies of the laws. This pamphlet has never been published in SOVIET RUSSIA. To be ready August 1. Price 10 Cents.

Other pamphlets will follow. Special rates for quantities.

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## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*  
**RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU**  
 110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles.

**T**HERE is an increasing disposition in Europe, especially in England, to consider the problem of the Czar's debts in a more candid and reasonable spirit. There is less arrogant talk of "insisting" upon "sacred obligations", and as the moment of adjustment between Soviet Russia and capitalist Europe draws nearer there is a dawning realization that there will be two sides of the ledger to consider. Though propagandists tried to misrepresent its real significance, there was food for thought in the reminder casually put forward by a Soviet official that among things "repudiated" by the workers' republic was the claim to Constantinople which had been given to Imperialist Russia by her allies as a bribe for continued allegiance. No one of intelligence seriously thought from this remark that Soviet Russia intended to press a claim for the possession of Constantinople. Nevertheless, the moral was sufficiently pointed and it has been increasingly difficult ever since for French and English politicians to talk glibly about Russia's obligations without being reminded that their words cut both ways.

Several English writers have pointed out that a strict insistence upon a capitalist interpretation of international law might prove embarrassing in the final settlement. It is not forgotten that a trifling lapse in neutrality in the "Alabama" case cost England heavily in damages. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, in a recent discussion of the Russian credit and debit, recalls the "Alabama" incident.

"Compare this case," he writes, "with our conduct in the Russian Civil War . . . Openly, yet without a declaration of war, we have backed the beaten 'White' cause with troops, 'missions', naval bombardments, and the blockade, with supplies of munitions and direct subsidies. If a fair court could be formed, it would certainly inflict on us for these deliberate breaches of neutrality a fine which would multiply the 'Alabama' damages a hundredfold, and when the court had dealt with us it would go on to rain similar fines upon America, France, Japan, and Czecho-Slovakia . . . Add up one page of the ledger, the loss suffered by investors, merchants and bondholders, the sabotage, and the slaughter, due to our lawless blockade and our direct intervention in the civil war, and then dare to say that Russia is in our debt."

That these considerations had due weight is seen in the terms of the official memorandum of the

terms upon which Great Britain has suggested the renewal of commercial relations with Russia. According to the press reports, this memorandum stated that the British Government "was prepared to leave the determination . . . of questions relating to debts or claims by Great Britain on Russia or by Russia on Great Britain to be mutually settled at peace negotiations." It is plain enough that Mr. Lloyd George realizes that he will have to pay for Mr. Winston Churchill's indiscretions.

\* \* \*

**F**RRIENDS of Soviet Russia have justly complained of the monstrous campaign of falsehood and vilification conducted by the capitalist press of all countries against the Russian revolution and the workers' republic. All the powerful resources of censorship and propaganda have been massed in an attempt to mislead the always tractable middle class opinion and to discourage and stultify the courage and faith of socialists. The thing was vastly over-done, to be sure, and by the very grotesqueness of their perversions the propagandists have destroyed their own power. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that they achieved a certain ghastly measure of success, to be reckoned in terms of economic wastage and human sufferings endured by the Russian workers in their long struggle against blockade and war. The blockade is broken at last and the war ends in magnificent victory for the workers. Nevertheless, the long duration of the struggle and all the destruction and agony is to be charged to the successful efforts of those who successfully misled public opinion by their lies and sophistries and delayed the effective protests of the laboring masses of Europe and America while the great conspiracy against the Russian workers was carried on to its ultimate failure. Now that it has come to final and utter failure, it is well for us not to blind ourselves to the reason why it lasted so long. We cannot doubt that it would have failed earlier had the workers of all lands known the truth sooner. Moreover, we cannot dismiss the case by easy abuse of the bourgeois press. In spite of all lies, in spite of censorships and concealments, the truth about the revolution and the Soviet Republic was never altogether inaccessible to any one with sufficient interest to investigate and sufficient intelligence to discriminate between facts and propaganda. Nor was any exceptional intelligence required for this discrimination. All that was necessary was a sufficiently class-conscious distrust of all the outgivings of the capitalistic and social-patriotic press. Complete befuddlement came only upon those who struck the impartial pose and made the ridiculous and impossible pretense of "considering all the testimony." Where the great bulk of the testimony was so inevitably prejudiced, even when not deliberately perjured, this juryman attitude could at best lead only to doubt and misgivings and more generally to complete delusion. What was necessary was a certain honest prejudice. For instance, a prejudice against the New

York *Times*, to take a single example, but in no invidious spirit. The *Times* is a great newspaper with a vast and efficient organization for the collection and transmission of news. During the past two years any one could learn much about the Russian Revolution from the *Times*. Properly read, the *Times* from day to day has contained sufficient truthful information about Russia to enable a discriminating reader to arrive at a conclusion quite the opposite from that entertained by its editors. All that was required was a sufficient degree of prejudice and suspicion.

Mr. Evans Clark has included an interesting "life" of Lenin, as lived in the columns of the *Times*, in his pamphlet, "Facts and Fabrications about Soviet Russia", recently published by the Rand School. We can only quote a few chapters from this entertaining biography.

All from the New York *Times*: January 16, 1918, Lenin Sanitarium; February 20, Heard Lenin Had Fled; March 12, Lenin Dismissed Trotzky; April 28, Revolt in Russia—Grand Duke Michael Emperor; June 23, Lenin Ready to Resign; August 12, Lenin May Seek Refuge in Berlin; August 16, Bolsheviks Flee Moscow; August 20, Bolshevik Chiefs Reported on Warship at Kronstadt Ready to Flee; December 9, Red Leaders Ready to Flee to Sweden; December 28, Ludendorff Chief of Soviet Army; January 3, 1919, Trotzky Dictator—Arrests Lenin; January 24, Trotzky's Forces Quit Petrograd; April 22, Red Rule Totters; September, 26, Says Lenin is Captive in Kremlin; September 26, Rumor that Lenin is Slain; and so on.

Mr. Clark has made a similar compilation of the history of Petrograd. From September 12, 1918, to October 20, 1919, take it from dispatches in the *Times*, Petrograd "fell" seven times, was five times in "revolt", and twice in "flames", not to mention a constant succession of massacres, pillages and bombardments. In spite of this, however, the truth prevails. No one believes today that Lenin arrested Trotsky or that Trotsky arrested Lenin, and no one believes that Petrograd ever fell; nor need any one of sufficient caution have ever believed these things. Still less is there any excuse for believing them when they are reprinted tomorrow and the day after as they inevitably will be. Hold fast to a determined prejudice, we repeat, and you can still read the capitalist press and still know the truth about Russia. Moreover there is already available a considerable library of reliable literature on all phases of the revolution and the Soviet Government.

Mr. Clark has included in his pamphlet an extensive, though necessarily incomplete, bibliography of books, pamphlets and magazine articles relating to Soviet Russia. It is a long list which mocks at the censorships and is a standing challenge to anyone who still ventures to complain that the truth about Russia is inaccessible.

**C**ONSPICUOUS in the published accounts of the official British memorandum on the conditions of the approaching trade agreement with Soviet Russia was the declaration that "the British Government had no intention of debarring any Russian on the ground of his communist opinion, provided the agents of the Russian Government complied with normal conditions of friendly international intercourse". The statement would seem almost superfluous, having in mind the most obvious essentials of the case. It is plain enough that the capitalist states cannot outlaw Russian communists merely because their opinions are displeasing. Russia has to be dealt with, and, much as the capitalist politicians may dislike the thought of it, they are unable to contrive any satisfactory method of dealing with Russia except through Russian communists. The first plan was to refuse to deal with communists and to recognize only czarists and counter-revolutionists. This plan collapsed with the defeat of the czarists and the counter-revolution. Then there was the scheme of dealing through the cooperators, who, it was hoped, might somehow or other be free from the communist taint. But this hope died in its turn when it was discovered that the only cooperators with whom it was profitable to deal were merely communists under another name. Then for a while the English Government tried absurdly to discriminate between communists, saying that such and such might come to London, but such another could be entertained only at the safe distance of Copenhagen. This was too ridiculous. And so at last England announces that she never had any intention of debarring any Russian "on the ground of his communist opinion."

A sensible decision, and the only one which will allow of the resumption of normal commercial intercourse between Soviet Russia and any capitalist country. England, desiring to trade with Russia, is rapidly sweeping away all the obstacles, real and fantastic, which the intrigues of reactionary politicians and the vaporings of a fanatical press have contrived to erect. As the barriers topple one by one they are seen to be not too formidable as they sometimes appeared. As soon as the economic pressure overtook political prejudice, the blockade was broken. If you don't want to trade with Russia, then, of course, trade is impossible and all communists are uncongenial. But if you have goods to sell, Russia is a veritable oasis in a desert of bankruptcy and a representative of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade is a welcome visitor, whatever his political opinions.

**P**ERSONS who feel that there is any danger of their being deceived by current misrepresentations as to the absence of democracy in Russia should read the article appearing on page 84 of this issue, entitled "Who Participates in the Government", in which unqualified support may be found for the opinion—corresponding to the fact—that there is absolute freedom of representation in Soviet Russia.

## The Battle with Disease in Soviet Russia

[The following is an article sent from Petrograd in April, 1920, by Jakob Friis, special correspondent of "Social-Demokraten," Christiania, Norway, and printed in a recent issue of that paper.]

ON MY journey through Esthonia I heard so many horrible stories about health conditions in Russia, that I passed over the boundary line with a certain sense of the gravity of the situation. I could not help this attitude, all the more since the conditions on the Esthonian side were anything but pleasant. At Narva we almost felt the typhus in the air, for it is at that city that the remains of the Yudenich army are concentrated. That army, as everyone knows, was a veritable army of the pest, in a literal as well as in a figurative meaning. At Narva, in its "best" hotel, I soon noticed I had lice, and became quite depressed through fear of typhus. "If it is going to be worse than this in Russia," I voluntarily thought, "it will be a matter of life and death."

When I got to Petrograd, my first question was therefore this: "How about the epidemics that are said to be raging here?" In order to give me a satisfactory answer to this question, I was referred to a great building in a little street running off the Nevsky Prospect, the Commissariat of Medicine, where one of the veterans of Socialism, Dr. Pervukhin, is the leading spirit. I asked him to tell me something about the health conditions and about the struggle against epidemics.

"Of course we have had many epidemics to struggle against."

"The difficulties of nourishment, the blockade, the civil war,—all these have of course had a powerfully depressing influence even on the health situation, but in spite of everything, we can say confidentially that conditions have been and are on the average better than in the border states, although the latter have been well supplied both with foodstuffs and with medicines. Our deficiencies that have been mentioned are much outweighed. This summer we had no cholera epidemic, and spotted typhus has been practically put down in Russia. The danger of infection came generally from the White armies, from the hordes of Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich. Practically all the prisoners we took were infected with typhus, but we managed to keep them isolated. We overcame the Spanish influenza better than the western world did. Thanks to the new social conditions created by the Soviet Power we are in a position to combat epidemics with much greater force than in the old days. Now that all dwellings are nationalized, no one any longer lives in the surroundings so dangerous to health which many had to put up with under the old regime. By means of our grain monopoly, foodstuffs are guaranteed first of all to the sick and weak. In consequence of the nationalization of the drug stores, our scanty supplies of medicaments are distributed equitably. It would have been impossible for any capitalistic government to protect the popular health so well

as the Soviet power has been able to do. By the decree of July 21, 1918, the entire system of medicine in Russia was placed under a single control, the Commissariat for Public Health, which has absolute authority in all medical questions. A few figures will show what this commissariat has succeeded in doing. At Moscow, before the November Revolution, there were about 8,000 sick beds for civilians and 100,000 for soldiers. We now have 22,000 for civilians and 1,500,000 for soldiers.\* We then had 20,000 sanitary physicians we now have 34,000. We then had 31,000 school physicians; we now have 137,000. We then had about 10,000 physicians who examined foodstuffs; we now have 28,000. All the best specialists at Moscow have now been assigned to public hospitals and anyone may apply to them for treatment. The winter of 1918-1919 was the worst time we had to go through, for spotted typhus was then at its height. By the summer of 1919 it had more or less affected 1,500,000 people in Russia. And yet it had not come as a surprise to the medical authorities. A plan for combatting the epidemic had been worked out in advance, circulars and pamphlets concerning the disease had been scattered in great quantities, all the bacteriological institutes were nationalized and extended. The struggle against the epidemics has been constantly waged by the whole population. Special workers' commissions, consisting of representatives of trade unions, factory committees, and other workers' and peasants' organizations, have conducted the work of education from this field; they have supervised the matter of cleanliness, have erected bathing establishments, etc. In spite of all external difficulties, the health conditions have become better and better systematized and adjusted during the past year. New factories for medicaments have been erected, and great stocks have been confiscated from the speculators in medicaments. *Children* receive special attention in Russia, not only in the field of alimentation, but also in the hygienic field. Already in December, 1917, a special council of physicians and pedagogues was organized for the protection of the health of the young. Their work is divided into three sections:

1. Sanitary inspection at all children's institutions, schools, children's homes, kindergartens, etc.
2. Physical culture.
3. Distribution of children, in accordance with their conditions of health, to the various medico-pedagogical institutions. (Forest schools, auxiliary schools, schools for morally defective children.)

\* These figures, which seem somewhat excessive, are taken from the Norwegian article as it stands. We cannot vouch for their correctness.

Russia was the first country in the world (1918), to pass a decree demanding that no persons under eighteen years of age should be stamped as criminals by the courts. Such transgressors as are minors are subject to a medico-pedagogic treatment.

By the decree of May 17, 1919, free alimentation of all children under sixteen years of age was introduced. This decree has of course had an enormous influence in the hygienic field also. We may say confidently, on the whole, that what was done before the revolution, for feeding the children and keeping them healthy, was as nothing; while at present the work of all the authorities—even of the whole population—is directed toward the care of children as the first and most important task of all. Only a physically and spiritually healthy generation can put through the social revolution and build up a communistic society. Thus, the guiding thought in the work of Soviet Russia is that of the coming generation.

"May I have statistical data as to those who became sick or who died in Petrograd during the last half year?" I finally asked Pervukhin.

"Yes, you shall have them." He rang for his assistant and asked him for this material. A moment later the assistant returned with a heap

of detailed reports from hospitals. I copied the following table:

|   | 1919  |       |       | 1920  |       |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|   | Oct.  | Nov.  | Dec.  | Jan.  | Febr. |
| Typhus patients . . . . .                     | 1603  | 2227  | 2153  | 3939  | —     |
| Of these there died . . . .                   | 90    | 153   | 214   | 345   | —     |
| Total number of patients . . . . .            | 13958 | 14982 | 14584 | 16030 | 23060 |
| Total number of deaths including children . . | 1295  | 1732  | 1704  | 1652  | 1819  |

This table, of course, governs only the hospitals. But since all the hospitals give free treatment, it is self evident that the totals of deaths cannot be much greater than the totals given for the hospitals. As far as I know, these figures cannot be said to be abnormally large, when the distress of the situation is considered, and when it is recalled that Petrograd has now about one million inhabitants.

The last thing Pervuchin told me was that the day I spoke to him there were 350 empty beds in the hospitals of Petrograd. This shows at any rate that there is no truth in what I heard in Esthonia and what the bourgeois press of Europe has tried to tell people, to the effect that Petrograd is overfilled with sick people who have no opportunity to obtain any treatment at all.

## Second Anniversary of the Red Army

### "OUR SWORD"

On the 22d of February all Soviet Russia celebrated the second anniversary of the Red Army. At Petrograd, the ceremonies organized on the occasion of this commemorative fete took on a particularly imposing character. Comrade Zinoviev dedicated to them an article entitled, "Our Sword," emphasizing the important role of the Red Army for Soviet Russia and the Communist Internationale. Comrade Zinoviev writes:

"On the ruins of the old Czarist Russia, and the debris of the Russia of Kerensky, we have begun the organization of our national army. Scarcely two years have passed, and we not only have this army of flesh and bone, but further, we are happy witnesses of its dazzling victories over numerous enemies. The history of the human race has never known conditions so little favorable to the accomplishment of such a labor. At no time and in no place has one seen born, in so little time, an army worthy to serve a great revolution. Yes, great—we say it loudly—for a revolution is not great if it cannot withstand by force of arms all the attacks of its external and internal adversaries. Our Revolution of October has triumphed over them all and therefore merits well this name of "great," for never has a revolution had so many external enemies and enemies so cynical as ours. Nevertheless, the second anniversary of the Red Army finds all our adversaries defeated. Our Red Army has tried its forces in battle and combat, and it will continue to gain in power from day

to day. A great revolution must solve great problems, despite all the difficulties which they present. Two years ago, and even last year, the question of command gravely embarrassed us, but at the present time we can regard it as nearly solved. In less than two years we have created a whole line of officers—red commanders. The students in our universities become red military aspirants, study their profession in very abridged courses. Nevertheless, they do not need to blush for their fighting qualities, in the presence of the officers of the old army of the bourgeois regime who had spent years in perfecting their military education at superior schools and in special courses. The Red Army, called to being under painful circumstances,—not to say insurmountable ones—is a striking proof of the vitality of the Soviet power. It is known that an army ordinarily finds itself attached to the people by many ties, and includes within itself all the social particularities of its country. If the Red Army did not have very solid roots in the masses of the workers and peasants, the Soviet power would never have been able to succeed in organizing it. The Red Army—is our sword, the sword of the revolution of the workers and the peasants. The hammer and sickle are the emblems of the Soviet power, but the cross of the Red Army is not less dear to our people, to the nations of the whole world. For us, the Red Army is the army of the Communist Internationale; it is from this point of view that the conscious

proletariat of the world regard it, and this is also the greatest recompense for its soldiers and pioneers."

The high point of the first day of the fetes in honor of the second anniversary of the Red Army was the solemn inauguration of a special exposition followed by a reunion at the quarters of the administration of the political section of the war commissariat of Petrograd. This reunion, and especially the exposition, indicated clearly the intellectual development of the Red Army, which accompanies step by step the increase in its military strength. This reunion attracted representatives of all the units of the Red Army of Petrograd, the chief commissar of war, Bitker, and a number of invited guests, as well as the delegates from various organizations of military instruction. The symphony orchestra of the political administration of the War Commissariat played the Internationale and then interpreted artistically the can-

tata, "Hail to the Warriors," composed for the special occasion of this fete by the orchestra leader, Varlish.

The representative of the political section then informed the audience that theatrical pieces of a nature to glorify the present fete being absolutely lacking, a competition had been declared by the administration of the political section. Twenty dramatic works (besides a number of poems), had been presented to the jury, which had awarded prizes to six authors. The first prize had been given to the Society of Dramatic Artists for the piece, "The Red Year." After the reunion, the audience was invited to visit the exposition, organized by the administration of the political section of the war commissariat, and representing all phases of the intellectual and artistic life of the Red soldier. There are numerous photographs, poems and art works (painting and sculpture), the artists being all Red soldiers.

## The All-Russian Trade Union Congress

[The following report, dated Moscow, April 8, was sent to "Social-Demokraten," Christiania, Norway, by Jakob Friis, special correspondent of that paper in Russia. It was printed in "Social-Demokraten" on June 3, 1920.]

**I**N THE great hall in the former assembly building of the nobility, the All-Russian Trade Union Congress was opened yesterday. The palace was seized by the trade union movement after the revolution, and reconstructed as the chief edifice for trade union offices. It is of course a very handsome building, on which nothing has been spared in the matter of decoration. The nobility here had their clubrooms. After they left, there were found fourteen great chests full of playing cards. In the great hall in which the trade transactions are now proceeding, the nobility had held its balls. Illuminated by the great candelabra, splendid costumes had dazzled beholders on many a "great" evening in the sublime presence of the czar and czarina. Now it is a very ordinary meeting of plain workmen that has taken up its abode here. But there are 1,600 of them, and they come from all sections, from Murmansk in the north to Baku in the south. They have gathered to discuss the higher affairs of their nation; they have gathered not for celebration but for work. In an apartment behind the platform, the members of the trade union secretariat are gathered. There sit Chairman Tomski; Vice-Chairman Lozovsky; Melnichansky, Chairman of the Moscow Trade Union Council; Schmidt, Commissar of Labor; Tsyperovich, Manager of Dvoretz Truda (the trade union central), at Petrograd; Secretaries Antselovishch and Glebov, from Petrograd, etc. Tomski is a little black haired man, thirty-seven years old, a lithographer by trade, who entered the labor movement in 1904 and was immediately afterward sentenced to ten years' hard labor in Siberia. He worked there in chains for four years, and then a few years without chains, after which he was pardoned.

Lozovsky is somewhat older. His first imprisonment was in 1904, his second in 1905, when he was sentenced to imprisonment for life and sent to Irkutsk. He fled the day after his arrival and reached Paris, where he worked for nine years, first as a chauffeur, then as manager of a garage and later as a journalist, cooperative secretary, etc., returning to Russia in 1917.

Melnichansky is thirty-one years old, and was first arrested in 1904 at the age of fifteen. He succeeded in escaping, and took part in the uprising at Odessa in 1905. He was arrested and again succeeded in making his escape. After having been again arrested, he was sentenced to imprisonment for life and sent to Siberia, making his escape immediately after his arrival there. He took part in the party congress at Nikolai under a false name, after which he was again arrested. After an imprisonment of eighteen months, he was sentenced to eight years in Siberia, whence he fled to the Urals. Having again undertaken revolutionary work—this time the publication of illegal periodicals—he was arrested and again put in prison for eighteen months, and sentenced to banishment to Siberia for life, and of course he again escaped. This time he went to America. He was for a while business manager of the Russian daily, *The New World*. During this entire period he was a Menshevik internationalist, only becoming a Bolshevik after his arrival in Russia in 1917. He became secretary of the Moscow Central Soviet, and a member of the Committee of the Moscow Soviet, as well as of the Central Executive Committee.

So it is with all of them. Lozovsky interrupts my biographical curiosity. "All the members of the Central Executive Committee have been in



prison several years, and all of them have several decades of party activity behind them," he declares.

Lozovsky prefers to explain to me the development of the Trade Union Movement since the revolution.

"It is characteristic for the Russian Trade Union movement that it has a small number of trade unions. While in France there are sixty-three, in Germany forty-eight, and in England several hundred, we in Russia have only thirty-one, and after the resolutions that are to be adopted at this Congress, the number will be only twenty-five. Our union is not an industrial union in the ordinary sense of the word, but an operative union (Mr. Friis uses the Norwegian word *industribedrift*). All the workers, as workers, in a metallurgical factory, for example, are in the union of the metallurgical workers. As is well known, the trade union movement in Russia is of very recent date. Even after the first revolution of 1917, there were no trade unions in Russia. But as early as June, 1917, the number of trade organized laborers was 1,400,000; in January, 1918, it was 2,500,000, and in February, 1919, 3,500,000. There have now arrived at the Congress 1,600 delegates representing about 4,000,000 workers. There have arrived representatives, among others, from Murmansk in the north and from Baku in the south. The latter have arrived illegally, since Baku, as you know, is still in the hands of the English. No representatives from Poland, Finland, or Lithuania have arrived. Of the 1,600, fully 1,300 have the right to vote; 300 have an advisory function. By parties they run as follows: thirty Mensheviks; twenty-five "sympathizers" (with the Communists), 200 non-partisan, the rest are Communists."

Lozovsky developed for me the underlying principal of the trade union movement under Communism.

"The trade union movement under the dictatorship of the proletariat," he said, "is entirely different from the trade union movement under capitalism. What is a dictatorship of the proletariat? It is a form of political government by the working class. If the trade unions should wish to preserve their independence under the dictatorship of the proletariat, what would this amount to? It would amount to a maintenance of the distinction between the state as an economic organization, and the state as a political organization, as the state of the workers. Such a distinction is impossible. By the very act of seizing the power in the state, the working class has made it impossible for the trade unions to preserve their independence of the state. The trade unions, on the contrary, have now become the basis for the Soviets—they are the most important instrument of Soviet authority. While the trade unions before were class struggle organizations—in as far as they were not such, they were "yellow" organizations of traders—they are now, if not officially regulated state organizations, at least state-con-

structive organizations. The question is no longer—*how is capitalism to be abolished?*—but, *In what manner shall the trade unions participate in production?*"

"But are there no oppositions or frictions between the Soviets and the trade unions?"

"No. In the first months after the revolution there were some differences. There were reactionary trade unions, which were against the Soviet Government. Now the Soviets and the trade unions are united and working side by side."

"What is the attitude of the trade union movement toward the wage system? Will it abolish the wage system?"

"Yes, but this cannot be done at one stroke. Workers are being paid with increasing frequency in the form of products, and not with money. But the tariffs are still drawn up in terms of money. But it is the trade unions themselves that establish the tariffs. This is a great difference as compared with all other countries."

"Then what is the cause of the conflict within the trade union movement?"

"The Mensheviks want the trade union movement to maintain its 'independence' of the state. And we, as I have indicated, think this is an impossibility in a workers' state. There are no other opposition tendencies in the trade union movement than those of the Mensheviks, and they are an insignificant minority."

"What is the relation of the trade union movement to the party?" (The Communist party is meant.)

"The party leads the trade union movement. (The leaders of the trade union movement are also among the leadership of the party.)"

"The trade union movement is therefore a political organ in Russia?"

"It is a political movement, and for this reason the trade union movement at this congress will apply for membership in the Third Internationale. It is of equally great importance for the trade union movement and for the political movement to work on an international scale. If capitalism is to maintain itself, let us say for the next ten years, in western Europe, the workers in Russia will hardly be able to retain their power."

"How about the new principles for industrial leadership?"

"Melnichansky can tell you more about that than I."

JAKOB FRIIS.

#### CHANGES OF ADDRESS

Readers wishing to have their addresses changed should give notice of such changes at least one week before they expect the weekly to be delivered at the new address.

Original from  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## The Museum of the Revolution

The magnificent and impressive revolutionary past of Russia imposes upon us the duty of treating lovingly and carefully all the materials, so rich and abundant, which relate to the history of the revolutionary movement, materials scattered here and there over the whole territory of the country. The Museum of the Revolution, founded upon the initiative of the Petrograd Soviet, has the purpose of collecting everything having reference to the revolutionary movement, in order that future generations may know its history and learn to know those who were sacrificed for their liberty. But this information is not the only purpose of the Museum: it proposes also to collect piously the numerous relics—letters, photographs, drawings, note-books, appeals, manuscripts—which once belonged to citizens who had in one way or another engraved their names on the pages of the history of the great struggle of the working class. The Museum of the Revolution is collecting and completing incessantly these collections, adding to them everything connected in the least degree with the revolutionary movement. All these materials are destined to complete directly the inventory of the Museum, and will be printed, in part, in the review: "The Museum of the Revolution." The regional Soviets, the councils of the communes, the agricultural communes, and the other organizations of the revolutionary State will find in it a faithful expression of themselves.

On the 11th of January, there took place in the Art Palace the inauguration of the Museum of the Revolution. The vast hall of the Palace was crowded with people. Portraits of the first Russian revolutionists (from the epoch of Czar Nicholas I.), and other eminent revolutionists, handsomely decorated, added to the elegance of the hall. The ceremony of the inauguration began very solemnly with the address by Comrade Zinoviev, who related to the audience the purpose and the fundamental tasks of the Museum, and spoke

of the latest brilliant successes of the Red Army. Comrade Zinoviev indicated among other things, the coincidence of the two dates: that of the inauguration of the Museum of the Revolution, and that of the fall of the last stronghold of the counter-revolutionaries—the city of Rostov-on-the-Don, and emphasized the fact that this coincidence was not at all accidental. It was, on the contrary, symbolic, and presaged for us the imminent end of the bloody war, which would permit the Soviet Power to take to the peaceful work of social organization and new spiritual conquests. Comrade Zinoviev then gave several characteristics of the Russian revolutionists, beginning with those of the time of Nicholas I. and ending with Volodarsky and Uritzky—the last victims of the counter-revolutionary terror of our own time. The speaker invited the audience to rise in honor of the memory of these martyrs. Comrade Zinoviev ended his address by stating that the Museum of the Revolution could accomplish its task only with the support of all sections of the population, and, particularly, of the working masses. The publicist Vodovosov next took the floor to trace the history of the first revolutionary movement of 1830, and its important part in the development of Russian social and political life. Another publicist, P. Stchegolev, read a similar report, but insisted particularly upon one detail of this movement, namely, the revolt of the Chernigov regiment on the 3d of January, 1826, and the role of the soldiers in this affair. The journalist Novorussky referred in his address to the tasks of the Museum and invited the audience to give its support and aid. Comrade Lunacharsky devoted his report to the characteristics of the leaders and partisans in the first revolutionary movement of 1830. The meeting ended with a declaration by Comrade Zinoviev that a resolution had been adopted to erect a monument to these revolutionists in the Senate Place.

## Clement Arkadyevich Timiryazev

On the 29th of April Professor Timiryazev died in Moscow. He was one of the greatest of Russian scientists. Born in 1843, he was appointed to a professorship at the Agricultural Institute in the year 1871, and in 1877 he was called to the chair of Plant Physiology at Moscow University. Besides special scientific works, Timiryazev has left us popular works on natural science such as "Agriculture and Plant Physiology", "Charles Darwin and His Theory", and the "Life of Plants". But special significance is attached to him in that he, as a creative spirit, as early as November, 1918, understood the Great Revolution and had joined the workers. On this account he made many enemies among the bourgeois intelligentsia who were carrying on sabotage. In an article in

*Pravda*, in memoriam, Bucharin says: "In Timiryazev old Russia has lost her last scholar, Soviet Russia her first."

Characteristic of the personality of Timiryazev is the following letter which he published ten days before his death in *Trudovaya Nydelya* (Labor Week) on April 19, 1920:

Comrades!

Elected by the comrades who are working in the car construction workshops of the Moscow-Kursk Railway, I hasten to express first of all my most heartfelt appreciation and at the same time my regrets at the fact that my old age and illness do not permit me to assist at today's session. Furthermore I am faced with the question: How can I justify the confidence placed in me, what can I contribute in the service of our common cause? After the magnificent, unselfish successes of our comrades in the ranks of the Red Army,

who saved our Soviet Republic when at the very verge of destruction, and have thereby called forth the admiration and respect of our enemies, it is now the turn of the Red Labor Army. All of us, old and young, muscle and brain workers must join together in a common labor army in order to obtain further fruits of our victory.

The fight against the enemy without, the struggle against sabotage within, even liberty—are only means; the aim is—the well-being and happiness of the people; and they will be accomplished only through productive labor.

Work! Work! Work!

That is the call that must resound from morning until night, from one end to the other of our much-tryed land which has the utmost right to be proud of what she has already accomplished, but which has not yet received the well-earned reward for her sacrifices, for all her heroic deeds. At this moment there is no work that is insignificant, unimportant, or in any way negligible. There is only one kind of work—a necessary and idealistic work. But the work of an old man can still possess a peculiar importance. The free unconstrained work of an old man, even if not within the calculations of the general work of the people, can inflame the spirit of the young, can awaken a sense of shame in the idle.

I have only one healthy arm, but it could turn the crank of a wheel if necessary; I have only one healthy leg, but that will not keep me from stamping the earth with my feet. There are lands which call themselves free where this sort of work is prescribed as a shameful punishment for criminals; but, I repeat, in our free land there can be at the present moment no work that is shameful or humiliating.

My head is old, but will not fail me at work. My scientific experience of many years might perhaps be of use in the educational work or in the field of agriculture. And, another point: There was a time when my words of conviction found an echo in several generations of students; perhaps even now they may be a prop to the vacillating, and admonish those who are shirking the common work to reflect on their position.

Therefore, comrades, let us all get down to our work together, without placing our hands in our laps, and may our Soviet Republic flourish, created as it was by the unselfish heroic deeds of the workers and peasants, and saved before our very eyes by our glorious Red Army.

K. TIMIRYAZEV,

*Member of the Moscow Soviet.*

### A CZECHIC SOCIAL PATRIOT ON SOVIET RUSSIA

PRAGUE, May 27.—Josef Psenicka, a recently arrived Czecho-Slovak legionary, cannot in any way be suspected of Bolshevik sympathies. He has a counter-revolutionary past, the like of which would be hard to match even among the defilers of Soviet Russia. While the latter, newspaper prostitutes for the most part, have been able to consume in comparative leisure and comfort the pay given them by their employers, Psenicka has had to go through the experience of being condemned to death, only escaping execution by being pardoned. Two years ago he was imprisoned at Moscow, and he has now finally been sent home through the intermediation of the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister. He recently delivered a lecture at Prague, saying among other things the following:

"The Russian Revolution may now be considered as completely successful, and the Soviet Gov-

ernment has directed all its energies to the problem of economic reconstruction. The Red Army has been turned into labor armies, which are discharging their tasks with success. The army is disciplined to a high degree, and the spirit of the soldiers is fine. The Polish attack has merely had the effect of strengthening the army. Its confidence in victory is unshakable.

"The Soviet Government has carried out a tremendous cultural labor. No previous regime has ever done so much in this direction as the Soviet Government which is carrying on a ruthless struggle against illiteracy. In a short time there will no longer be any illiteracy in Russia. However, the cultural work is being hindered by a lack of teachers and assistants. Theatre tickets are distributed among the people and the theatres are attended almost exclusively by the proletariat.

"The Soviet Government is at present employing trained specialists in almost every line, and is developing constantly new forces, which do their work well. Revolutionary conditions are giving place to a permanent consolidation, and after the certain victory over Poland, Russia will be the only country with a healthy development in Europe, if not in the world."

Thus speaks Psenicka, a counter-revolutionist. What is the reason for this counter-revolutionary's expressing himself so straightforwardly on conditions in Soviet Russia? Is it simply the desire for truth, or is the reason the present orientation of Czechic nationalism which beholds its enemy in Poland? The latter is more probably the case. The desire for truth is not so powerful among the bourgeoisie as to force its way through other motives. And therefore Soviet Russia and the European proletariat as a whole must still struggle along against the only industry which is at present at the peak of production,—namely, the industry of lies.

(Signed) HENRICK UNGAR.

### BOROTBISTS FOR SOVIETS

The Executive Committee for the Left Social Revolutionary Party in Ukraine (*Borotbists*) has published a resolution in which it approves the policy of the Communist party. Under these circumstances, the Executive Committee finds it unnecessary to support two separate organizations to carry out Soviet policies. The revolutionary movement of the country will now be united at this critical moment, in the battle against foreign imperialism.

### WORKERS' DETERMINATION

It is reported from Rome by *Le Matin* that the Italian land organizations have interfered in the matter concerning the two boats which are lying in Genoa, which belong to Denikin, and which the sailors have vainly tried to seize. The workers have informed the authorities that they will oppose the departure of the vessels.

### TESSEN AND KNUDSEN DEAD

[A recent issue of "Social-Demokraten", Norway, prints an answer received by the Norwegian Foreign Department to a question addressed by it to the Soviet Government, requesting information concerning the fate of two Norwegian sailors known to have left Roald Amundsen's ship, the "Maud", and to have entered Siberian territory that has since come into the possession of the Soviet Government.]

The Foreign Department has received the following wireless telegram dated Moscow, May 28: "Referring to our radio-telegram of April 9 concerning the sailors Tessen and Knudsen, belonging to Amundsen's expedition, we report that as a result of our investigation we have learned that the two sailors died in the winter of 1914 at Cape Pill. We expect further information from Yenisseisk and will inform you immediately on their arrival."

Note: Probably 1914 is a telegraphic error for 1918 or 1919. Cape Pill is also an error; probably Cape Wild, about 360 kilometers from the place where the two left the "Maud" is meant. There is a great supply base there holding provisions for one man for 720 days.

Knudsen and Tessen were sailors of Amundsen's ship "Maud", who left the ship at Cape Chelyuskin in October, 1918. Knudsen was well acquainted with the supply base at Cape Wild, which he helped to establish in 1915.

Paul Knudsen was about 31 years old, and was born in Helgeland. He had been at sea for a number of years as a ship's mate and had been a member of Sverdrup's relief mission. Knudsen was well known in the region where he appears to have met his death.

Peter Tessen, who was born at Trendelagen, was about forty-five years old. Like his comrade, he was an experienced sailor and had sailed for many years with Arctic vessels. Tessen was married.

The reason for the death of the two it is now impossible to conjecture. Presumably some information will arrive concerning this question within the next few days.

### CHICHERIN'S RADIOS TO FOREIGN MINISTER IHLEN MUCH DELAYED

*Social Demokraten* this morning received the following telegram from the Russian Foreign Minister, Chicherin, dated June 1:

"Our radio telegrams unfortunately do not reach Foreign Minister Ihlen. On May 29 I informed him that Consul Geelmyden was enjoying the best of health at Moscow and entirely free. He was entirely at liberty either to return to Novorossiysk or to Norway, together with the next consignment of Norwegians. But in spite of this, I again received today a telegram from him putting the same question to me."

In connection with the above telegram, the press bureau of the Foreign Department reports that

the Foreign Department did not receive the information mentioned from Moscow until today.

The cause of this is probably that the Norwegian receiving station at Christiania, is overburdened with work.

### TRADE ROUTE OPENED FROM ENGLAND AND SIBERIA

A recent London message reports that Reuter's Telegraph Agency is informed that Jonas Lied is at present in London on business connected with a new trade route to the Kara Sea. He has reported to Reuter's correspondent that he is authorized by the Soviet Government to hire three steamers of 3,500 tons each, to be loaded with factory products which are to be exchanged for Siberian products. The vessels are to leave England the latter part of July and to return from Siberia with cargoes toward the end of September. Lied said that he had already received offers to the value of several million pounds of material for such description as was needed by the Russians. This was the Soviet Government's first effort to again bring Russia into commercial relations with the outside world. To counteract difficulties encountered in ice-bound waters, a plan has been drawn up for erecting radio stations and carrying on aeroplane traffic, which will keep all parties informed concerning the ice situation.

### THE WAR IN THE ORIENT

Moscow, June 2.—The representative of the Turkestan Commission declared, in an interview with a correspondent, that the English Government is preparing a military base in Persia, and especially in Korhassan, for the purpose of making a stand against an invasion of India.

Moscow, June 2.—In addition to the fleet, which consisted of ten cruisers and seven transports, an English detachment was also captured in Enzeli. The Red troops entered the city after the English evacuated it, and were joyfully greeted by the Persian workers. The Red troops captured a great quantity of war supplies and the entire fleet. The Persian Government understands that the Red troops will evacuate Enzeli.

### FOREIGN WORKERS IN RUSSIA

The President of the Supreme Council of National Economy has forwarded a radio-telegram in which he points out that the workers of foreign countries who wish to come to Soviet Russia and look for work should first send special delegations to study conditions. Workers who emigrate to Russia cannot expect to obtain better conditions than the Russian workers.

### EVACUATION OF THE CRIMEA

Moscow, June 5.—The evacuation of the Crimea by the English troops is complete, according to reports from Sebastopol. English civilians are leaving the Crimea, along with the troops, on transport vessels and steamers, en route for Constantinople.

### PERSIA AND SOVIET RUSSIA

*Pravda* of May 21 states that an exchange of notes took place between the Persian Government and the Soviet Government at Moscow, with the object of opening diplomatic and commercial relations between Persia and Soviet Russia. The initiative to this exchange of notes appears to have been taken by the Persian Government, which, in a communication to Chicherin, declared that it had learned with satisfaction of the proclamation issued in 1918 by the Soviet Government, in which Persia was recognized as an independent state, while all the treaties of the Czar's Government with the Shah were annulled. With the object of inaugurating friendly relations with the Soviet Governments of Azerbaijan and Soviet Russia, the Persian Government promises to send out two delegations, one to Baku, the other to Moscow. Simultaneously, Soviet Russian vessels operating in Persian waters are guaranteed unimpeded return to ports in Soviet Russia and Azerbaijan. The Persian Government further expresses its desire to resume commercial relations with Soviet Russia, and to extend such relations. Finally, the Persian Government requests that it be informed whether the Soviet Government of Azerbaijan is willing to ratify the treaty concluded between Azerbaijan and Turkey.\*

Commissar for Foreign Affairs Chicherin answered on May 20. The Soviet Government greets Persia's decision to send a diplomatic mission to Moscow with pleasure, and declares itself ready immediately to reestablish postal and telegraphic relations with Teheran, as well as to continue in its pursuit of a policy of conciliation and peace toward all the races of Central Asia. As the reason for the cutting off of relations with Persia, Chicherin enumerates a number of offenses committed against the diplomatic representatives of Soviet Russia at Teheran, as well as against its consuls in northern Persia, particularly from counter-revolutionary Russian and English quarters. But the Soviet Government understands the difficult situation in which Persia has been placed, and is therefore quite ready to regard as bygones the events of the past, on the condition, however, that the Teheran Government will guarantee complete security of the new representative and consuls of Soviet Russia against eventful violence at the hands of the foreign troops still remaining in Persia.

### AID TO THE SWEDISH PROLETARIAT

The Swedish capitalists have declared a lock-out on their workers. "*Petrograd Pravda*" makes an appeal to organize a collection in all the factories and shops, in the labor unions and in the detachments of the Red Army.

The typographical conference of the province contributed 200,000 rubles for the Swedish workers.

\* It appears that the last sentence refers to two Azerbaijan governments, one no longer in existence.

After the Red typographers came the Red workers in tobacco manufactures.

An assembly was held at the first state factory with great enthusiasm. The workers decided to contribute one day's pay for the benefit of the Swedish workers. This amounted to 350,000 rubles.

The Red cavalry soldiers also made themselves heard. They voted the following resolution: "The cavalry of the N. division of the reserve cavalry, having learned of the inhuman lockout declared by the Swedish bourgeoisie, have met in an assembly of the whole division. After hearing the reports of our comrades, we resolve to give each according to his means, to aid the bitter lot of the Swedish workers who tried to follow our road.

"In sending our aid, we say to them: 'Comrades, Swedish workers, do not waver in your demands, know that the Russian proletariat are always ready to aid you. The Swedish bourgeoisie are terribly deceived if they think by this inhuman measure to oblige the workers to yield.'"

The cavalry added 18,000 rubles to this resolution.

In all the enterprises and institutions of Petrograd collections are being organized for the benefit of the Swedish workers.

Similar collections will probably be organized throughout Russia.

### RUSSIA AND POLAND

A recent number of *Izvestia* prints an item by Radek in which the latter points out the absurdity of the French policy in driving Poland into its present hazardous enterprise, which may become so fatal to the latter, for France needs Poland as an ally against Germany.

After an analysis of the international situation Radek concludes as follows:

"We are entering upon this war under conditions ten times as favorable as those in which we entered the war against Kolchak and Denikin, who have now been destroyed,—our certainty of victory is based not only on the alignment of forces between Poland and Russia, but even to a greater extent upon the entire international situation."

### ARREST OF BATUM BOLSHEVIKS

The Moscow wireless reports that the British in Batum continue to arrest all suspected of Bolshevism. Moscow further alleges that two Bolsheviks were deported from Batum to Constantinople and there shot by the British.—Wireless Press, *Manchester Guardian*, June 16.

### EARLY ISSUES

The next issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA* will contain a new and striking article by Nikolai Lenin, entitled: "Economics of a Transition Period."

Number 6 (issue of August 7) will have a special picture supplement with new photographs from Russia.

## Books Reviewed

**BOLSHEVISM: AN INTERNATIONAL DANGER.** By *Paul Miliukov*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

**SOVIETISM.** By *William English Walling*. E. P. Dutton and Company.

**A PRISONER OF TROTZKY'S.** By *Andrew Kalpaschnikoff*. Doubleday, Page & Company.

**WITH THE "DIE HARDS" IN SIBERIA.** By *Colonel John Ward*. George H. Doran Company, New York.

These books represent a propaganda offensive against Soviet Russia on four fronts. Differing widely in style and method the authors have a single common objective: to discredit the Russian Soviet Republic at all costs.

Professor Miliukov sees that all the old familiar excuses for foreign intervention have broken down under the relentless pressure of events. The charge that the Bolshevik leaders were German agents has been disproved by the testimony of the German generals themselves and invalidated by the end of the war. The manufactured scare about the arming of German and Austrian prisoners by the Soviets was disposed of by the Webster-Hicks report. The pretext of aiding the "westward moving Czecho-Slovaks" disappeared when these troops repudiated dictator Kolchak and demanded immediate repatriation. The claim that intervention was designed to vindicate the Constituent Assembly was demolished when Supreme Ruler Kolchak refused to convoke that body on the ground that most of its members were to be found in the Communist ranks. Atrocity tales have begun to lose their effectiveness because the supposed victims have developed an unpleasant habit of turning up alive and working in hearty cooperation with the Soviet Government.

In short, all the conventional arguments for the policy of isolating and attacking Soviet Russia have collapsed out of their inherent weakness and falsity. So Mr. Miliukov, being a man of originality, conjures up the spectre of Bolshevism as an international menace, a sinister threat against every organized government. In support of this theory he cites numerous newspaper reports about radical activity in Europe and America. Aside from the dubious veracity of many of Mr. Miliukov's allegations, it is highly absurd to hold the Soviet Government responsible for every manifestation of discontent all over the world. If Miss Sylvia Pankhurst chooses to attack Mr. Lloyd George in *The Workers' Dreadnought*, there is no reason to assume that she is acting under direct and specific instructions from Moscow. If there is a strike in Winnipeg, it should be remembered that strikes took place before Karl Marx was born. When Irish workers display dissatisfaction with English rule they need no stimulus from abroad to urge them on. Where Mr. Miliukov attempts to prove a direct connection between the Soviet Government and domestic disturbances in other countries his "evidence" usually takes the form of

the unsubstantiated and unproved statement of some excited and overzealous public official. Mr. Archibald Stevenson is one of his authorities.

The Russian people have, so far as possible, defended themselves against a cruel and unprovoked war and blockade by the method of laying their case fairly before the peoples of the Allied countries. This method was widely practiced by all the belligerent nations in the late war. It is a noteworthy fact that most of the "propaganda" which Mr. Miliukov traces directly to Russia consists not of appeals for a world revolution, but of arguments against the war and the blockade.

Mr. Walling, a much clumsier propagandist than Mr. Miliukov, attempts to create an impression of impartiality by pretending to base his work upon a compilation of excerpts from alleged speeches and writings of various communist leaders. Just how fair this compilation is may be judged from the fact that the book includes copious quotations from Gorky's paper, *Novaya Zhizn*, during the period when the famous author was not reconciled to the Soviet Government, while it does not contain a reference to the many eloquent tributes which Gorky has since paid to the first proletarian republic.

Mr. Walling has much to say about the hardships of the peasants under Soviet rule. He says not a word in condemnation of the blockade, which has been the primary, if not the sole factor in making difficult an adjustment of interests between the peasants and the city workers. And he does not mention the indisputable fact that the downfall of Kolchak and Denikin was compassed by the Red Army with the hearty cooperation of the peasants in Siberia and the Ukraine, who hastened the downfall of these two tyrants by their revolts. Mr. Walling does not hesitate to draw the most unwarrantable conclusions from his own statements. So he quotes the following passages from an article by Zinoviev in *Izvestia*:

"Has the Soviet Government, has our party done everything that can be done for the direct improvement of the daily life of the average workingman and his family? We hesitate to answer this question in the affirmative.

"Let us look the truth in the face. We have committed quite a number of blunders in this realm."

Mr. Walling adds:

"Zinoviev is not the only leader of the Bolsheviks who has admitted the total failure of their labor policy."

So a frank admission that the Soviet Government has not achieved perfection is distorted into an "admission of total failure." Many of Mr. Walling's statements are so ridiculous that they carry their own refutation. He asserts, for instance, that half the engineers in Russia have been murdered by the Bolsheviks. He represents Bolshevism as a military menace to the rest of the world, wilfully ignoring the nineteen peace offers made by the

Soviet Government and rejected by the Allies, disregarding the obvious fact that every military operation from the attack of the Czecho-Slovaks to the recent Polish offensive was an attack on Russia fought out on Russian soil. In fact there are so many falsehoods, misrepresentations and distortions in Mr. Walling's book that it would require another volume to point them out and adequately correct them. It may be predicated that, like all inept and exaggerated propaganda, "Sovietism" will prove chiefly injurious to its author.

It is a relief to turn from Mr. Walling's dreary maunderings to that thrilling story entitled "A Prisoner of Trotzky's." Colonel Kalpaschnikoff possesses fictional imagination of a high order, and his account of his own adventures deserves a place among the most fantastic romances of all time. The very title has a fine dramatic ring; it suggests a long drawn out duel between the hero and the Soviet War Minister. One has to read the book to find out that Trotzky had no direct connection whatever either with the author's imprisonment or, we are glad to say, with his release.

Colonel Kalpaschnikoff's case was reviewed in detail in the Moscow and Petrograd press at the time of his arrest in December, 1917. Papers were discovered in his apartment which convinced the Soviet Government that he had planned to send eight motor cars belonging to the American Red Cross to General Kaledin, the counter-revolutionist leader in the Don region. As Kaledin was carrying on an open war against the Soviet Government Kalpaschnikoff certainly exposed himself to the double charge of espionage and treason, and might well have considered himself fortunate in escaping with a few months' imprisonment. He is discreetly reticent about the facts leading up to his arrest, which he represents as part of a deep laid plot on the part of the Soviet Government to secure recognition from the American Ambassador Francis. Just how his arrest would induce or compel Mr. Francis to recognize the Soviet Government he does not explain. In this connection he quotes Trotzky as saying in an imaginary speech:

"I shall not hesitate to take extreme measures and wipe out all the Americans and foreigners who dare to plot anything against the liberties so dearly bought by us for our country."

A careful examination of the newspapers published at this time in Moscow and Petrograd shows that Trotzky never said anything of the kind. It would certainly have been rather curious language for a foreign minister who is represented as desperately anxious to secure diplomatic recognition from "the Americans and other foreigners" whom he so cheerfully promises to wipe out.

But Colonel Kalpaschnikoff's poetic soul rebels against all restraints of fact, reality, and even probability. Wishing to convey the impression that sinister relations existed between Colonel Raymond Robins and the Soviet Government he asserts that Boris Reinstein was first an interpreter for Robins

and then a secretary to Lenin, although Reinstein never held either of these posts.

The author describes the Constituent Assembly as "composed of eighty-five per cent East Siders from New York City and Socialists who hurried from all parts of the world, and fifteen per cent Old Regimers." Certainly a very extraordinary body. One wonders whether Colonel Kalpaschnikoff really examined the records of the Assembly with meticulous care and proved that only fifteen per cent of its members (the Old Regimers) were living in Russia at the time of the Revolution.

One more incident before we lose sight of this engaging fictionist. It is possible to believe Colonel Kalpaschnikoff when he declares that insurgent peasants destroyed the grand piano in his ancestral mansion. But when he adds that they made a manure sledge out of the piano one's credulity begins to wane. Somehow the contrast seems too obvious, too dramatic, too perfect: on one side the traditional culture of the Kalpaschnikoff family, exemplified in the grand piano; on the other, the barbarism of the Bolsheviek peasants, exemplified in the manure sledge.

Colonel Kalpaschnikoff will scarcely take rank among the great historians of the Russian Revolution. But he certainly deserves a place by the side of Baron Munchausen as one of the truly great creators of highly colored imaginative fiction.

Colonel Ward is a sturdy Britisher with a good opinion of his King and country, and a somewhat better opinion of himself. He went to Siberia with his regiment in the summer of 1918, and cooperated with the Japanese and the other allies in suppressing popular government in eastern Siberia. He specialized in giving the Russians instruction in patriotism and good government. As an orator he must have touched great heights: for he very seriously declares on one occasion that "my list of telegrams and messages of every kind and character from every part of Russia and the outside world, together with constant repetition of the speech in the press, indicates plainly that from this day began the resurrection of the Russian soul."

Colonel Ward set about his task of resurrecting the Russian soul in various parts of Siberia. At the instigation of the Supreme Ruler he went up and down the Trans-Siberian railroad, warning audiences of workmen against the horrors and fallacies of Bolshevism. The workers showed their appreciation of Colonel Ward's eloquence and arguments later, when their strikes and sabotage contributed materially to Kolchak's debacle.

Some light is cast upon the sincerity of the British Government in the Prinkipo proposal by Kolchak's comment in an interview with Colonel Ward:

"There must be some facts with which we are not acquainted, for, while the British Government advise an arrangement with the Bolsheviks, they continue to furnish me with supplies for the Russian army."

It has remained for Colonel Ward to make an authoritative pronouncement upon the purposes

of British intervention in Russia. It seems that the participation of British soldiers in the fighting in Archangel and Siberia, the constant shipments of munitions to the counter-revolutionists, the merciless enforcement of the blockade, which starved hundreds of thousands of women and children, that all these measures were designed to save Russia from a reversion to autocracy. In the words of the gallant Colonel:

"The workmen are sick of strife, and would gladly go straight back to the old regime as an easy way of escape from Bolshevism. This is the danger from which English diplomacy has, and is trying to guard the Russian people, if possible."

Here we may take leave of Colonel Ward. Whatever else may be said of him he cannot be accused of lacking a sense of humor.

### SHIPPING BETWEEN ITALY AND RUSSIA

ROME, June 7.—It is announced from commercial quarters of the government that Italy, without regard to the Allies, will shortly take up trading with Russia on the basis of special agreements. It is now only a matter of getting ready the ships that are to ply between Italy and the ports of the Black Sea. Italy will receive coal and grain from South Russia in exchange for machinery.

### ELECTRIC POWER STATIONS

Petrograd newspapers report a gigantic engineering operation undertaken as a result of the opening of the Svir-Volkhov canal. Dams are being built on this canal, on which electrical power stations will be erected. On the river Svir there are a very powerful waterfall and a number of smaller cascades. Petrograd will be supplied with electrical energy from two stations situated 270 kilometres from the city. A third electrical station will provide the local industry and the Murmansk railway with electrical energy, which will be conducted to Petrograd by four cables along the Northern railway to the station of Zvanka, and thence to Kobino. From the latter point the current will be conducted in part to Petrograd and the Shuvalov district, and in part southward to Ligovo. It is calculated that these operations will require a period of four years. On the Volkhov river an electrical power station is also to be erected. All these stations together will furnish 1,500,000 kilowatts per hour.

### OIL PRODUCTION AT BAKU

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 7.—In Baku the administration have been taken over by a commissar of the Moscow government. The production of petroleum has increased considerably. The Russians are sending large quantities of oil to Russia by way of the Volga.

## THE NEXT ISSUE

of

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1. **ECONOMIC SITUATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA.** *Important official compilation of recent economic progress in Soviet Russia.*
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## Economics of a Transition Period

By N. LENIN

ON THE occasion of the second anniversary of the Soviet power I had proposed to write a short brochure devoted to the study of the problem formulated by this title. But in the pressure of daily work I have up to the present succeeded only in sketching the first draft of certain chapters. I have therefore decided to attempt a brief systematic resume of what I consider to be the essential ideas bearing on the question. Doubtless the systematic character of my resume will involve a number of inconveniences and gaps. Nevertheless perhaps I shall succeed in achieving, as far as a concise statement for a review will allow me, the modest aim which I have put before myself.

Theoretically it is beyond doubt that Capitalism and Communism are separated by a certain period of transition, which must of necessity combine the characteristic traits or properties of these two forms of public economy. This period of transition cannot but be a period of struggle between dying Capitalism and growing Communism, or, in other words, between Capitalism already defeated but not destroyed, and Communism, already born, but still extremely weak. Not only for a Marxist, but also for any educated man, however little acquainted with the theory of evolution, the necessity for a whole historical epoch, recognizable by these general characteristics of a transition period, must be self-evident. And nevertheless all the recriminations relative to the transition to Socialism which we are hearing from the mouths of the contemporary representatives of petty bourgeois democracy (and in spite of their self-assumed Socialist label, all the representatives of the Second Internationale, comprising men like Macdonald

and Jean Longuet, Kautsky, and Friedrich Adler, are representative of petit-bourgeois democracy) are characterized by a total ignoring of this self-evident truth.

The distinguishing feature of petit-bourgeois democrats is to cherish a disgust for the class struggle, to dream of a means of avoiding that struggle, to seek always to "come to an arrangement," to conciliate, to round off angles. That is why such democrats either refuse to recognize the whole historical period covering the transition from Capitalism to Communism, or else set before themselves the task of working out plans for the conciliation of the two forces at grips with each other, or of assuming control of the struggle in one of the two camps.

### II.

In Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat must necessarily present certain features peculiar to themselves in comparison with the advanced countries, in consequence of the very backward state and the petit bourgeois spirit of our country.

But at bottom we find in Russia the same forces and the same forms of political economy as in any capitalist country whatsoever: in such measure that those features cannot in any way affect the essential points. The forms which are at the root of public economy are capitalism, small production, and Communism. The fundamental forces are the bourgeoisie, the petite bourgeoisie above all, the peasant class, and the proletariat.

The economic activity of Russia in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat consists in the struggle, during its first stages, of labor, unified on the basis of Communism, within the single

framework of giant production, against small production, and against the capitalism which has been preserved and which is being born again on its basis.

Labor is unified in Russia on the basis of Communism in such measure as, *first of all*, private property in the means of production is abolished, and, *secondly*, the Government of the proletarian state organizes large scale production on a national scale of the state land and in the state enterprises, distributes labor-power amongst the various branches of the economic structure, distributes the accumulated stocks of products for consumption belonging to the state amongst the workers.

We speak of the "first steps" of Communism in Russia (to borrow the expression used by our party program adopted in March, 1919), in view of the fact that all these conditions have been only partially realized by us, or, in other words, in view of the fact that the realization of these conditions is with us only in a primitive stage.

Immediately, in one revolutionary sweep we did all that in the long run could be done in the first days. For example, on the first day of the dictatorship of the proletariat, October 26 (November 8), 1917, private property in land was abolished without indemnification of the great landowners; that is to say, the great landed proprietors were expropriated. In the course of a few months we expropriated, also, without compensation, all the large capitalists, proprietors of factories, workshops, limited liability companies, banks, railways, etc.; the state organization of large production in industry and the transition to "workers' control," to "workers' management," in factories, workshops, railways, etc., are already realized, while in the sphere of agriculture they are only just begun (Soviet estates, large agricultural enterprises organized by the workers' state on the state lands). Similarly, the organization of different forms of association amongst the small farmers as a form of transition from small exploitation of the land for profit, to Communist exploitation, is also only as yet taking shape. One might say the same of the organization by the state of the distribution of products instead and in place of private commerce: that is to say, of the preparation and of the transport by the state of the cereals necessary for the towns and of the manufactured products necessary for the country. Farther on will be found the statistical data so far accumulated on this subject.

Small production for profit remains the form of rural economy.

Here we have to deal with a vast and very deep-rooted groundwork of capitalism. On this groundwork capitalism maintains itself and is reborn, fighting against Communism with the most ferocious energy. The weapons of its fight are smuggling and speculation, directed against preparation by the state of stocks and cereals (and also of other products), and, speaking generally, against the distribution of products by the state.

### III.

To illustrate these abstract theoretical assertions, let us take some concrete data.

The total quantity of cereals prepared by the state in Russia, according to the figures of the Commissariat for Food, amounted from August 1, 1917, to August 1, 1918, to thirty millions of poods. The following year the amount rose to 110 millions of poods. During the first period of the following year (1919-1920) the stocks prepared amount, it appears, to about forty-five millions of poods, in place of the thirty-seven millions prepared during the same months (August-September) in 1918.

These figures eloquently attest the slow but constant improvement of the situation, from the point of view of the victory of Communism over capitalism. And this improvement has taken place in spite of difficulties unheard of hitherto, consequent upon the civil war, and organized by Russian and foreign capitalists, who had at their disposal the whole forces of the most powerful states in the world.

That is why, in spite of all the lies, in spite of all the calumnies of the bourgeois of all countries, and of all their direct or secret agents (the "Socialists" of the Second Internationale,) it remains beyond dispute that, from the fundamental economic point of view, victory is assured in Russia for the dictatorship of the proletariat: that is to say, for Communism over capitalism. And, if the bourgeoisie of the whole world, consumed with such an excess of rage against Bolshevism, organizes military expeditions, hatches plots against us, it is precisely because it realizes perfectly the permanent nature of our victory in the sphere of economic reconstruction, provided we are not overwhelmed by force of arms—which it does not succeed in achieving.

The following statistical material, furnished by the Central Department of Statistics, and which has only just been compiled in order to be given publicity, relates to the production and consumption of cereals, not throughout the whole of Soviet Russia, but only in twenty-six of its provinces (governments). It demonstrates to what degree we have already conquered capitalism during the short space of time which we have had at our disposal, and, in spite of the difficulties unprecedented in the history of the world, amidst which we had to work.

We see that about half the cereals were furnished to the towns by the Commissariat for Food and the other half by smuggling.

An exact inquiry into the feeding of the town workers in 1918 established precisely this proportion. And the bread supplied by the state comes to the workers *ten times* cheaper than the bread supplied by the speculators. The price of bread fixed by the latter is *ten times* higher than the price fixed by the state. That is what becomes apparent from an exhaustive study of workers' budgets.

These are the statistics.

Millions of poods

| Twenty-six Provinces<br>of Soviet Russia | Population<br>in<br>millions. | Production of<br>cereals (with-<br>out sowings) | Cereals Supplied                   |                 | Total quantity<br>at disposal of<br>population | Consumption<br>per head,<br>in poods |
|--|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|-----------------|--|--------------------------------------|
|  |                               |   | By the<br>Commissariat<br>of food. | By<br>smuggling |  |                                      |
| Producing Provinces:                     |                               |   |                                    |                 |  |                                      |
| Towns .....                              | 4.4                           | ...   | 20.9                               | 20.6            | 41.5   | 9.5                                  |
| Country .....                            | 28.6                          | 625.4   | ...                                | ...             | 481.8  | 16.9                                 |
| Consuming Provinces:                     |                               |   |                                    |                 |  |                                      |
| Towns .....                              | 5.9                           | ...   | 20.0                               | 10.0            | 40.0   | 6.8                                  |
| Country .....                            | 13.8                          | 114.0   | 12.1                               | 27.8            | 151.4  | 11.0                                 |
| Totals .....                             | 52.7                          | 739.4   | 53.0                               | 58.4            | 714.7  | 13.6                                 |

The statistics I have just reproduced, if they are studied as they merit, furnish an exact picture which throws into relief all the essential features of the present economic situation in Russia.

The workers are emancipated from their exploiters, and their age-long oppressors: the great landed proprietors and the capitalists.

This step forward in the path of true liberty and real equality which, in its scope, its extent, and its rapidity, is without precedent in history, is not taken into consideration by the partisans of the bourgeois (including the petit-bourgeois democrats), who understand liberty and equality in a sense of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which they grandiloquently call "Democracy" in general, or "Pure Democracy" (Kautsky). But the workers have in view real equality, real liberty (emancipation from the yoke of the great landed proprietors and the capitalists); and that is why they come out so firmly for the Soviet power.

In an agricultural country it is the peasants who have gained first of all, who have gained more than anyone, who have reaped the first fruits of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The peasant suffered from hunger in Russia under the rule of the great landed proprietors and the capitalists. The peasant had never yet had, in the course of the long centuries of our history, the possibility of working for himself; he died of hunger while supplying hundreds of millions of poods of cereals to the capitalists in the towns and abroad. For the first time, under the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasant can work for himself, and feed himself better than the town dwellers. For the first time, the peasant has made the acquaintance in practice of liberty; the liberty of eating his own bread, liberation from famine. It is in the redistribution of the land that equality reaches, as is known, its highest point; in the enormous majority of cases, in fact, the peasants have divided the land equally amongst the "consumers."

Socialism is the suppression of classes. In order to suppress classes, it was necessary first of all to

overthrow the power of the great landed proprietors and the capitalists. We have accomplished this part of the task; but that part was not the most difficult. In order to suppress classes it is necessary, secondly, to bring about the disappearance of the differences at present existing between the peasants, and this is a problem which is necessarily more protracted. It is a problem which cannot be solved simply by the overthrow of a class, whatever that class may be.

It is a problem which can only be solved by the organized reconstruction of economic life, by passing from small private, scattered production for profit, to large Communist production. Such a transition is of necessity of very long duration, and would only be retarded and hindered by recourse to hasty and insufficiently-considered administrative and legislative measures. It can only be hastened by assisting the peasant in such a way that he is given the possibility of improving, on a vast scale, the whole of the technical side of agriculture, and, indeed, radically to transform it.

To solve this second most difficult part of the problem, the proletariat, after having overcome the bourgeoisie, had speedily to carry out the following line of policy towards the peasant class; it had to wipe out the distinction between the working peasant and the peasant proprietor, the laboring peasant and the trading peasant, the toiling peasant and the speculating peasant.

This difference constitutes the very essence of Socialism. And it is not surprising that the Socialists in words, who are in fact only petit bourgeois democrats (the Martovs, the Chernovs, the Kautskys and Co.) do not understand the essence of Socialism.

This distinction is very difficult, in addition, because in practice all forms of private property, in spite of their differences and their mutual opposition, are confounded in one whole by the peasant. Nevertheless, the distinction is possible, and not only possible, but flows irresistibly from the conditions of rural economy and of peasant life. The working peasant for centuries has been oppressed

by the great landed proprietors, the capitalists, the brokers, the speculators, and their states, including the most democratic bourgeois republics. The working peasant has learnt, through his own experience in the course of centuries, to hate and combat these oppressors and exploiters; and this "education," which life has given him, forced him in Russia to seek an alliance with the worker against the capitalist, against the speculator, against the broker.

But at the same time, the economic conditions under the system of production for profit infallibly transform the peasant (not always, but in the immense majority of cases) into a broker and a speculator himself.

The statistics reproduced above show clearly the difference between the toiling peasant and the speculating peasant.

The peasant who, in 1918-1919, gave to the famished workers of the towns forty million poods of cereals at a price fixed by the state, through the machinery set up by the state, in spite of all the gaps which that machinery reveals—gaps of which the workers' government is perfectly aware, but which cannot be avoided during the first phase of the transition to Socialism—that peasant is the toiling peasant, the comrade, equal in rights, of the Socialist workman, the best ally of the latter, his true brother in the struggle against the yoke of capital. And the peasant who sold in contraband forty million poods of cereals at a price ten times higher than that fixed by the state, taking advantage of the necessity and of the famine with which the town worker was struggling, thwarting the state, increasing and engendering everywhere lies, theft, chicanery—that peasant is the speculator, the ally of the capitalist, the class-enemy of the worker, the exploiter. The surplus cereals which he possesses indeed were gathered in from the common land with the aid of instruments the manufacture of which entailed the labor not only of the peasants, but also of the workman; and it is perfectly clear that to possess a surplus of cereals and to use part of it to launch into speculation is to become the exploiter of the starving workmen.

You desire "Liberty, Equality, Democracy," we are told on all sides, and you perpetuate the inequality of the workman and the peasant by your Constitution, by the dispersion of the Constituent Assembly, by the violent requisition of surplus stocks of cereals, etc.

We reply: there has never been a state in the history of the world which has done as much to abolish the *de facto* inequality, the *real* absence of liberty, under which the toiling peasant has suffered for centuries.

But we shall never admit equality for the speculating peasant, just as we do not admit "equality" of the exploiter and the exploited, of the well-fed and the hungry, or the "liberty" of the first to plunder the second. And we shall deal with the erudite gentlemen who will not understand this difference as we deal with White Guards, even if these gentlemen give themselves the title of demo-

crats, socialists, internationalists (Kautsky, Chernov, Martov).

#### IV

Socialism is the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done all that it could to achieve that abolition.

But it is impossible to abolish classes at one blow.

And those classes have remained, and will remain, during the period of the proletarian dictatorship; the dictatorship will have played its part when classes disappear, and they cannot disappear *without* it.

Classes remain, but each of them has changed in aspect during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the mutual relations of classes amongst themselves have similarly changed. The class-struggle does not disappear with the dictatorship of the proletariat; it only assumes new forms.

The proletariat was, under class capitalism, the oppressed class, the class deprived of all property in the means of production, the class which alone was directly and wholly the antithesis of the bourgeoisie; and that is why it alone was capable of remaining revolutionary to the bitter end.

After overthrowing the bourgeoisie and conquering political power, the proletariat has become the ruling class; it holds the reins of power in the state; it disposes of those means of production which have already been socialized, it directs the hesitating and intermediate elements and classes; it crushes the reviving resistance of the exploiters. These are *special* problems of the class struggle which the proletariat did not and could not have to face previously.

The class of exploiters, of great landed proprietors and of capitalists, has not disappeared, and it cannot disappear straightway upon the coming of the proletarian dictatorship. The exploiters are defeated but not annihilated. There remains to them an international base, the international capitalism of which they are a branch. They partially retain some of the means of production, they still have money, they still have considerable social influence. The energy of their resistance has increased, just because of their defeat, a hundred- and a thousand-fold.

Their "experience" in the spheres of state administration, of the army, of political economy, gives them a very considerable advantage, with the result that their importance is incomparably greater than the numerical proportion they bear to the rest of the population. The class-struggle carried on by the defeated exploiters against the victorious advance guard of the exploited—in other words, against the proletariat—has become infinitely more violent. And it cannot be otherwise, if one is really considering a revolution, and if one does not comprehend under that term (as do all the heroes of the Second Internationale) mere reformist illusions.

Finally, the peasant class, like all the petite bourgeoisie generally, also occupies under the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat a middle, intermediate, position. On the one hand, it represents a very considerable (and, in backward Russia, an enormous) mass of the workers united by the interests, common to all workers, of emancipating themselves from the great landed proprietor and the capitalist; on the other hand, it comprises small farmers, peasant-proprietors and traders. Such an economic situation inevitably provokes a tendency to oscillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. And in the intensified struggle between the latter classes, in the extraordinarily violent subservision of all social relations, when we take into consideration the strength of the habits

acquired during the previous epoch of class society—a routine which is particularly noticeable precisely amongst the peasants and the lower middle-class generally—it is quite natural that we should witness amongst the latter desertions from one camp to the other; hesitations, waverings, incertitude, etc.

As far as this class, as far as these social elements are concerned, the task of the proletariat consists in guiding them and in struggling for a position of leadership over them. To rally behind it the hesitating and the uncertain: such has had to be the role of the proletariat.

## Russian "Bolshevism" and the Working Women

By NIKOLAI BUKHARIN

**WE COMMUNISTS** in Russia live under such unusually hard conditions that we have neither energy nor time to record immediately all the important and interesting events created in the course of the revolution and now being further developed. We are entirely taken up with the struggle that is going on for the protection of the revolution, attacked by its deadly enemies; we also must do reconstruction work, so as to bring about Communism. Owing to the pressure of work and struggle we fail to pay sufficient attention to the fact that the new order created also a new, an entirely different individual, who did not exist before, in fact, whose existence before was impossible. The new social relations among the people create and educate new human beings. Everybody is ready to abuse and insult the Bolsheviki,—most people do it without any particular reason, simply for the pleasure of passing judgment on Bolshevism; others have no idea about it and don't know what it really means. Only a few realize what a tremendous rebuilding task Bolshevism is performing for the benefit of humanity. Under the scorching breath of the revolution, and owing to the activity of the Communist Party, there sprang out from the lowest rank of the society, among the creative mass, new people of higher type; they are determined fighters, full of self-sacrifice, bright and faithful workers, real heroes.

It is especially interesting to observe the change which took place among the women of the plain proletarians and peasants. Those hitherto treated like cattle have at last realized that they are human beings entitled to equal rights. They take part in the general struggle against capitalism, against exploitation and slavery in any form. The working-women and the rural female population begin to participate in the administration of husbandry. They sit in the Soviets and Executive Committees of various types and hold responsible positions, and are frequently seen armed, or nursing at the front. The working women of the middle class and the peasant women are especially active in all institutions that deal with the social care of wom-

en, mothers, children, aged people, sick, invalids, etc. They are to be found in institutions for pregnant women, women who have just been confined, for nursing women, in infant asylums, in children's colonies, at vocation centers, in school kitchens, public dining rooms, tea houses, in hospitals, recreation centers, in aged and invalid homes, in public libraries, reading rooms, in propaganda centers for the spreading of communistic ideas and general knowledge; everywhere these simple women are active in bigger or smaller groups; they are, in fact, often the very soul of such establishments. In the performing of their duties they show as much brain as heart, they have an almost "ambitious, passionate enthusiasm" for the new creative abilities, and possess common sense for practical things.

Women who hardly ever heard about Communism before the revolution, many of whom learned to read and write only in the schools of the party organizations, do real good distinguished work in order to realize the Communistic theory. The talents and energy of the women after the revolution, owing to free activity, grow like plants in the sunshine after a shower has just passed. This new life awakens the women of the proletariat and peasants; it gives them tasks and duties, experience and training; it transforms them into revolutionary fighters and co-workers of the Communistic Society. This is still more surprising when we keep in mind all the suffering, strain and struggle which Soviet Russia has had to go through in order to protect its existence and secure its proper development. Here and there the Bolsheviki are compelled to take up anew the struggle against armed forces, to suppress the spirit of capitalism which the counter-revolution of the whole world is ready to save by the force of its weapons; the shattered domestic economy results in privation, hunger, diseases. In spite of all this, Soviet Russia is struggling for a bright future, for a free and happy common life, and the women of the proletarians and peasants are working and struggling together with them. A person who

would have to report the activity and strivings of these women from day to day would have a hard task to decide where to begin and where to stop.

The Cossack Conference now being held in Moscow is very typical as an indication of the new individuality awakening in the women. Women are also taking part in this conference as delegates entitled to equal rights. The revolution opened their eyes, awakened them, transformed them into fighters for the cause of the working people. What a transformation! Before the revolution, these women sat in their Cossack villages, managed their cottages, gardens and fields, as their mothers and grandmothers had done before them. They did not care what took place beyond the boundaries of their little village. When one of these women happened to visit the seat of the county or province, this was an event which gave material for long gossip. Now they participate in the discussions and decisions of their Soviets, they do not hesitate to make the long journey to Moscow. They sit among strangers, whom they have seen for the first time, and they express their opinions, discuss and come to conclusions; they feel as if they were among brothers and sisters, and discuss the most important life-issues of great Russia. Many a sensible remark, a clever suggestion, a thoughtful question, comes from the peasant women. It seems like a dream but it is reality.

The revolution and the Soviet Government offer to every toiler, creating with his hands or brain, the possibility to work for the common welfare and progress, and thus enable him to obtain bread, freedom, dignity, honor, in short—helps him to create an existence worthy of a human being. The right and the duty to cooperate, regardless of sex—that is the rule in Soviet Russia; this cooperation is carried out through the shops, fields and administration. During the regime of the Czar, the women had no part in the political

life of the country. The lady of the higher circle was wife and mistress, she did not care about the affairs of the state. The fate of the women of the masses was similar to this. After the March revolution of 1917, the women of the wealthy classes, namely, the liberals and the intellectual women (the "Intelligentsia") began to take part most energetically in public life. They also appeared as speakers at meetings. But only among the revolutionists could the Russian woman, who has always been so daring and full of self-sacrifice, take a full part in the political life. The revolutionary movement and struggles were carried on by men as well as by women. Not only Sophie Perovskaya, but many other Russian women who found death on the gallows, in horrible prisons, in deserts of snow, have their revolutionary integrity attested with a firm hand. As soon as the revolutionary movement had penetrated the masses, the women also became its supports. The proletarian women did not fail to appear at any economical or social walk-outs, at general strikes, at public information centers, at May demonstrations. Working women and wives of workingmen fell on the battlefields of the revolution. But in comparison with the great number of the working class, the number of women who took part in the political struggle of their class was comparatively small. Only a small group of the elite of the working women was working and fighting for the emancipation of the exploited and suppressed, who were in misery and slavery. Only the proletarian November Revolution brought out the big mass of the working and peasant women, who were seeking and failing, but always conscious of the great ideal. The individuals were growing intellectually and morally through this ideal, and in serving it, these individuals became the majority and are now innumerable.

## Lenin's Address

### At the Third All-Russian Congress of the Council of National Economy

**C**OMRADE LENIN says that he will only briefly speak on those questions with which he had to deal more of late. One of these questions is the organization of management, the question of collective or individual management. In the ensuing discussions, the question is approached on the basis of abstract reasoning, to prove the advantage of collective management over individual. But this leads us far away from the practical tasks of the present time. Such reasoning takes us back to that stage of the primary constructive work of the Soviet power, which we have already passed. It is time to pass to a more practical basis.

Collective management as the basic type for the organization of Soviet management represents something rudimentary and imperative at the first stage, when it is necessary to build from the

ground up. But under the settled, more or less stable, forms, the transition to practical work calls for individual management, as the system which more than any other assures the best use of human abilities and a real, and not merely verbal control over the work.

The experience which the Soviet power underwent in the field of military construction should not be looked upon as an isolated experience. Warfare includes all kinds of endeavors in all fields. The construction of our army could bring successful results only because it was created in the spirit of general Soviet construction, on the basis of class correlations. We find there the same thin layer of the leading class—the proletariat, and a mass of peasantry. And while in other spheres the essence of this correlation was not revealed with absolute clearness, it was given a real test in the

army, which faces the enemy and pays dearly for every mistake. This experience should be pondered upon. It led, developing systematically, from accidental, indefinite collective management through a collective management raised to a system of organization, and has now, as a general tendency, reached the stage of individual management as the only correct basis of endeavor. In any Soviet endeavor you will find a small number of class-conscious proletarians, a large number at a lower degree of development, and a vast mass of peasantry with all the habits of individual economy, and hence of free trade and speculation, which the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and non-partisans call freedom, while we call it the heritage of capitalism. This is the environment in which we have to act, and it demands corresponding modes of action. And the experience of the army has shown us the systematic development of the organization of management from the primary collective forms to the individual form, which is now in force there to the extent of at least fifty per cent.

Collective management at the best causes an enormous waste of effort and hampers the speed and accountability of work required by the conditions of a centralized large industry. If you will turn to the advocates of collective management, you will find in their resolutions, in an extremely abstract formulation, that each member of the collegium should bear individual responsibility for the execution of certain tasks. This has become a commonplace to us. But every one of us who has practical experience knows that only in one out of a hundred cases is this followed in practice. In the vast majority of cases it remains only on paper. None of the members of the collegium is given any definite tasks, and they are not executed under individual responsibility. In general, we have no investigation of the work. Suppose that the central committee of a trade union suggests a candidate for a certain position, and you will ask for a record of work performed by him and examined by experts. You will be unable to get it. We are all only beginning to approach real efficiency.

Our fault lies in the fact that we dream of performing everything by our own forces. We suffer from the most acute lack of workers, and we do not take them from the rank of the workers and peasants, among whom there is a mass of undeveloped administrative and organizing talent. It would be much better if we should pass as speedily as possible from general and in most cases absolutely futile discussions to a practical basis. Then we will actually act as the organizers of the advanced class, and we will discover hundreds and thousands of new men with organizing abilities. We must put them forward, try them, put them on certain tasks, and ever more complex tasks. I hope that we shall accomplish this, that on reviewing our work, after the congress of the Councils of National Economy, we shall take this path, and shall extend and multiply

the number of organizers, so that the inordinately thin layer which has become worn out during these two years will be refilled and augmented. Because the tasks which we are undertaking, and which should redeem Russia from poverty, hunger and cold, will require ten times more organizers, who should be responsible to scores of millions.

The second question, which interests us more than any other,—is the question concerning armies of toil.

This is a task which involves a transition between two periods of our activity. The period which was wholly devoted to the war is not yet ended. A number of signs show that the Russian capitalists will be unable to continue the war. But that they will make attempts to invade Russia is beyond doubt. And we must be prepared. But on the whole, the war which they forced upon us two years ago has come to a victorious end, and we are passing on to tasks of peace.

We must realize the peculiarity of this transition. A country utterly ruined, in the grip of hunger and cold, with destitution reaching the very bottom; and in this country—a people which has been aroused to its power and became self-confident when it found that it is able to withstand, without exaggeration, the whole world, for it was the whole capitalist world that was defeated. And in this original environment we propose armies of toil, in order to solve urgent problems.

We must concentrate on the main task—to gather grain and to bring it to the centers. Any deviation from this task, the least scattering of effort would be the greatest danger, would be fatal for our cause. And in order to make use of our apparatus with all possible speed we must create an army of toil. Concerning this question you have already the theses of the Central Committee and the reports, and I shall not touch therefore upon its concrete aspects. I would only like to point out that at the moment of transition from civil war to the new tasks we should throw all our resources to the labor front and concentrate on this all our energy, to the utmost exertion, with implacable, military resolution. We will not allow now any deviation. Advancing this slogan, we declare that we must exert to the utmost all the live forces of the workers and peasants, and must demand that they should wholeheartedly aid us in this. And then, through the creation of an army of toil, and through the exertion of the energy of the workers and peasants, we will accomplish our fundamental task. We will succeed in gathering hundreds of millions poods of produce and in transporting them to the center. We have them in our country. But it will take incredible, demonic efforts, the utmost exertion of the country, and military resolution and energy, to gather these hundreds of millions of poods of produce and transport them to the center. Here, in the center, we shall largely be busy working out a plan for this, and shall therefore speak of this work and all the other questions,

the questions of financing, of industrial reconstruction and the questions regarding broad programs—these must not distract us at present. We are confronted by this fundamental task—to resist the danger of being enticed by broad plans and tasks. We must concentrate on the most urgent and basic task, resisting any distraction from the chief task advanced by us, namely—to gather grain and produce, to gather them through the state, at fixed prices, in the socialist way of a workers' state and not in the capitalist way, through speculation, and to bring them to the center by overcoming the disintegration of transportation. It is a crime for any one to forget of this task.

To organize the execution of our fundamental task on a more or less sound basis, the leaders of all the state organs, particularly of the Councils of National Economy, should arouse activity to this end in tens of millions of workers and peas-

ants. To this end a comprehensive plan for the reorganization of Russia will be furnished. For this we have ample means, materials, technical possibilities, raw materials, enough of everything to begin this work of reconstruction from every angle, drawing into it all the workers and peasants. Comrades, we shall develop a stubborn struggle, a struggle which will require heavy sacrifices at the labor front, but which we must carry out, because of the famine, cold, disintegration of transportation, and typhus. We must fight all these hardships, and we must commence building our state from all sides on the basis of the methods of large machine industry, in order to become a cultured country and, by means of a sound socialist struggle, get out of that swamp in which other countries, the countries of world capitalism and imperialism, are at present submerged.—*Izvestia*, January 29, 1920.

## Recent Impressions of Poland

(From our Paris Correspondent)

PARIS, June 21.—I have just returned from a five weeks' trip through Poland and White Russia, where I had a chance to observe the political and economic conditions, especially in so far as they affect Soviet Russia. I was most interested in discovering the sentiment of the people on the projected peace discussions between Poland and Russia, which had gone to pieces on the rocks of Polish duplicity and hypocrisy. After I had talked to various individuals of different political shades, I gathered the impression that nobody had ever put much hope in the negotiations. The mass of the people feel so depressed by the war that they accept it as a fatal and eternal thing, and the newspaper discussions of peace could not awake them from the state of pessimistic apathy into which they had fallen.

The poorer class of Polish society are so pressed down by economic conditions that they have little time to think of politics. They are occupied with the problem of seeking their daily bread, in the most literal sense of the word, and have yet to understand the mysteries of politics. Among those peasants who had been made prosperous by the famine conditions, the younger element is still deluded by the jingoistic ideas which both the church and the government are doing their best to propagate; their minds have been artificially wrought up against the Jews as the perpetrators of the ruin that has come upon the country. But in the cities it is impossible to find any enthusiasm for the war. The repeated victory celebrations fell flat after the first one, and now that the victories have been turned into defeats, there can be no more thought of celebrations.

Of the organized labor element, a large proportion are Communists, despite the underground nature of their propaganda. When I left Warsaw,

the city was in the grip of a general strike on the part of the municipal employes. While the strike was non-political in its nature, it did not receive the support of the yellow and chauvinistic Polish Socialist Party, and it marked a distinct orientation towards the left. As for the Polish Socialist Party itself, a motion instigated by Daszynski to have the party associate itself with the government, was defeated by a narrow majority, the vote serving as a warning to the organization leaders that they cannot hope to serve the White Eagle and internationalism at the same time.

The bankruptcy of the Polish aristocracy has been shown by its inability to make peace with Russia. The peace efforts of the Polish government were marked by thoroughgoing insincerity, but the insincerity came from the lack of courage to conclude peace. The National Democrats were apparently the only party that sincerely desired peace, regarding it as essential to their policy of social conservation. But even they did not dare insist upon their program.

The Poles may truly say with Macbeth that they have waded so far in the pool of blood that it is just as far to wade back as to go through to the end. They have staked all their hopes on the defeat of the Soviets and the division of the Russian booty with the Allies. But if there is no booty to divide, the Allies will not repay them for the effort they have expended in fighting the Bolsheviks. The shade of Kolchak looms ominous in the distance as a warning of the treatment the Allies meet out to those who fight for them—and lose.

For the present, Poland is receiving munitions, food and clothing from the Allies for her army. The moment peace is declared, these supplies will be cut off, and the government, which in the two



years since the recognition of its independence should have learned to administer the economics of the country, will have to tackle the problems of reconstruction absolutely unprepared and without aid from their former friends and employers, the Entente powers.

England's policy in Poland has been to spend millions for war, but not a shilling for peace. For investment purposes, English capital has been afraid of the unsettled conditions of the country, but it has been good business to equip the Polish army in order that it might exert pressure on the Soviets and thus hope to extort from them better trade concessions. This is the real explanation of the simultaneous negotiations with Krassin and the support of the Polish and Wrangel offensives by Lords Curzon and Churchill.

When the Poles learned of the Krassin negotiations, a light began to dawn upon them in regard to English policy. The comment of the press with regard to England was extremely bitter, scenting in Lloyd George's action a counterpart to the French betrayal of Kolchak. In the explanations regarding the failure of their offensive, the Poles feature the disillusionment caused by the news of the Krassin negotiations.

After this disillusionment, it would be a bitter pill for the Polish landlords to have to cultivate the friendship of the Russian Soviets, but this is their only recourse if they wish to save the country from ruin and collapse. This friendship does not necessarily imply the adoption of the Soviet form, for the Russians are sufficiently realistic to be friends with people not of their own beliefs. The case of Esthonia, Czecho-Slovakia and Latvia is an example of peace and friendship concluded between Communist Russia and her non-Communist neighbors.

But it is hard to believe that the Polish aristocracy will have the courage and the self-control necessary for this. On my way back from Poland, I talked to a Belgian officer, a member of the Inter-Allied Commission of Control, who, while passing through Poland, had interviewed the Polish general staff on the military situation. The Poles had told him that they regarded the Bolshevik war as mere training practice. After they had finished with the Soviets, they would fight the Czechs and the Germans . . .

Those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. If we are to judge present indications, the Poles are being prepared for just such a destruction.

In a subsequent article I shall deal with the impression the Soviet troops made during their occupation of White Russia.

#### FOR FREE LUNCHES

According to *Economic Life*, 2,100,000,000 rubles have been allotted for the organization of free lunches to the end of the current year. It is proposed to give a quarter of a pound of bread twice a day to all children from four to sixteen years of age.

#### SANITATION IN RUSSIA

"For every thousand in the population of Russia, writes A. Sisin in No. 21 of the *Izvestia* of the Central Executive Committee, "26.7 died in 1914. In Germany, the total mortality was only 16.2, in England, Sweden and Norway 13-14 per 1,000. In the last thirty or forty years, the mortality in Russia rose only 4.8 per cent, in Germany 9.6 per cent, and in England 9 per cent. As far as child mortality is concerned, in 1903-1907, 24.7 per cent of all those born died without reaching the age of one year. Infant mortality does not seem to change much. In 1883-87 it was 26.1 per cent, that is, almost at the same level. In absolute figures, of 5,223,369 souls born in Russia in 1907, 1,217,436 died before reaching the age of one year. In England, the child mortality is only 11.7 per cent, in Norway 6.9 per cent, that is, for every 1,000 born, only 69 died in the first year.

"General cases of sickness in Russia amounted in 1913 to 95,401,750, epidemic illness constituting seventeen per cent of the total, skin and germ diseases fourteen per cent.

"The total number of contagious diseases in 1913 was 14,577,271. They consisted of 3,577,966 cases of influenza, 2,296,629 of malaria, 1,124,477 of syphilis, 775,904 of pulmonary tuberculosis. Scabies, a typical disease due to dirt and ignorance, had 5,532,723 cases in 1914, and trachoma, also a sickness of poverty and dirt, 891,368 cases.

"The small number of medical personnel also had a large effect on the national health.

"In 1915 there were in Russia 33,082 doctors, male and female, and 29,866 assistant doctors. There was only one doctor for each 5,140 population, while in Germany there was one for each 1,960, and in England one for each 1,400. The entire expense of the Czar's government and social institutions for medical and sanitary work in 1914 amounted to 150,000,000 rubles. Only ten per cent of this money was government money. The expense per inhabitant was only one ruble, and only about eight kopeks was spent on sanitation. The rest was spent on medication.

"Sanitation was far from being at all satisfactory. Out of over 1,000 cities in Russia, only 170 had a central water plant; only in fifty was there any sewer system; and only in thirteen was the refuse carried away by water. Many large cities had no doctors at all, and many of the governments had no sanitary organs or institutions whatsoever.

"The victorious revolution has faced Russia more than sharply with all the problems of hygiene, especially as the latter had been entirely neglected thanks to the bloody four years' war, and the crisis caused by the latter. Therefore, having assumed the helm of power, the proletariat must at once begin to put in shape the work of national sanitation, in cooperation with the central government organ, the National Commissariat of Sanitation, so as to forever cut this Gordian knot, this cursed legacy of capitalism."

# КРЕСТЬЯНЕ И СОЛДАТЫ.

Неужели вы еще можете вѣрить большевистскимъ смутьянамъ и обманщикамъ?

Неужели вы еще не видите, что враги народа, захвативъ власть, разграбили достояніе крестьянъ и горожанъ, обездолили рабочихъ своими лукавыми обѣщаніями, привели всѣхъ насъ къ нищетѣ и Родину нашу къ гибели?

Я и мое Правительство заявили вамъ, что мы считаемъ справедливымъ и необходимымъ отдать всю землю трудящемуся народу.

Я это сказалъ и весь міръ слышалъ мои слова, теперь я повторяю это вамъ, крестьяне и солдаты, и я не отступлюсь отъ своихъ словъ. Помните это твердо и не вѣрьте обманщикамъ-большевикамъ.

Помните также, что необходимо скорѣе разбить тѣ банды, которыя въ слѣпотѣ и темнотѣ своей защищаютъ пародныхъ комиссаровъ, забывъ Бога и народъ: Помогайте же нашей Арміи, честно бьющейся за спасеніе Россіи и народа.

Каждый лишній день власти Совѣта Народныхъ Комиссаровъ отдаляетъ тотъ часъ, когда русская кормилица-земля перейдетъ въ руки земледѣльцевъ-крестьянъ, любящихъ свою Родину-мать и спасающихъ ее въ смутное время.

Верховный Правитель и Верховный  
Главнокомандующій Адмиралъ



29 Июля 1919 года, гор. Омскъ.

Омскъ. Тип. Акц. О-ва „Руск. О-ва. Печати. Дѣла“.

Изданіе Освѣд. Отд. Штаба Верховн. Главнокомандующаго.

PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS:

Can you still believe the Bolshevik trouble-makers and deceivers? Don't you see yet that the enemies of the people, having seized power, looted the property of the peasant and city population, ruined the workers by means of their sly promises, made paupers of all of us and led our country to destruction? My Government and I have told you that we consider it just and necessary to turn over the entire land to the laboring people.

I said this and the entire world heard my words. Now I am repeating it to you, peasants and soldiers, and I shall not go back on my word. Remember this well and do not believe the Bolshevik fakers.

Also bear in mind that it is necessary to defeat those bands which in their blindness and darkness defend the People's Commissaries, having forgotten God and the people: Help, therefore, our Army that is honestly fighting for the salvation of Russia and the people.

Every extra day of power of the Soviet of People's Commissaries removes the hour when the Russian mother-earth will pass into the hands of the farmers who love their country and have saved it in time of stress.

Omsk, July 29, 1919.

Supreme Ruler and Supreme Commander-in-Chief,  
ADMIRAL KOLCHAK.

## NEWS FROM RUSSIA

ROSTA, June 10, 1920.—In the White Russian paper, *Svoboda Rossyi*, which is published at Reval, Duschen recently published an article concerning Poland, in which he says, among other things:

"Is it not already time to understand that all Russians must place themselves, at the defence of their Fatherland, in those places which are best adapted to them, in order to repulse the new attack of bandits? All those who will do their task in Russia and close their ranks to defend every foot of Russia's soil need have not fear. The Red Army in Russia has a prominent place, because of its organization. The Russian Army has won on fourteen fronts, has crushed many generals and their followers, but hitherto it has not even yet shown its entire strength. It has met slanders and sneers from the whole world with invincible heroism, bravery, and courage, so that even the worst slanderers have learned to respect it. The army is the pride of the nation, and the Red Army is the pride of the Russian people. It bears evidence that during all the horrors of the past years the Russian people have preserved an enormous spiritual force and firmness. In this respect we may be quite at ease.

"But if there is any possibility of shortening this war, if there is a trace of hope that our weak voices, the voices of the Russian emigrants, can contribute to the cessation of this brother murder, then our duty to our Fatherland consists in openly declaring—'Leave Russia alone. Do not disguise your bandit intentions with assertions that you desire to help the Russian people. Take your hands off! The Russians do not need your help. Let them attend to their own affairs, in their own way!'"

*Pravda* comments on this as follows: "This article is the more characteristic in that it reflects the conception of almost all the Russian emigrants in Esthonia. All refugees and all former White Guards unanimously express in their conversations with the members of the Russian delegation,—'whatever differences of opinion there may be between us and the Soviet Government, we all unanimously wish that the Red Army may crush Poland as fast and as completely as possible.' The same statements have been made unofficially even within Esthonian military circles."

## "PRAVDA" ON THE CADETS

HELSINGFORS.—The Moscow *Pravda* writes that Paris has become the center of the remnants of the Russian bourgeoisie, just as Koblenz was at one time the center of the remnants of the French nobility. Just now eminent Cadets are gathering at Paris to decide definitely how to fight Soviet Russia. Some of them managed to obtain high positions in the financial circles of Paris. Their pockets are being filled by subsidies from the League of Nations. They are trying to resurrect the National Center.

## THE INAUGURATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE RED ARMY

The second day of the fetes on the second anniversary of the creation of the Red Army was also marked by the inauguration of a university of the Red Army, bearing the name of Comrade Tolmachov. Professor Shlebnikov informed the audience of the general plan and history of the organization of the university. There were, first, the instructors' courses, which, at the end of a few months of work, could congratulate themselves on brilliant results. The first group of students finishing their studies was already anticipated for the current March. In view of this pedagogic success, on the one hand, and the intention of the students to pursue their studies, on the other, it was decided to transform the school of instruction into a university of the Red Army, with five faculties to begin with.

## "SOVIET RUSSIA PAMPHLETS"

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau is issuing a series of pamphlet reprints of important Soviet documents. The following are the first four of these pamphlets:

1. *The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia*. Official text, with introduction, by the Bureau, and an answer to a criticism by Mr. W. C. Redfield. 52 pages, stiff paper cover, price 10 cents.  
This is a new edition of the Labor Laws, and every owner of the old edition should have it.
2. *The Laws on Marriage and Domestic Relations*. To be ready about September first. Price 15 cents.
3. *Two Years of Foreign Policy*, by GEORGE CHICHERIN. The relations of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic with foreign nations, from November 7, 1917, to November 7, 1919. 36 pages, stiff paper cover, price 10 cents.
4. *Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia*, by S. KAPLUN, of the People's Commissariat of Labor. This pamphlet, an interpretation of the labor laws of Soviet Russia, is necessary to a full understanding of these laws, and readers should therefore order it in addition to their copies of the laws. This pamphlet has never been published in SOVIET RUSSIA. To be ready August 1. Price 10 Cents.

Other pamphlets will follow. Special rates for quantities.

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## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*  
**RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU**  
 110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**I**N THEIR desperate efforts at the eleventh hour to rescue the Polish Government from the consequences of its ambitious folly, the European politicians once more reveal the impotence of capitalist militarism and the humbug of bourgeois diplomacy. Having encouraged their vassal, Poland, whom at any time they could have easily held within bounds, to embark upon a disastrous adventure, the Allies, beholding the disaster, can think of no way to avert it save by making vain threats against Russia, over whose independent government and victorious worker's army they have not the slightest influence. So we come again to one of those moments, of increasing frequency, when confusion and bewilderment prevail, and the conflicting interests of nationalist ambitions disrupt the solidarity of Allied capitalism. At such times the censorships fail to function and the various official propagandas lack coordination. Even the best trained bourgeois correspondents lose their bearings in this chaos, and, lacking the accustomed guides and restraints, are daily in danger of giving the show away.

The reply of the Soviet Government to the British proposal, which was designed to rescue Polish imperialism from its plight, precipitated the crisis. Mr. Lloyd George, "looking pale and haggard," admitted his bewilderment and complained that the Soviet note was difficult to understand. No doubt it was. Nothing is more confusing to the diplomatists of old Europe, accustomed to a language of evasion and equivocation, than the straightforward talk of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. How could Lloyd George understand a note in which the victors, repudiating the interference of the Allies in the Polish debacle, actually offered the defeated Poles more advantageous territorial terms than those suggested by their western protectors. "Propaganda," cried Lloyd George, in consternation, fearful lest the Poles discover the obvious truth that it is better to be defeated by Soviet Russia than to be protected by the Allies. To add to his embarrassment, the Soviet Foreign Office replied to Mr. George's suggestion of a general peace conference of the border states, by reminding him that Soviet Russia had already successfully concluded peace with Lithuania, Estonia and Georgia, and that negotiations were

proceeding with Latvia and Finland. There was, no doubt, an unpleasant suggestion in the inference that while Mr. George and his peripatetic colleagues had been running about from one watering place to another, talking peace and prolonging war, Soviet Russia had been persistently and successfully making peace wherever possible. It was perplexing to be reminded that the Soviet Government has done more to make peace in the world and has actually conducted more successful peace negotiations with its neighbors than any other power in Europe since the armistice. We gather from the reports of the Prime Minister's discourse, however, that he understood that the Soviet Government was ready to make peace direct with Poland and that he would advise the Polish Government to sue for terms. Perhaps he did not find the Soviet note so difficult of comprehension as he pretended. He did not care where the peace conference met, he said, and did not desire to interfere if the Poles would negotiate directly with the victors. The main thing was to save Poland from the consequences of her "mistake." He concluded with some perfunctory and meaningless remarks about the aid which England and France would give to Poland. The British Ambassador at Berlin had gone to Poland. The French Government was sending "a General who is Chief of Staff," and finally, as some sort of dark hint, "it may very well be that Marshal Foch will follow." What all these worthies would do or could do in Warsaw, except to impede the hasty preparations for evacuation, the Premier did not say.

Over in Paris, M. Millerand was having his say, calling the Soviet note an impertinence, and threatening wildly. "France must keep her word to Poland," said the French Premier, forgetting that only a few days ago no less a personage than Marshal Foch himself had disclaimed all responsibility for the Polish enterprise. One correspondent, reporting the belligerency of the French Premier, remarks dryly that "it is possible that actions may not correspond with orations, for it is difficult to see how France or England can practice a war policy in the present circumstances." Indeed it is difficult. Marshal Foch is not an army corps. Meanwhile Ignace Paderewski, pouring out his heart to the correspondent of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, tells how Clemenceau and the Supreme Council prevented Poland from accepting the peace offers of the Soviet Government of August of last year, and how, when that offer was repeated last January, the Allies left Poland to her own devices and Poland accordingly conceived herself in the romantic role of the appointed defender of civilization. "The Allies have agreed to support Poland in every way with all their powers," proclaims Millerand with large assurance. Specifically in what way or with how much power, he does not say. At any rate, he adds, France will not negotiate with the Soviet Government until it has recognized the debts of the former Russian governments.

**T**HERE have recently come to light some interesting financial items which must ultimately enter into the reckoning by which the European and American people will count the cost of their unsuccessful military operations against the Soviet Republic. The figures now revealed, we may be sure, are far short of the gigantic total which the promoters of a bankrupt enterprise will have to write off as bad debts and profitless investments. No government would dare acknowledge to its people all at once the full sum of this extravagance and waste. The English Government, for instance, has announced that the total of Great Britain's expenditures on naval and military operations in Russia from the signing of the armistice in November, 1918, to March 31, 1920, was more than fifty-five million pounds sterling. Enormous as this sum is, it is obviously far from the total cost of British intervention. The total in human and economic wastage, of course, can never be reckoned. But this figure only pretends to give the bare cost of English naval and military operations. It is not assumed to cover the expenses of the Canadian invading forces in Siberia, nor does it account for the price of all the material and financial assistance wasted on subsidies and donations to Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel, and every other White Guard adventurer who came begging about the Allied treasuries and war offices.

The account rendered by the United States Liquidation Commission covers still another form of expenditure in the anti-Soviet campaign. According to the official report, a total of \$140,104,021 represents the amount of sales of surplus American munitions and supplies to the nations of the defunct "cordon sanitaire," as well as directly to the White Guard counter-revolutionists. These so-called sales were, in effect, direct loans, proffered, according to the official report, because it was believed that they would "serve a very important function in stabilizing the government and social institutions" of the buffer states, and "would help check the insidious advances of Bolshevism." No cash was taken or asked in return. The amount advanced to Poland for checking the "advances of Bolshevism" was \$59,365,000. The other border states received proportionate amounts, and Kolchak's "Russian Government" got its share. It is not our purpose here to question the value of these American investments or the solvency of the debtors. Two considerations do arise, however, upon which it is interesting to speculate. Among the states to which the United States extended credit in this form were Esthonia and Lithuania. Now both of these countries have made peace with Soviet Russia, and under the terms of their respective treaties, both have been allotted a share of the Russian gold reserve. This gold which Esthonia and Lithuania have accepted from Russia is part of the same reserve out of which the Soviet Government is making its initial purchases of supplies in England and in Scandinavia and elsewhere. It is the same gold which the American

Government has warned American manufacturers and merchants is "stolen" and subject to confiscation. Query: Can the United States Government accept payment from Esthonia and Lithuania in this same "stolen" gold? This tainted metal is now inextricably mingled with whatever assets Esthonia and Lithuania may have had before they made peace with Russia, if, indeed, it does not constitute the total of their available reserve. When Esthonia and Lithuania pay the interest on their debts to the United States out of this Russian gold, will the United States Treasury be the receiver of stolen property? At present the American Government forbids the transfer of Russian credits from Esthonia to the United States to pay American manufacturers for goods sold to Russia. Will the same prohibition affect the transfer of gold from the same source when it is to be applied on purchases from the United States Government? We do not think so. Moreover, we are confident that the logic of this situation will shortly result in the removal of the ban on Russian exchange which debars the American manufacturer from the Russian market. It is plain enough that the United States can never in clear conscience collect its debts in Esthonia and Lithuania until it is ready to acknowledge the right of the Russian people to the possession of their own treasury.

The other consideration evoked by the report of the Liquidation Commission arises in connection with the recent outcry from the Russian-American Chamber of Commerce calling for the protection of American investment in pre-revolutionary Russia. The statement of the Chamber is not very specific, but the gist of its seems to be that some Russian Government owes a few Americans a certain amount of money for industrial plants and other investments in Russia. This may be true. Still, it must be apparent, even to the Russian-American Chamber of Commerce, that it is not a question which can be settled in any frank and generous spirit until the United States has recognized some Russian Government—we modestly refrain from even suggesting what government. When the moment for settlement arrives, it is of course inevitable that one side will raise the question of the various subsidies and donations which the American Government has given to counter-revolutionaries engaged in civil war against the Russian Government, and to foreign belligerents engaged in armed invasion on Russian soil, all of which cost the Russian people much sacrifice and expense to suppress. Even leaving aside any direct American participation in hostilities against the Russian Government, these questions must be discussed. But, like the question of remuneration to American investors, all these matters are susceptible of adjustment.

\* \* \*

**A** CONSIDERABLE FLURRY of newspaper headlines, parliamentary interpellations, and trade union resolutions, has been raised in England by the publication of a secret record of Win-

ston Churchill's intrigues with the Russian counter-revolutionaries. The document in question contributes nothing essentially new to the long and sordid record of capitalist imperialism in its futile campaign against the Soviet Republic. It is interesting merely as an exhibit of the peculiar psychology of bourgeois chauvinism engaged in ridiculous plots and pretensions which fool no one but the self-deluded actors. Two copies of this "strictly confidential" memorandum were captured by the Soviet forces, with other more important booty, one at Omsk, and the other at Archangel. In substance it is a report by the Czarist General Golovin to Sazonov, the Czar's ex-Foreign Minister, dated May 6, 1919, recording the progress of the General's negotiations with the British War Office.

General Golovin proceeded cautiously; "taking into consideration," he explains, "that Churchill was all the time very careful to avoid meeting Russian war representatives—being afraid of criticisms on the part of the left element and perhaps on the part of Lloyd George." Through the mediation of one, Sir Samuel Hoare, Golovin prepared a memorandum for Churchill on the plan of operations against Petrograd. Hoare had intended to arrange a "private interview" at his own house between Churchill and Golovin. The General, however, observing some hesitation in this matter, was extremely courteous and considerate. "I understood that he was in doubt as to whether Churchill would wish to violate his outward cautiousness towards us. I frankly told Hoare that I considered it necessary to bear in mind Churchill's wishes, as the latter sees much better the political situation, and that I would not like to embarrass him." So it was decided that Hoare should continue to act as go-between. The General was well pleased with the results of his negotiations. "I was told that everything would be done." On May 4, Hoare reported that Churchill was "extremely interested in the Yudenich business," and so far overcame his fears as to invite the General to visit him personally. Hoare was greatly elated, "and asked me to make it a point to come in military full dress." The romanticism of these absurd creatures is irrepressible. Duly caparisoned for the occasion, Golovin waited upon the War Minister. He records the exact hour of the momentous event—"at 5.30 of the same day"—and was properly impressed by the condescension of the Great Imperialist. The reception was "most cordial," and Churchill "displayed great kindness." The War Minister explained his difficult position: "Until now he was unable to meet the higher representatives of the Russian Army, for the sole reason that, in the interests of the cause itself, and owing to the political conditions of the moment, he had to keep a secret of many things." Circumstances had now altered somewhat; nevertheless, Churchill asked Golovin, "in the name of our common cause," to keep their relations "in full and strict confidence." Getting down to business, Churchill confessed that the question of giv-

ing armed support to the Russian counter-revolution was difficult, because of the "opposition of the British working class." However, "even in this matter, without promising anything, he would try to help." He then outlined the naive plan which he subsequently put into action. Churchill had already declared in the House of Commons that fresh forces were necessary for the evacuation of North Russia. "Under this pretext," reports Golovin, "he would send 10,000 volunteers who would replace the worn-out units, especially the demoralized American and French troops." Then, under this flimsy sham, "he would postpone the actual evacuation for an indefinite period." He promised that the assistance of the newly arrived British detachments should be "actively manifested." "In short," wrote General Golovin, "he will do all he can, but again he added that the success of our common cause demanded great secrecy." The question of support to Denikin was more difficult, "because as far as the North was concerned he had a pretext—that of supporting the British troops already there." No such pretext existed in the south. Another pretext had to be invented. Churchill would send 2,500 British volunteers to Denikin, "under cover of instructors and technical troops, and if these fight side by side with us against the Bolsheviks it will, of course, be natural." There is more of this, but one turns disgusted from the record of such petty chicaneries. Churchill made lavish promises of financial and material support to the various counter-revolutionary enterprises, called himself "the devoted champion of a great united Russia," and histrionically announced to the delighted General that "I am myself carrying out Kolchak's orders." The conversation, reported Golovin, "exceeded all my expectations," and he concludes: "Great Britain's help is guaranteed to us to the fullest possible extent."

This record is little more than a year old. Winston Churchill, the "devoted champion" of the counter-revolution, remains War Minister in the same cabinet with Lloyd George, who negotiates commercial relations with the Soviet Government and disavows responsibility for the Polish offensive. Moscow, well-informed and forewarned, proceeds cautiously and will not be easily tricked by fair words and false promises.

\* \* \*

**T**HE reader is asked to note the tone of the Kolchak proclamation which we have published in facsimile and translation on page 114 of this issue. With the magnanimity of a god, Kolchak assures the lowly that he has heard their prayers and will be kinder to them than are the wicked Bolsheviks. Or shall we rather say, with the magnanimity of a Wrangel, who promises to be no less godlike in his unsolicited largess to the peasants of Russia. The time for gods is past: the people demand their own, and no Kolchak or Wrangel can any longer withhold it from them.

## The Economic Situation in Soviet Russia

THE economic situation in Russia at the present moment can be characterized by a few most typical facts. The fact of the complete suspension of foreign trade, which always played an important part in our economic life, had a great influence over our industry and trade. Approximately the value of commodities exported from Russia, for the five year period, 1901-1905, amounted to 941 million rubles a year, but for the five year period, 1906-1910, it already amounted to 1,205 million rubles a year, which means that on the average there was an increase of twenty-eight per cent in the exports from Russia. The yearly import of commodities for the period 1901-1905 amounted to 632 million rubles a year; for the period 1906-1910 it was 910 million rubles a year—an increase of forty-four per cent. From 1910 to 1912 the exports of Russia, on an average, amounted to 1,520 million rubles. (See Table I.)

For the same three (3) years prior to the war, our complete imports amounted to 1,139 million rubles, and were divided as shown in Table II.

It is characteristic that Russia exported chiefly food products, all kinds of raw materials, mineral ores, and petroleum, and imported chiefly manufactured products.

Imports to Russia were mostly such ware and commodities as were not manufactured on her territory. For instance, for the above three (3) years prior to the war, the following commodities were imported in considerable quantities:

Carriages, musical instruments, all kinds of machines and apparatus, machines and parts, power engines, lathes, sewing machines, binding machinery, harvest machinery (*to the aggregate amount of 50 million rubles*).

Iron and steel products, pewter, lead, (about 15 million rubles each), coal (mainly for Petrograd), paper products, books, tanning materials, fertilizing materials, all kinds of flax and woolen goods, tea, coffee, fruit, etc.

Imports to Russia are given by countries of origin in Table III.

For the above we are using mainly figures of pre-war times, as they are more characteristic for Russia's previous relations with the rest of Europe. Data for the time of the war are entirely different, because during the said period materials for war purposes were mostly imported, which is not characteristic at all of our normal trade relations.

Post-war trade relations of Russia appear most unfavorably, i.e.,—Russia's chief source of supply of all kinds of manufactured goods and commodities, exporting about fifty per cent of Russia's total purchases of said commodities—Germany—cannot be counted upon in Russian foreign trade.

Besides, Germany is so exhausted, that she will not be able to resume her trade relations with the outside world in the immediate future. There remain other European countries, which could, if they would, start trade and bartering relations with Russia, but at the present time this is prevented by purely political combinations. The powerful countries of Europe decided to blockade Soviet Russia, suspending all imports to that country, in spite of the fact, that they themselves are in need of the raw materials, which Russia is in a position to supply them with. This is evident from the fact that some of them were willing to start bartering with her. In any event, we must face the fact that Russia's foreign trade with European countries and bartering relations with the outside world are completely paralyzed and cannot be restored in the near future.

The shortage of manufactured products and other commodities would have to be made up by the products of Russian factories, which is most difficult at the present time. For instance, the agricultural industry would have to increase its productive capacity, which is impossible at present. The same is true for other branches of our industry, which are in the same position, and have to develop their activities without any assistance from the outside. One of the most important factors in the economic life of the Russian Soviet Republic is that Russia is *cut off from her main industrial centers and sources of raw materials and fuel*. Industry can normally develop only when she has at her disposal the main sources of raw materials and fuel, and when the exploitation of the same is not hampered by great difficulties. The geographical situation of Russia's main sources of raw materials is comparatively inconvenient, as they are located in the Donets Coal Basin, in Poland, in the Ural region, in Western Siberia, and very little in the central regions. The same is true of the metal ore mines, which are also for the most part located on the outskirts. The center and the northern part of Russia are comparatively poor in ore, the exploitation of which, is, in addition, connected with difficulties.

The political situation was such, that the Donets Coal Basin was cut off from the rest of Soviet Russia about a year ago, and since then no connection with that region could be established. In the summer of 1918 the Czecho-Slovak movement had began and cut off the second source of metal, the Ural region.

The following figures will give an idea of the production in the above-mentioned industries:

The work of the Donets Coal Basin can be seen by the figures of production for the years 1913-1918. (See Table IV.)

The tables show that the production of these mines has decreased to about one-third of the normal production.

The export of mineral fuel from the Donets

**Exports from Russia, Annual Average 1910-1912 (Table I)**

| <i>Products</i>      | <i>Value in<br/>Million Rubles</i> | <i>Percentage of<br/>Total Export</i> |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Grain .....          | 617                                | 40.6                                  |
| Lumber .....         | 145                                | 9.5                                   |
| Flax and hemp.....   | 103                                | 6.8                                   |
| Feed .....           | 77                                 | 5.1                                   |
| Eggs .....           | 76                                 | 5.0                                   |
| Butter .....         | 64                                 | 4.2                                   |
| Hides and skins..... | 50                                 | 3.3                                   |
| Sugar .....          | 50                                 | 3.3                                   |
| Other goods.....     | 338                                | 22.2                                  |
| Total .....          | 1,520                              | 100.0                                 |

**Imports into Russia, Annual Average 1910-1912 (Table II)**

| <i>Products</i>                        | <i>Value in<br/>Million Rubles</i> | <i>Percentage of<br/>Total Import</i> |
|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Textile materials.....                 | 203                                | 17.8                                  |
| Machinery .....                        | 137                                | 12.0                                  |
| Textiles and yarns.....                | 83                                 | 7.3                                   |
| Tea .....                              | 59                                 | 5.2                                   |
| Hides and skins.....                   | 53                                 | 4.6                                   |
| Coal and coke.....                     | 43                                 | 3.8                                   |
| Manufactured metal prod-<br>ucts ..... | 38                                 | 3.4                                   |
| Metals .....                           | 38                                 | 3.3                                   |
| Gum .....                              | 34                                 | 3.0                                   |
| Fish .....                             | 33                                 | 2.9                                   |
| Other merchandise.....                 | 418                                | 36.7                                  |
| Total .....                            | 1,139                              | 100.0                                 |

**Imports by Countries, Annual Average 1910-1912 (Table III)**

| <i>Countries of Origin</i> | <i>Value in<br/>Million Rubles</i> | <i>Percentage</i> |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Germany .....              | 490                                | 43.0              |
| England .....              | 150                                | 13.2              |
| United States.....         | 88                                 | 7.7               |
| China .....                | 79                                 | 6.9               |
| France .....               | 58                                 | 5.1               |
| Persia .....               | 36                                 | 3.1               |
| Austria-Hungary .....      | 34                                 | 3.0               |
| Other countries.....       | 204                                | 18.0              |
| Total .....                | 1,139                              | 100.0             |

**Production of Coal in Donets Basin, 1913-1918 (Table IV)**

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Production</i> | <i>Average Monthly<br/>Production</i> |
|-------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1913 .....  | 1,543,790         | 128,000                               |
| 1914 .....  | 1,683,780         | 140,000                               |
| 1915 .....  | 1,625,580         | 135,000                               |
| 1916 .....  | 1,743,860         | 145,000                               |
| 1917 .....  | 1,510,600         | 125,000                               |
| 1918 .....  | 530,000           | 44,000                                |



Coal Basin has decreased in the same degree. There were 1,360,000 thousand poods of coal brought out of the Donets Coal Basin in 1916, and 1,034,000 thousand poods in 1917. In 1918 the figure was only 261,000 thousand poods, i.e., a decrease of about seventy-four per cent in comparison with 1916.

A more acute decrease is noticed in the production of the Donets Coal Basin in 1919. The production of the Lisachinski, Marievski, Almasny, Slavianoserbski, and Grishinski mines has been as follows:

|                   |        |                |
|-------------------|--------|----------------|
| January, 1919.... | 8,719  | thousand poods |
| February, " ....  | 11,289 | " "            |
| March, " ....     | 11,152 | " "            |
| April, " ....     | 5,459  | " "            |

instead of 38 million poods in 1917 and 14-15 million poods in 1918.

Transport of coal from the above mines has been accordingly:

|                   |       |                |
|-------------------|-------|----------------|
| January, 1919.... | 4,694 | thousand poods |
| February, " ....  | 8,451 | " "            |

Taking into account that only one-third of the Donets Coal Basin has been occupied by the Soviet forces, it must be admitted that the production of coal was very low, and under such conditions it is impossible to satisfy the demands of our industry for coal.

The following months (April and May), were even less favorable for that part of the Donets Coal Basin occupied by the Soviet forces. Denikin began his offensive at the Donets Coal Basin and this was a final blow to its work. It was supposed that we would be able to get about 13-14 million poods of coal from that part of the Donets Coal Basin, but the events that followed destroyed all plans and suppositions.

The Donets Coal Basin was occupied by the Denikin Army and this entirely destroyed its production. Judging by the figures which we gave above regarding the production of the Donets Coal Basin in 1918, it cannot be supposed that the production of that part which was occupied by Denikin, could be very considerable; in any event it was four to five times less than the normal production. In regard to the other part of the Basin, which was occupied only recently, the position will be very difficult, as Denikin's offensive is always accompanied by complete destruction. Workingmen from the factories are in flight, many enterprises are left without technical and labor help, and this leads to the complete and final destruction of the mines. Falling and crumbling of coal beds take place, ventilation gets out of order, mines are overflowed, etc. Due to the absence of the workingmen, the work of the coal mines is hindered in such a way as to make its restoration impossible, and the mines are destined for destruction.

The longer the power of Denikin will last in the Donets Coal Basin, the worse it will be for the latter, and the more acute will be the disorganization of all industrial enterprises.

A very close connection with the rest of Russia is necessary for the Donets Coal Basin, because only from Russia can it get all the required products and commodities. For instance, for the restoration of its production of coal to one and a half million poods a year, it is necessary for the Basin to have at least 100,000 cars of timber, of which 75,000 cars must be binding timber.

The redemption of the Basin gave an opportunity to supply it with timber—the part occupied by the Soviet forces received in May about 7,000 cars of timber, including binding timber.

The Donets Coal Basin has none of the above products. The same can be said about the other products necessary for the satisfactory work of the Basin—all kinds of machinery, explosive materials, etc.

The same fundamental principles were applied to the factories and enterprises under the Soviet influence as were applied to those in Soviet Russia, namely, Ukraine's Economic Council had begun the nationalization of the large enterprises of that region. Very soon there was established a central committee for the nationalized coal mines of the Donets Coal Basin, which committee included a number of branches and was to handle the work of the coal mines of the Basin. It was intended to carry out the nationalization of the coal industry slowly and carefully, so as not to injure in any way the normal routine of the work. It was intended to begin with the nationalization of the largest enterprises, which could be counted upon in the production of coal in the region, namely, thirty-four of the largest mines, with 29,000 workingmen. The remaining small enterprises could go on working, but their production would not have any significance for our railroads, transports, and industry, and therefore, supplying them with necessary material could be postponed. Denikin's offensive destroys all these plans, and they are not to be realized until a more or less distant future.

The Donets Coal Basin is a source of coal for all our industry and after the restoration of its work all our hope in regard to fuel will depend entirely upon it.

Restoration of its work will be very difficult, but it must be done as soon as possible, as all other kinds of fuel cannot satisfy the demands of our industry, and will not furnish that which the Donets Coal Basin is able to furnish us with.

*(To be continued)*

### *Chicherin's Pamphlet*

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## Through Latvia and Esthonia to Russia

[The following article appeared in a recent number of "Social Demokraten," Christiania, Norway. It is from the pen of that paper's correspondent in Russia, Jakob Friis.]

ON MARCH 1, Editor Otto Grimlund, of Stockholm, and I, left Stockholm on the steamship *Igel*, bound for Libau, intending to enter Russia via Riga, Reval, and Narva. The route through Murman had not yet been opened, and it was impossible for Grimlund to obtain a passport through Finland, while there were as yet no direct connections between Stockholm and Reval. The way through Libau was thus the only possible one. It proved, however, to be a much more tiresome and troublesome way than we had expected. It took us fourteen days to reach Narva, but as a reward we obtained some very vivid and valuable impressions of conditions in the border states, impressions which were of especial value in making comparisons with conditions in neighboring countries.

As is well known, Latvia and Esthonia became independent states after the Russian revolution. Their populations aggregate not more than three millions, both together. That these two small states have been able to stop the access to the sea of the giant Russia is in itself rather abnormal. It is doubtful whether they can govern themselves, since in the short period of their independence they have already become mutually hostile. If the matter had been one for their decision alone, they would have undoubtedly already been at war with each other, so strong was this hostility, but the Entente powers prevented this war. It was during the worst days of this wrangle that Grimlund and I travelled through Latvia and Esthonia, hearing expressions of opinion from both sides, and everyone said that there was more hatred than love for each other in these two newly founded independent states.

The Letts and Esthonians belong to entirely different races, the former to the Indo-Germanic racial group, forming a single language group, with the Lithuanians and ancient Prussians. The Esthonians, on the other hand, belong to the Finnish-Ugrian race, being as similar as are, for instance, the Norwegians and Swedes.

Libau is "Leepaya" in Lettish and means the "linden-tree town."\* It is an important seaport, which carried on an enormous trading and shipping business before the war, when it had a population of about 110,000 inhabitants. "The great prosperity of the town was evident from its appearance," says a book about Esthonia. "An elegant residence quarter and modern and up to date institutions give the town a modern west European character." So says the book, and it was probably true when the book was written, but

\* Numerous towns in territory no longer Slavic bear evidence of former Slavic occupation; thus, Leipzig, in Saxony, is also derived from the Slavic root *lipa*, "linden-tree," although it is situated in what is now Germanic territory.

times have changed since then. The town looks unclean and decayed, and its impression is far from that of having a "modern west European character." In the best hotel of the town the effect of the years of war can everywhere be seen. The dining room makes a very poor impression, and the food is very scanty. We did not desire to extend our stay here longer than necessary and took the first train, to continue our journey as soon as possible.

Here as everywhere else in the belligerent countries trains were all crowded with people. We knew this in advance, and inquired at the station at Libau if we might be permitted to buy a special stateroom, as we had quantities of baggage which we wanted to keep with us. "Oh, yes," we were told, "it will be all right." It was only necessary to buy eight tickets instead of two. As the difference in cost was not great enough to warrant long discussion, we bought the eight tickets. We did not get the stateroom, however. It was so crowded with passengers that special rights were of no use whatever. Our stateroom was simply taken over and occupied by others.

Riga appears to be a much more modern city than Libau. Before the war it had about a half million inhabitants. It is, moreover, a very old city. In the year 1150 it was razed to the ground by Gothlandian merchants from Lubeck. The inner part of the city has a very venerable aspect. From the broad modern circular boulevards it is only a few steps to the old narrow streets where the religious and guild atmosphere of the middle ages seems still to exist. The high tower of St. Peter's church rises here above the old-fashioned houses and precipitous slanting roof of the monastery of the Holy Ghost. Here stands the ruin of the old church of the Knights of the Sword, St. George's cathedral, where the Augustinian monk Meinhard, Bishop Albert of Bremen, and several others are buried. Together with the merchants from Gothland Meinhard went out to the Baltic States, the merchants to carry on exchange trade with shipments from the Novgorod market, Meinhard to convert the heathens to Christianity. The Hanseatic ships went home again when the autumn storms began, but Meinhard remained and preached among his heathens, among whom he died, in 1196. Bishop Albert of Bremen became, however, the real founder of Riga. With crowds of noble crusaders he founded the colony of Riga and instituted there the famous order of the Knights of the Sword, which carried on the work of reformation with great zeal and faithfulness.

In addition to the churches there are the Guild buildings, which remind one of ancient times. The magnificent "House of the Black Hoods," with its beautiful tower, and the Marie guildhouse with its wonderful architecture, are the most famous.

It is remarkable how little damage has been done to this city in spite of the battles that raged about it during the war. True, however, the beautiful town theatre was destroyed by a 42-centimeter shell, but the city as a whole seems untouched . . .

Before the war Riga was governed by German capital. The upper class of the German merchant families, small and few in number, dominated the economic and political life of the town. They guarded their privileges, carefully upheld their connections with the German home country, and held the Lettish laboring class under a strict German discipline. At the outbreak of the war there were fifty Germans and only fifteen Letts and Russians participating in the local government of Riga.

The provincial national government of Latvia, the "People's Council," now existed at Riga. The Social Democrats had one-third of the representation there. Election to the Constituent Assembly was being held while we were in Riga. We visited the office of the Right Social Democrat headquarters where the young Dr. Kalnits gave us some information on the situation. When the German troops marched into the town in 1918 they formed a Baltic-Lettish reactionary government, but they had to flee when the Bolshevik government came into power. In May, 1919, the government came back again, however. The elections to the Constituent Assembly took place with the participation of everyone above twenty-one years of age. There are five election districts: Latgallia, Riga, Kurland, Sengallian, and Livland. The results depend especially on Latgallia, where the priests have great power over the peasants and where reaction is therefore strong. The Communists boycotted the elections, since they could only work illegally. The trade unions which go with the Social Democratic party number about 25,000 members. The most important question of the election was the attitude towards Russia. The government was against, the Social Democrats for, peace with Russia. I do not remember the immediate results of the election, but the government has been compelled to make peace with Russia. In the same house where I lived in Moscow, later on, peace negotiations between Soviet Russia and Latvia took place. Peace was declared, but on much severer terms for Latvia than they had expected. The Russians reasoned, and rightly, that it was more important for Latvia to obtain peace than for Russia. Had Latvia offered peace at the time when Russia had not yet defeated all her enemies, the Lettish negotiations would have been met with greater benevolence than they met later.

From Riga we proceeded through the border town, Walk, to Esthonia, and, by way of Dorpat to Reval. It was not a pleasant trip.

## THE RUSSIAN-GEORGIAN PEACE TREATY

June 5, 1920.

On the night of May 3, at 12.20 P. M., peace with Russia was signed by Gregory Uratadse, member of the Georgian Constituent Assembly.

The chief points of the treaty are the following:

1. Russia recognizes unreservedly the sovereignty and independence of the Georgian state, and renounces all previous sovereign claims in reference to the Georgian people or Georgian territory.
2. Russia renounces all interference with Georgia's internal affairs.
3. Questions of boundary will be settled in Georgia's favor. Among other things, Russia recognizes that the whole Batum territory belongs unconditionally to the Georgian state.
4. Georgia and Russia both pledge themselves to maintain strictest neutrality towards each other, and not to permit the establishment of any armed power for the purpose of overthrowing by force the established order of either state. Groups of this nature, which have intruded, or which intrude in the near future upon the territory of the states signing this treaty, must be disarmed and interned.

5. Industrial relations between Russia and Georgia will be established in accordance with the following principles:

- a. Mutual advantage;
- b. Mutual renunciation of tariffs.

These conditions will continue to hold until a commercial treaty is signed, which must be concluded within a short time.

Noe Jordania, president of the Georgian Government, wired the Georgian peace delegate in Moscow as follows:

"Congratulations on the conclusion of the peace treaty. Inform the Council of People's Commissars that the news of peace will be received by the people with intense joy. I hope that from now on, all misunderstandings between Russia and Georgia will disappear, and that both nations will work together in peace and harmony for the reconstruction of life on a Socialist basis. Greetings to all friends and comrades."

NOE JORDANIA.

The peace treaty which Soviet Russia has concluded with Georgia is another document true to proletarian foreign policy. Georgia is not an industrial republic, but a bourgeois democratic state, which the Mensheviks succeeded in tearing away from Soviet Russia, with words of bourgeois democracy, and tried to steer into the deep waters of Entente politics. Rather than gain its independence from Moscow, it resorted to dependence upon Entente imperialism. The policy of Soviet Russia was not to set about to overthrow the Menshevik Georgian government, but to make it clear to the Georgian people that the all-Russian Soviet Government entertained no oppressive designs upon them, and would not try to further their political development by violence. In this way, the Georgian Mensheviks had to accept against their will peaceful and friendly relations with Soviet Russia, and Georgia became an ally of Soviet Russia instead of an enemy. And in addition to this, the nationalist agitation of hostile Russians has been abandoned, and the most favorable conditions for the victory of the Socialist Revolution have been created in Georgia.

### PICTURES IN NEXT ISSUE

*The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will contain eight full pages of new photographs (Red Army Soldiers, New Moscow Monuments, etc.), printed on special calendared paper. Also, the regular interesting reading matter.*

## A Funeral in the Taiga\*

From the Diary of a Partisan

WE KNEW Pankratiev was going to die. For the last few weeks he had been gradually passing away. He was not receiving any food and had acquired the appearance of a living skeleton, with his large burning eyes, into which I dared not look, for so strong was their look, that it seemed Death itself was gazing through them. And there he lay, in the middle of the tent, upon a canvas stretcher, always with eyes open, even in his sleep. We, wounded men, patients of the Partisan Hospital, have suffered enough not to be moved by the moans of that man; but the last few days of his life brought such suffering upon him, so torturing and painful were his animal-like shrieks and groans, that each of us wished the moment of his death would come sooner.

Around us was wild, impassable forest, always mysterious, real Siberian Taiga in its virgin grandeur, unexplored, just as it was thousands of years ago. Wild beasts were roaming right around our camp, sometimes rushing through so near as to make the leaves rustle. And we knew that even the King of the Taiga—the invincible Amur Tiger, was wandering at a mile's distance from us. Wild nature was spreading before us, but we hardly took notice of it. We could not think of the splendor of the trees, and flowers in their full bloom, for our very lives were at stake. Our situation was dangerous, it seemed even hopeless. The Japanese had landed superior forces in our region, and supported by machine guns and light artillery, had driven us Partisans from the villages we held. Armed with old, half-broken rifles and a limited supply of ammunition, and no new supplies in view, we kept up a stubborn fight against the overwhelming forces. Poorly clad, without an adequate food supply, in many cases having black bread as our only meal, we were willing to stand even greater hardships, firm in our determination to see Russia free. We were cut off from the world and received information only accidentally. The only delayed newspaper we ever got was an enemy publication, because the revolutionary press was ruthlessly suppressed, and the newspapers we received always tended to kill our hope for freeing Siberia from the yoke of Kolchak and his foreign supporters.

For us Partisans it was a hard struggle, with victory very far off, perhaps not to be witnessed by us at all. The difficulty of fighting a superior, well-armed, and adequately supplied enemy was increased by the rigors of wild nature that we had to overcome. We never discussed among ourselves what would happen if we were completely beaten. We knew that we had to fight on.

Even more unfavorable was the situation of those Partisans, who had the ill luck to be wounded in various skirmishes with the enemy. When in

battle line, we could not have the consoling thought of a soldier of the regular army, who knew that a well-equipped hospital with the best accommodations was awaiting him in case of injury. The Partisan could not hope for anything. We always preferred to be killed than to be wounded, because terrible uncertainty lay in store for us in the latter case. We might fall into the hands of the cruel, merciless enemy, and we well remembered the case of the torturous death inflicted upon our unfortunate comrades who had been accidentally captured.

And now the worst has happened. Thirty of us were in this little improvised hospital. We were made to move from place to place until the advance of the enemy compelled us to retreat to the thick of the Taiga. We were lucky to have the attention and care of a physician, Dr. Senkievich, but we were cut off from the world and had a very small stock of hospital supplies on hand. On account of this, we had to be very economical with the bandages, washing them over and over again, until nothing but rags remained.

Then there was the terrible vision of hunger coming. The few sacks of flour and beans—the only provisions we managed to take with us—were fast becoming empty. With Japanese and Kolchak troops right around us, how were we to get food? And so we cut down our meagre rations of flour cakes and beans. We were weak and exhausted from our wounds and constant moving from place to place, and here we lay in the open, the damp taiga air pressing heavily on our lungs. We did not complain because of the absence of sugar or meat or any such luxuries—we did not even have bread and were now facing starvation. To aggravate matters, we were in a helpless state and could not even move.

We well knew that we were not in a regular hospital. Each time we cast a glance upon our dying Comrade Pankratiev, we realized the sadness of our situation. We realized that he would survive if he had a chance to be operated upon. But the surgical instruments necessary for the operation were not on hand and could not be procured in the Taiga, and so we had to watch his flesh rot slowly, see his eyes sink deeper into his eye sockets and hear his wild shrieks of pain. It was sad for us to see Pankratiev pass away, because the majority of us, wounded men, were with him throughout the fighting and had learned to like him. He had been destined to live and enjoy health and happiness, but here he was, far from his beloved, to be buried in the thick of the Siberian Taiga. It was not only his fate to give up his life under such conditions and be buried among the wild beasts of the forests. Many more comrades had to pay the price with their young lives in the struggle for liberty. It was just two weeks ago

\* The forests in Siberia are called Taiga.

that we received news of the tragic death of Karl Liebknecht, nephew of the great German Socialist, who was killed by a bullet. In the small forsaken graveyard of Kazanka lies the body of Liebknecht, and a cross with the following simple inscription tells the tale of heroism and hard struggle: "*Here is buried Karl Liebknecht. Peasants, pray for him! He died for you in a strange land.*"

It was early in the morning that we saw Pankratiev's last hours of life. He was unconscious at the end and could not answer simple questions. The few attendants began preparations for his burial. We could not pay proper tribute to his dead body, for we did not even have a saw to make a coffin. And the corpse was laid in the bark of a tree and covered with a sheet. The attendants and those of the wounded who could walk were the only ones in the procession to the place of burial—some thirty paces from our hospital. The little band started off and began to sing the revolutionary burial song, "Vechnaya Pamiat". Those of us who were lying helpless could only hear the pathetic air sung in a subdued voice, and a feeling of mortal anguish overwhelmed us. This was the last we would see of Pankratiev. We did not converse among ourselves and each of us was alone with his sad thoughts. Would we be saved from this fate of perishing in the Taiga? Death from hunger awaited us, for we had provisions only for a few days. Isolated from all villages and farms, we could not expect any new food supplies, except by a miracle. We could not hunt game, because the sound of shooting could be heard by the enemy. Yes, we always felt the danger of being discovered. We never spoke but in a low voice, for did not the Japanese and Kolchak soldiers look for our hospital twice? The last time the Japanese traced all paths so steadily and carefully that they came within less than a mile from our hospital. We gave up our bonfire at night and every little noise in the bushes made us feel the fear gnawing at our hearts. The enemy was persistent in his attempt to find the Partisan Hospital and inflict his vengeance upon the helpless wounded. We knew that and expected no mercy. Every night we fell asleep uncertain whether we might not find ourselves surrounded at daybreak by enemy troops. We were convinced that these were our last days, for we were bound to be discovered.

Slowly were dying away the sounds of "Vechnaya Pamiat", and each one of us was deep in his reflections of our situation.

We were not regretting that we would have to part with our lives in an age so youthful and promising. We had reconciled ourselves to any fate when voluntarily entering the Partisan Detachments. What did one's life matter when Russia's liberty was at stake? The Revolution was demanding a great price to be paid, and we willingly gave our young lives. We felt that the cause was bound to be victorious, for were there not thousands of others like ourselves, who had

parted with everything to bring themselves to the altar of the Russian Revolution? Great physical sufferings, hunger, privations, a superior enemy—what could stop us? Truly, we did not have machine-guns or even good rifles, but we felt that it was not a matter of arms—something more powerful than fast bullets supported us and nothing could stop that—the Revolution was behind us, bidding us fight on, and we joyfully submitted to the call.

We, wounded Partisans, half of whom at best would remain crippled forever, would forget our sufferings, when we reminded ourselves of the devotion of the workers and peasants to our common cause of freeing Siberia from the hated rule of Kolchak. We gained inspiration and a greater desire to battle on, when we thought of the poor peasants, who had to suffer all the wrath and vengeance of the Japanese and Kolchak punitive expeditions. A peasant shared his meagre food with us, or perhaps one of his family went to the hills and shouldered a rifle to fight the oppressors of the country—and often their houses were burned down, and everyone in the village flogged.

We reminded ourselves of the peasant children, revolutionaries of the future, who shared their parents' hatred for the dictator's role. They sang revolutionary songs with real enthusiasm and would rather die than disclose anything that might injure the cause of the Partisans. Here it was, in the village of Novo-Niezhino, that a twelve year-old boy showed singular heroism. The Kolchak troops occupied the village a day after the Partisans had left it. The Kolchak officers seized a twelve year old boy and insisted that he tell the direction in which the Partisans had gone. But the little boy felt that not merely the lives of those men were at stake—something greater than that depended upon his answer, and so he stubbornly claimed that he knew nothing. The officers insisted, threatened, and finally told him that he would be burned alive if he remained obstinate. The big Russian kitchen stove was at the officers' order filled with straw and the boy was shoved into the stove. Then the officer lit a match and ordered the boy to give full information, or the straw would be ignited. The boy knew, but would not tell. The inhuman threat was not carried out, however, and the boy was let out of the stove. What must he have felt when the officer held the match?

We thought of the binding ties that exist between us, Partisans, and the peasants and workers. We are brothers of one great world army that can never be conquered. What did it matter that the Japanese had landed another few thousand soldiers in our region? Was not the whole nation, nay, the entire world with us? We could not measure our forces in thousands of rifles, as the enemy did. We felt we could fight even with bare hands. The Russian Revolution, irresistible as fate itself, told us to wage the battle. We shall fight on . . .

Original from LEO PERLIN.

## Official Communications of the Soviet Government

### ENGLAND'S SUPPORT OF WRANGEL

Moscow, June 26.—Simultaneous with the assurances of the British Government that they are not associated with Wrangel's offensive, the latter continues with a considerable display of war material still furnished by Great Britain. One of Wrangel's associates, General Reirshin, who was made prisoner on June 10, declared as follows: "Wrangel receives equipment, such as guns, rifles, and other arms, principally from Great Britain, and secondly from France. Large British ships and small French craft help Wrangel on the sea. He receives fuel from Batum."

In an answer to Earl Curzon's assurances, we asked what Britain would do to enforce her disapproval of Wrangel's action. No answer is forthcoming, but help is steadily being given to Wrangel. When the Entente is thus actively attacking us our masses will be hard to convince of the desirability of recognizing the claims of British creditors. The British Crimean policy is wrecking our efforts; we have seen the effects in the Central Executive Committee at a session with the Trade Union and Factory Committees.

### RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND

Moscow, June 17.—Today at the second sitting of the session of the Central Executive Committee, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, made a report on the whole position of international policy. He showed England's duplicity in supplying Poland and Wrangel with munitions to be used against Russia, saying that while England denied her aggressive policy, at the same time she was evading real diplomatic negotiations with Russia's political representative Litvinov, and during commercial negotiations with Krassin's trade delegation was attempting to bind Russia in political questions without binding the Entente, and wished to take everything from Russia, giving nothing in return.

We desire real negotiations with Britain, but Britain evades them. Opposition speakers, like Ossinsky, Chairman of the Executive Committee, of Tula; Kaganovich, Chairman of the Executive Committee of Tambov, Sosnovsky, member of the Central Executive Committee, attacked Chicherin's peaceful policy demanding stronger action, and especially pointing out the danger in the duplicity of the Entente. All appeals for a stronger policy provoked great applause. A resolution endorsing Chicherin's peaceful policy was carried with fifteen votes against it.

CHICHERIN.

### RUSSO-FINNISH PEACE PARLEYS

Moscow, June 17.—The Russo-Finnish peace negotiations were opened in Yurzev. The Russian representative Kervenec proposed the conclusion of an armistice.

### A SOVIET DENIAL

Moscow, June 20.—Western radios tell lies about Russian troops allegedly marching towards Teheran. Such statements are quite false. All our forces have evacuated Persian soil and waters. A revolutionary Soviet Government headed by Mirza-Kutchuk carries on its struggle with its own forces; it is entirely the work of the Persian people themselves and not in the remotest of foreign interference. The Persian people are determining their own fate.

CHICHERIN.

### POLISH ATROCITIES

1246. May 4, 1920.

The eighth congress of Soviets of the district of Polotsk, after taking cognizance of the lamentable situation in which the population of the canton of Turovian had been placed by the incursion of the Polish legionaries, and the calamities and privations without number which were imposed upon it by the barbarous Poles, expresses its profound sympathy for the victims of the cynical imperialist brigandage. The congress loudly protests before the workers and peasants of the whole world against the savage horrors and barbaric atrocities committed by the Polish troops upon the Russian workers. Moved by the unheard of cruelties of the Polish legionaries and the sufferings endured by the populations of all the occupied localities, the delegates of the congress express the firm hope that the day is near when the workers and peasants will overthrow all the bandits of imperialism throughout the world. It hopes that soon the revolution commenced by the working masses of Russia, which has already passed beyond her frontiers, will bring liberation to all the oppressed nations, and that then, over the corpses of the Polish lords and proprietors, the Russian workers will extend a fraternal hand to the Polish workers, in order to construct with them the radiant future which is called communism.

*The President of the Congress,*

NIKANENOK.

*Secretary, STANUL.*

### PROTEST AGAINST POGROMS

1178. April 22, 1920.

The united committee of public Israelite organizations and an assembly called together by it of the Jewish citizens of Moscow, after having heard on the 19th of April, 1920, a report concerning the bloody pogroms and massacres of the Jews committed in four hundred and forty-seven localities in Ukraine and in several central provinces of Greater Russia, as well as in a part of Poland, by various units of the army of Petlura, Denikin and the Polish legionaries, massacres which have cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jews, and which have been accompanied by the most

horrible atrocities and cruelties, the violation of several tens of thousands of tortured women, the murder of hundreds of children before the eyes of their parents, etc., expressed their indignant protest against all the authors of these savage atrocities, against the governments controlling Denikin and Poland, who, far from taking the least measures to protect the property and welfare of the Jews, have made of the pogroms an instrument of their policy. The bloody events in Ukraine and other parts of old Russia threaten to destroy completely the most magnificent conquests of the human spirit, and excite in all hearts an inflamed contempt for all the direct or indirect authors. The responsibility for the shedding of Jewish blood in torrents rests equally upon all the governments of the civilized world, whom human solidarity should have impelled to take effective measures to prevent the massacres and punish their instigators. The united committee and the assembly place the responsibility for any future excesses which may take place, upon all the peoples of the world, and demand the absolute cessation of similar occurrences. Declaring that even the avowed and known agents of these murders, such as Petlura and his partisans, who have by their orders prepared these bloody massacres and who have directly taken part in them, have remained unpunished, the united committee and the assembly demand the immediate judgment of those responsible directly or indirectly for these bloody events and of the governments which have permitted them. The president of the assembly. *Signed.*

#### BULGARIA AND DENIKIN

1301. April 22, 1920.

The People's Commissars for Foreign Affairs of the Republics of Russia and Ukraine, Chicherin and Rakovski, address to Bulgaria a note of protest against the aid furnished by that government to the counter-revolutionary army. The Bulgarian Government, as is evidenced by the official telegrams of the Bulgarian authorities, has directly delivered considerable supplies of artillery, rifles, and munitions to the representatives of Denikin. At the same time the representative of Denikin in Bulgaria opened a recruiting bureau for Russian counter-revolutionary troops. After the defeat of the volunteer army, its remnants were sent to Varna to reorganize, in the camp created especially by the Bulgarian authorities for the recruiting of this army. Bulgarian territory thus served as a training-ground for Denikin, and also as a concentration camp for the numerous hostages taken in Ukraine by the volunteer army. These acts constitute a violation of neutrality and of the principle of non-intervention by the Bulgarian government. The Soviet governments hope that the Bulgarian people will not allow themselves to be led by a thoughtless government from the true interests of the country into new conflicts disastrous for Bulgaria, already ruined and exhausted by a series of wars.

#### A CRIME OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

1413. April 30, 1920.

In the port of Alexandrovsk, at Sakhalin, some Japanese cruisers arrived, the commander of which declared that he came only to inform himself of the lot of the Japanese subjects, and that he had no aim of aggression. Soon after, the whole Japanese population boarded the cruisers on the pretext of witnessing a spectacle, while the representatives of the Japanese commander declared to the executive committee that on the morrow they would come to treat with it in all friendliness. These events took place on the 22d of April. Immediately after, the Japanese made a landing, took possession of Alexandrovsk, and the wireless station, from which they sent on the 24th the following telegram: "Inform us immediately whether the Japanese officers and soldiers are alive and in what number, and take measures to assure their security." If not, they declared, they would not leave one stone upon another in Alexandrovsk. The Soviet officers replied that no Japanese civil prisoners in their possession in Eastern Siberia were menaced with any danger. At the same time the Japanese landed a thousand men at Dekastri, on the continent. At Khabarovsk, the Japanese worked in concert with the White Guards. Nevertheless, on the 22d of April, an attack of Red troops obliged them to abandon in haste their bases near the city, after having suffered considerable losses. Thus Japanese imperialism, which had many times assured the Soviet command of the loyalty of its intentions, does not neglect an occasion to give itself over anew to its appetite for conquest and its perfidious attacks, preceded by lying declarations of friendliness.

#### THE SOVIET POWER AND CULTURE

1298. April 20, 1920.

In the provinces. The Commission of Kazan for the instruction of illiterates has opened four thousand six hundred and forty special schools attended daily by thirty-five thousand illiterates.

*In a Quarter of Moscow.* The last meeting of the Soviet of the quarter of Khamovniki was devoted to the section of public instruction. The quarter has twenty kindergartens with fifteen hundred children, three times more than one year ago. Some of them are open all day, and these carry on almost entirely the collective education of the children. From the point of view of material, locality and nourishment, these gardens leave nothing to be desired. The quarter has further thirty-one primary schools with seven thousand five hundred children and several colonies in the neighborhood of Moscow or in the country, all in perfect condition. One hundred and fifty communists have been mobilized for the instruction of the illiterate, which has already commenced in all the factories. The Soviet urges the factory committees to take the most active part in the campaign for obligatory instruction.

### EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

A new labor palace containing libraries, reading-rooms and lecture halls is being organized at Moscow.

In the medical faculties of all universities the courses will be continued this year during the entire spring and summer in order to obtain a promotion in medicine on the first of January next.

VIESTNIK.

### THE THEATRE

Lunacharsky points out in *Izvestia* the constant enriching of the revolutionary repertoire. After the already famous play entitled "The Legend of the Communard," there has just been composed a play still superior from a literary point of view, with the title, "The Great Communard." The Petrograd Soviet has also published several original plays full of talent, and suitable for the theatre of the worker and peasant. It is known also that there is at Petrograd a "heroic-revolutionary" theatre, designed especially for the presentation of the new revolutionary repertoire.

### NOT ONLY WORDS BUT DEEDS

(Letter from a worker to the editor of a newspaper in Soviet Russia.)

A few days ago I was walking by chance along the railroad tracks toward the station Yekaterinburg.

Some repair workers were shoveling the snow from off the tracks. Among them I suddenly

espied, on the sixth track, a man whose face seemed very familiar to me. Upon looking at him more closely, I recognized the man, it was Comrade Trotsky.

At first I could not believe my eyes, but then I considered the matter thus:

Why should not Comrade Trotsky work at cleaning off the railroad tracks? For he is the leader of the Labor Army and has to set the whole army a good example. He, the one who is always saying that all, particularly those who sit in the administrative staffs and who lead the political work, should aid in the reconstruction of the transportat system—he is the very one whose duty it is to be the first to suit the action to the word . . .

When I saw how skillfully Comrade Trotsky handled the shovel, I continued thinking:

There is a genuine leader of the working people and the Labor Army. He is helping not only with the pen, not only with words, but also with deeds to save the workers' and peasants' Russia from hunger and cold. Our leaders understand not only how to command, how to govern, but also how to work side by side with the simple manual laborer. With such leaders Soviet Russia is unconquerable . . .

And I gave up the errand on which I had set out, and took a shovel, in order that I, like Comrade Trotsky, might contribute a little of my work to the mighty work of the battle on the new front, the labor front.

WORKER IVAN GAYEV.

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of

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## Russia: As I Saw It

By ROBERT WILLIAMS

(Member of the British Labor Delegation to Russia)

ALL my previous wishes and expectations have been more than borne out by my experiences and actual contact with Soviet Russia's affairs. In view of the appalling difficulties—two revolutions, counter-revolution, and external and internal war—Russia is manifesting a prodigious capacity for social reconstruction on Socialist lines.

I visited the War Office, witnessed parades, investigated munition and engineering establishments, saw aeroplane construction, investigated military transport, and saw the actual operations on the Polish front, and I am fully convinced that the Soviet Power is unshakably established before the entire world. Despite the immense drain upon the skilled urban proletariat caused by revolutions, casualties, and migration, and by providing revolutionary leaven for the Red Armies, and also by the appointment of alert and energetic individuals to administrative posts, industry is being carried on with phenomenal resourcefulness.

Proletarians are used in diluting the skill of the competent men by the introduction of lesser skilled and unskilled labor, combined with a wonderful development of technical and scientific training and education, united with the provision of all possible incentive to increase output and accelerate transport by a bonus system paid over the normal flat rate. Trade unionists and their leaders are cooperating with technicians and commissars, thus accelerating output in all departments of industry and agriculture. While capital and labor are at death grips under capitalism in Europe generally, in Russia the government and the people are cooperating and coordinating in the most remarkable manner. It is here demon-

strated that men and women will make sacrifices for social and collective well-being, as contrasted with hampering output and stultifying organization of labor under a capitalist regime where private profit is the only motive and the advantage is only for the privileged few.

I saw the great engineering works of Putilov and Somora, near Nizhni-Novgorod, and I observed that the heartiest cooperation existed between the management and the workers. The Soviet Government is admitted, by opponents and supporters alike, to be the only possible form of government. The Red Armies go to the front with unparalleled enthusiasm and zeal for the cause of working-class emancipation and the real brotherhood of nations. The national hymn is "The International," and it is sung everywhere and played everywhere by the military bands.

Our delegates were received with acclamation, and as an appreciation of the first real indication that the barriers set up by hostile capitalism are breaking down. The Russian people displayed an unqualified appreciation of the efforts of the British Triple Industrial Alliance to prevent intervention, restore peace, and establish commercial relationships between the nations. The Russian proletariat want only to live in peace and progressive development with the rest of the world's workers.

The delegation made their own plans, went where they liked, interviewed and saw whom they pleased and made absolutely independent inquiry regarding the general economic, political and industrial conditions, and were much impressed with the intelligence and ability of the heads of the

Soviet administration, who compare more than favorably with bourgeois politicians and administrators.

The food position is gradually improving, despite the terrific strain of six years of war; transport facilities are improving and Sverdlov, Acting Commissar of Ways and Communications, assured me that transport had improved forty per cent in three months. While on the Volga trip I saw the improvement of the river transport since the defeat of the raiding Cossacks and counter-revolutionaries. Oil fuel is proceeding up the Volga as rapidly as transport can convey it. It is expected that the deliveries will shortly reach thirty-five million poods per month, and coal is now being won from the Donets region. Oil and coal will enormously assist rail and water transport, and allow wood to be used for heating in the cities during the coming winter.

Wheat from the "black belt" is being sent to

the northern areas to supplement rye products; and this will provide sufficient cereals to carry on. The peasants are accepting more readily the Soviet regime, although still lamentably short of agricultural implements and the amenities of life which reorganized industry can alone provide.

My general impression, after exhaustive study, is that the Russian Soviet regime has come to stay.

The more formidable obstacles in England against trade with Russia are collapsing. Russia's eastern policy is not one of imperialism and conquest, but is simply one to provide a diversion for British imperialism, and the prevention of continued intervention, and the organization of intervention, against the Soviet regime.

I am confident that in the battle of brains between Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Chicherin, and the world's bourgeois diplomats, the former must ultimately triumph.

## A Challenge to the Intellectuals

By MAXIM GORKY

PETROGRAD, January, 1920.

**A**N INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS of intellectuals is to be held about the end of this month at Bern, Switzerland. Representatives of the intellectual forces of Great Britain, Germany, France and of other countries will meet under the same roof. The enemies of yesterday, victors and vanquished, will come face to face.

Among these men there will probably be also moral participants in the most infamous crime, the war of 1914-1918, whose indescribable vileness—having clearly demonstrated to honest thinking men how thoroughly rotten the old order of life has become—has somewhat moderated the nationalistic fanaticism and shaken the prejudices which caused the universal degradation to savagery of the cultured men of Europe and led to the shameful all-European bloody slaughter.

If this should happen, if such men should also come to the international congress of the representatives of the intellect, it would be a very important fact which might have abundant results of great social value. The importance of this is, of course, not in the fact that there will be expression of belated repentance and useless self-condemnation, but that, at last, the congress will have to resolutely and firmly take up the question of the universal function of the intellectual principle in the historic process.

Only after solving this question can the intellectuals firmly and unshakably choose an absolutely definite position either at the head of the popular masses who are striving for new forms of social life, or among those classes who selfishly and senselessly exploit the physical energy of the people, obstructing their spiritual and intellectual growth.

If the intellectuals would realize that heretofore they have played the onerous part of the mule

of capitalism, it would be a fact of immense importance. An earnest merging of the comparatively small fund of intellectual forces with the inexhaustible mass of emotional energy of the people, the harmonization of the exploring and organizing intellect with the unorganized but aroused will, would give to the progress of universal culture an impulse of enormous force and fantastic velocity.

In short, the intellectuals of the world are facing the grave question, demanding a courageous solution: with the people toward the radical transformation of all forms of life, or with capital for the defense of the decayed order.

The role of the Russian intellectuals in the events of the last two years should be highly instructive for the intellectuals of the west. Had the Russian intellectuals been more sound spiritually and more far-sighted practically, had they immediately after the "Bolshevist" revolution established contact with that group of intellectuals who had the courage to lead the labor masses and to seize political power in the country which had been ruined by the autocracy and the war, then the sweep of the emotional storm would not have caused such appalling destruction in the domain of industry, technique and culture, then there would have been less bloodshed and fewer mistakes, then the moderating power of intellect would have been more effective. I am not condemning any one, I am merely pointing to an indisputable fact. The withdrawal of a certain part of the intellectual forces from the process of the revolution had this effect—that the solution of the question of the quality of life became inevitably subordinate to the needs of the quantity of backward people, as I believe the Russian peasants are.

To the numerically small Russian working class has fallen a colossal task—to transform the vast mass of the peasantry, of many tongues and nationalities. This mass is capable of developing immense energy for destruction, but is not likely to create anything new, anything more refulgent than a life thoroughly permeated by the psychology of the small owner. From this point of view, a well organized large industry is not so dreadful an enemy of the worker and intellectual as the endless swamp of small property owners, who are usually indifferent and even hostile to the high interests of universal culture.

The Russian intellectuals are gradually beginning to feel the tragedy of their position. It is true they lived thus before the revolution, between the anvil and the hammer—the people and the authorities, but at present the fatal inconveniences of this position are too evident and too painful for them. But, I repeat, they are beginning to realize that the power is held by an intellectual force spiritually akin to them. And probably the near future will witness the merging of the organized intellect with the aroused will, and these two factors are capable of creating wonders. These—I believe—are the thoughts and questions which

cannot be ignored by the international congress of intellectuals.

Sincerely believing in the honor and conscience of the Western European representatives of the intellectual principle, I confidently expect that the congress will also take up the question of the blockade of Russia.

It is not necessary to point out how vile is this blockade which condemns the Russian people to death from famine, from lack of medical supplies, etc. But the congress should perhaps be reminded that the first and worst victims of the consequences of the blockade are the children, and next to them—the representatives of the world of learning, who as men of the study room and the laboratory are ill adapted to practical life and are not hardened in the struggle for existence.

To starve the children, the future strength of the people, to starve the accumulated intellectual energy of the people,—is this what “enlightened,” “cultured” Europe wants?

The congress should and must take up this question. And it is extremely interesting what answer will be given by the governments of Great Britain, of France, and of other countries, which consider themselves the “abodes of culture and civilization.”

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

July 27, 1920.

**I**F ONE of the belligerent parties suddenly appeals for an armistice this does not prove that it sincerely desires a peace. Very often, under the shelter of an armistice, one who suffers a series of tactical defeats may be able to recover the fighting power of his armies and accomplish a regrouping which may permit him to continue military operations at the first favorable opportunity.

In military history we have many examples of a renewal of warfare after an armistice. During the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese, after several fruitless attacks, directed against the line of forts of Port Arthur, succeeded in obtaining from the Russian command an armistice which lasted only twenty-four hours, and thus gained not only time to bring to their battle lines a considerable reinforcement, but also to move their artillery closer to the attacked points.

During the Great War there was no interruption of military operations at all, and the armistice signed by Field-Marshal Foch and the German command practically put an end to the hostilities of the engaged parties.

But this early armistice was a great mistake on the part of the Allied military command, and now the Allies are face to face with the bitter consequences of their error. The Germans, now stronger militarily than is supposed by the Allied command, have never fulfilled their obligations as fixed by the armistice, and, overlooking this, the

Allies signed an abortive peace with the enemy, which will remain a scrap of paper.

The differences which have arisen amongst the Allies have prevented them from acting in harmony in order to force their enemies to fulfill their obligations, and the new adventures in Russia and other parts of the globe, as well as the unstable internal political situation in their own countries, weakened them to such an extent that there cannot be even a question that the Allied armies may again resume hostilities against the Germans, especially when we consider the serious turmoil now spreading throughout Europe, Asia and Africa.

An armistice signed and not fulfilled cannot bring a good peace; on the contrary, it will be followed by endless conflicts and small wars, which may provoke a new terrible catastrophe.

The side requested to grant an armistice must be very careful, because it might be confronted with a dangerous trap. Only in case there is no question of the complete demoralization of the tactical body of the enemy, and when a possible intention on the part of the latter to reorganize his fighting forces and to attack may be suitably opposed and finally overpowered, thus inflicting on him a strategical defeat—only then may such an armistice be granted.

So it becomes clear that in some cases, when an armistice is fixed too early, the tactically beaten enemy may escape strategical defeat, as was the case with the Germans. On the other hand, an

armistice established at the moment when the enemy has already lost the campaign strategically, and is unable to break his pledged obligations, thanks to the superior forces of his adversary, would be a real armistice, undoubtedly followed by a stable peace.

Now let us consider the position of Soviet Russia in regard to Poland, in granting an armistice to the latter.

The victorious Russian Red Army, holding the most important strategical points, such as Bialostok, Brest-Litovsk, Kovel, and, very probably, Kholm, to the east of the latter city, and having reached the East Prussian frontier in the north, as well as north-east Galicia in the south, is in a position to take Warsaw without any difficulties in a very short time, thus bring the victory of the Russian arms to a complete strategical consummation. So it is now and so it will be if the Poles should decline to fulfill the conditions of the armistice granted to them.

After a short time for rest, the Soviet army cannot be other than stronger, morally as well as physically, while it is hard to expect that under the unfavorable circumstances in which the Polish military organization is now situated, there could be possible a new regroupment and reinforcement of the Polish battle front, even by her foreign protectors.

Germany has refused to allow the Allies to send military aid to the Poles through German territory, and has decided to be strictly neutral. This means that the Polish army is left to fight on its own, in case it should try to continue the senseless struggle against the formidable Soviet army.

That the Poles have suffered not only tactical reverses, but also a strategical defeat, and that their army is practically annihilated, is not only my personal opinion, but also that of Major-General Hoffmann, one of the foremost specialists on Russia on the former Great Central Staff of the German Empire, and General Ludendorff's chief of operations in the east, and later on Chief of Staff of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, then virtually commander-in-chief of the entire eastern front. General Hoffmann made a remarkable statement to the *New York World*, July 25, about the Polish situation. The opinion of this German strategist is "that it is too late to save Poland," and that northern and central Germany will be inevitably reached by Bolshevism. "The Polish army has suffered serious reverses," says Maj.-Gen. Hoffmann. "In connection with such reverses invariably panicky reports are disseminated, the effect of which must not be over-estimated. But even by a cautious evaluation of the reports, the *complete collapse* of the Polish Army, and therewith of the Polish state, appears unquestionable, whereupon the Moscow Soviet Government's armies would appear on Germany's eastern border."

I agree with General Hoffmann that the capitalist Polish army and the imperialistic Polish state are on the eve of their complete collapse, but I do not see any danger for the rest of Europe

from the Red Army, in case Poland should be ruled by Polish Soviets; in that case it would be the Polish Soviet army, and not the Russian Red Army, that will appear on the eastern border of Germany.

Further on, General Hoffmann confessed that "the German Government is not in a position to defend Germany against an attack by the Red Army," and his opinion of the new Russian military force is well illustrated by his words:

"The operations of the Bolshevik armies against Denikin and Kolchak, as well as in the Caucasus and Persia, have proved that the Moscow Soviet Government's troops are well fed. This is all the more apparent since the Poles' plan of operation was projected by Foch and the Poles were led by French general staff officers. The success achieved by the Soviet Government's armies has further shown that the troops of the Red Armies, under rigid discipline, fight better than their enemies, that they are adequately equipped with war material, and that the Russian railroads are still efficient enough for moving large masses of troops."

And in his fear of the proletarian military strength of Russia, this representative of the fallen militaristic Germany exclaims: "The Moscow Soviet Government never had other intentions than a military conquest of the world!"

"*Fear has large eyes,*" is an old saying.

But far from conquering the world, the Russian Soviet Government has not even the intention of conquering Poland, and has agreed on an armistice at a moment most unfavorable for the Polish strategy, thus depriving the Red Army of the pleasure of most brilliantly concluding the campaign with the capture of the Polish capital. Once more Soviet Russia has proved to the world that her political and strategical aim with regard to the border states is far from that of enslaving or conquering their population.

"Victorious over reaction in her own country, and having defeated the armies of the imperialistic coalition of the world, Soviet Russia has won a great diplomatic victory as a result of the correspondence over the proposed peace between Russia and Poland," cabled the *Chicago Daily Tribune* representative, John Steele, from London, July 26. "She has compelled," continues the message, "the western Allies to recognize her diplomatically, and the next step undoubtedly will be negotiations for a general peace and recognition."

John Steele is quite right. Russia has won a great diplomatic victory, the way for which was so wonderfully prepared by the Russian strategy. It is sufficient to read the answer of Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Republic, addressed to the British Government, in which Soviet Russia rejects any British intervention in her dealings with Poland and with the former General Wrangel, in order to understand the significance of the victory which the young proletarian diplomacy has won over the crafty old statesmen of the remainder of the so-called civilized world.

There is no doubt that, in spite of the fact that the complete victory of the Russian arms is evident, there will be further efforts to renew the attacks on the Russian proletariat.

Even now, one observes that France endeavors to protect the life of one of the bitterest enemies of the Russian Soviets, former General Wrangel, whose army is doomed to unconditional surrender, and that at a very near moment. What is Wrangel to France? Is he a French national hero, or are the French people not satisfied with having a hero like Foch, and do they need in addition also Wrangel?

It is quite clear why the French Cabinet desires to have Wrangel back at Paris. The brain-

less French statesmen think that this adventurer would be a good puppet in their hands for the future campaign against Russia which is now planned in Paris and in London, while the British and French governments are hurrying to sign a peace with Moscow.

But, in spite of all these preparations for a new war, with all its superhuman horrors, which the dying capitalistic-imperialistic coalition is planning against the proletarian movement, I am sure their plan will end in a general collapse. They will not be able to draw troops from their own populations, which are already hostile to the prosecution of any such enterprise.

## A Japanese Correspondent in Russia

### I.

#### THE CONDITION OF RUSSIA'S INDUSTRY

*Interview with Commissar Milyutin by Nakahira*  
Moscow, May 9.

AS THE Special Correspondent for *Osaka Asahi*, I met Mr. Milyutin, the President of the People's Supreme Economic Council. He spoke of the industrial conditions in Soviet Russia, saying:

"Owing to the condition of civil war, up till now all the factories of Russia have been mobilized for military purposes. But since we have been victorious, we are now entering on the period of reconstruction. Industry is almost entirely nationalized, and there exist already 197 cooperative societies. Thus we are planning by the application of electric power to increase our productive power to the maximum. Hitherto the industry of Soviet Russia has been greatly handicapped due to the lack of fuel and labor power, but now that we have recovered the Donets basin, and swept the Denikin partisans from the Caucasus, vast amounts of coal and crude oil are being sent to the center of industrial localities and increasing amounts are daily being forwarded. The newly organized labor has solved the problem of lack of labor power. Just at present we need various kinds of machines. In Russia at present there are vast amounts of flax, hides and other raw materials. These materials are now stocked up and we wish to barter machines for these raw materials."

At this point I asked what kind of goods Russia desires Japan to ship on the day that peace is signed between Russia and Japan. To this question Mr. Milyutin answered that in the first place Russia needs medicines. Besides medicines they will welcome every kind of manufactured goods, in compensation for which Russia will consent to give Japan various privileges in Siberia, including the labor power of places where concessions are given.

### II

#### INTERVIEW WITH KAMENEV

Nakahira, a special correspondent, interviewed Kamenev, President of the Moscow Soviet, on May 13, 1920. The following is his reply, to my questions:

"After the Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, all the Socialist parties fell into a condition of bankruptcy. The laboring classes entirely lost their confidence in them because of their conduct, their power weakened and fell away. We, the Bolshevik Party, shall never tolerate them—the Socialist Parties. Some people may say that the majority of the peasants are opposed to the Bolshevik Government, but this is a mere empty supposition, without any foundation in fact. The peasants well know that they cannot produce without the industrial cities. This —(something missing). This is the reason for the support of the Bolshevik party by the vast majority of the peasants. Yes, it is the necessity for war that enables the Bolshevik Government to collect more from the farming people than it gives them, but the wars also interfered with the development of the industrial life of the workers and peasants. It is these wars that almost gave a death blow to their development. But the peasants do not doubt—because they know the real facts of the matter—that the government has done everything possible in view of the situation. The foreign policy of the Bolshevik Party is expressed in one word: Peace. Russia possesses vast land and resources and is rich in labor power. But there is no necessity for secrecy in the politics of Soviet Russia, which has no intention or thought of invading foreign territory. We, by the utmost efforts of mutual aid, are able to restore our industries and to plan the development necessary for the organization of the Red Army (something missing). Passed by the Censor.—*Osaka Asahi*, Tokyo, May 30, 1920.

## III

FROM MOSCOW—THE RIDDLE METROPOLIS  
*Special*

MOSCOW, May 25, 1920—Despatched from Moscow by Mr. Nakahira.

INTERVIEW WITH CHICHERIN, Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

As special correspondent, I interviewed Mr. Chicherin, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government today. Below are the questions which I put to the Commissar for Foreign Affairs and his answers:

1. What is your policy toward Japan?

We have no aggressive policy toward Japan. The policy of the Soviet Government is simple: namely, peace and non-interference.

2. If the Soviet Government and Japan should conclude peace, what will the peace terms of Soviet Russia be?

Japan must withdraw her army from Siberia and must further recognize the democratic Far Eastern Republic to be a neutral zone state.

3. Is it true that you have given up your Bolshevik propaganda in other countries and (something missing here).

I firmly believe that the peoples of other countries are becoming class-conscious (something missing); the peoples of other countries are now awakening, though very slowly (something missing). Soviet Russia has no time to attend to other matters. She is occupied in the reconstruction of her own country. We are now bending all our efforts toward this reconstruction.

This declaration of Mr. Chicherin, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, is (something deleted). (Passed by the Censor.)

## IV

## INTERVIEW WITH LENIN

By *M. Nakahira, Correspondent of "Asaka Asahi."*  
Moscow, Special Despatch by Nakahira, June 6, via Peking.

June 3, 1920.

I interviewed Mr. Lenin at his office in the Kremlin. Contrary to my expectation, the decoration of the room is very simple. The hall that leads to the office is guarded. Passing through the guards we reached the office. Mr. Lenin's manner is very simple and kind—as if he were greeting an old friend. In spite of the fact that he holds the highest position, there is not the slightest trace of condescension in his manner. He did not wait for our question, but started to speak of the relations between Japan and Russia,—to the effect that it is regrettable that Japan does not seem willing to adopt an attitude of willingness to meet the Soviet Government's attitude of peace. The Soviet Government stands for peace, and therefore it recognizes the neutral zone government. He then asked: "Is there a powerful land-owning class in Japan? Does the Japanese farmer own land freely? Do the Japanese people live on food produced in their own country, or do they import much food from foreign countries?" He

asked many other questions, showing his deep interest in living conditions in Japan. Mr. Lenin next asked whether Japanese parents beat their children, and said that he had read of this in a book. "Tell me whether it is true or not," said he, "it is a very interesting subject." I answered that there may be exceptions, but as a rule parents do not beat their children in Japan. On hearing my answer he expressed satisfaction and said that the policy of the Soviet Government is to abolish this condition. After that he asked about the revolution and subsequent developments. In giving a resume of Russian revolutionary history, he said: "Before the revolution, the working and peasant classes of Russia were extremely oppressed—in fact, their oppression was without parallel in past history. As a result of this most severe oppression, the revolutionary spirit of the poorer class gradually increased until it broke out in the revolution. But the organizing capacity of the lower strata of Russia is comparatively weak and the degree of education is lower than in other countries. In spite of all this they could not be suppressed. But now, after two and a half years of experience, the Russian working and peasant masses have obtained a great deal of political and social discipline. The experience of this two and a half years can truly be compared with the development of several centuries. At this point we asked why the Soviet Republic, in spite of its having repudiated the national debts of czarism, had promised to give Esthonia vast amounts of gold, when concluding peace. Smiling, Mr. Lenin said: "Esthonia has shown her good will toward the Soviet Government and therefore the Soviet Government has promised to pay her this gold. Moreover," he continued, "to deal with the propertied class is really a very difficult matter. The propertied class cares for nothing but its own material interests. For instance, look at America. America proposed a peace treaty with Soviet Russia. When we examined the treaty, we could not accept it because it was based on exploitation. So we rejected it. Of course we do not consider ourselves incapable. The Allied nations, rejecting recognition, attempt to interfere with Russia. There is reason to think that if the intervention of the Allies should continue, it will be profitable to the Bolsheviks. All in all, considering the prospects of Russia's industries, the situation is promising. If our electrical program is attained, entire industries can be electrified. The creative capacity of communism will be increased and will exert the greatest influence in solving these problems, and the development will be equal to that of several decades."

## SPEECH BY NIKOLAI LENIN

This speech, which was delivered on the subject of "New Problems for Russia", at the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, has had to be omitted this week for lack of space.

Original from  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## From the Secret Chamber of Diplomacy

*A Few Documents of Recent Date*

THE documents printed below were published in the Moscow *Izvestia* of February 4, 1920, with the following introductory note:

"The former White officer Oleinikov, who joined the side of the Soviet power after a serious internal struggle, turned over to us documents which he was bringing through Sweden to Yudenich from Kolchak's Minister of Foreign Affairs Sazonov at Paris. The documents contain a note from Sazonov to Konstantin Nikolayevich Hulkevich, Kolchak's ambassador to Sweden, with two supplements—a communication in code from Kolchak's Washington ambassador, Bakhmetiev, to Sazonov and a coded communication from Sukin at Omsk, transmitting instruction from Kolchak to Sazonov at Paris. The latter speaks of negotiations with General Knox, the representative of the British Government to Kolchak. Bakhmetiev's communication speaks of instructions by the American Government to its Commissioner for the Baltic states, Mr. Gade. In addition, the documents contain a coded communication from Kolchak's Charge d'Affairs in London, Sablin, to Sazonov regarding a conversation with General Radcliffe of the British War Office, and telegrams passing between Sazonov and Bakhmetiev, Kolchak's ambassador at Washington.

"These documents vividly reveal the attitude both of Kolchak and of the United States to the Baltic nationalities, to whom the American Government even refuses recognition of the right to self-determination."

PARIS, October 14, 1919. No. 668.

S. D. Sazonov, attesting his perfect respect to Konstantin Nikolaevich, has the honor to transmit herewith, for information, copies of telegrams from B. A. Bakhmetiev, No. 1050, and from I. I. Sukin, No. 28, concerning the question of the situation in the Baltic provinces.

To K. N. Hulkevich.

Rec. October 12, 1919. Ent. No. 3347. D. 24. West.

Sukin—to the Minister.

OMSK, October 9, 1919. No. 28 (code).

Knox presented to the Supreme Ruler a communication from the British War Office, in which the latter warns that the Baltic states are disposed to conclude peace with the Bolsheviks who guarantee immediate recognition of their independence. In connection with this the British War Office asks if the Government should not counteract these promises by satisfying on its part the wishes of the above mentioned states. We replied to Knox by referring to the principles which were stated in the note of the Supreme Ruler to the powers of June 4, and at the same time pointed out that the conclusion of peace with the Bolsheviks by the Baltic states would be an unquestionable danger, since it will allow the release of a part of the Soviet troops and will remove the barrier which keeps Bolshevism from the west. The mere fact of their readiness to discuss peace bears witness, in our opinion, to the extreme demoralization of the parties of these self-governing units, which cannot alone defend themselves against the penetration of aggressive Bolshevism.

Expressing the belief that the powers cannot sympathize with the further spread of Bolshevism, we

pointed out the necessity to stop further aid to the Baltic states, which is an effective method of pressure in the hands of the powers and also a more expedient method than rivalry in promises with the Bolsheviks, who have nothing to lose.

Informing you of the above, I beg you to make proper representations in Paris and London. With Bakhmetiev we are communicating separately.

Received October 12, 1919. Entry No. 3346. D. 24. West.

Bakhmetiev—to the Minister.

WASHINGTON, October 11, 1919. No. 1050.

Referring to my telegram No. 1045\* (coded), the Department of State orally informed me of the instructions given to Gade. His title is American Commissioner to the Baltic Provinces of Russia. He is not accredited to any of the Russian governments. His mission is to observe and report. His conduct must not inspire among the local population hopes that the American Government might consent to support separatist tendencies going further than autonomy. On the contrary, the American Government hopes that the Baltic population will help their Russian brothers in their national effort. The instructions are based on the interpretation of the understanding between the Allied governments and the Supreme Ruler as developed in my memorandum to the Government of June 17. Gade is furnished with excerpts from the latest speeches of the President in which he attacked Bolshevism.

Rec. October 9, 1919. Incoming, No. 3286. D. 24. West.

Sablin—to the Minister.

LONDON, October 7, 1919. No. 677 (code).

In a letter to Guchkov, the Director of the Department of Operations of the War Office, to whom G. wrote offering our tonnage to help the English in the delivery of supplies to Yudenich, that in the opinion of the War Office Yudenich now has everything, and that England finds it inconvenient any longer to provide supplies for him. He adds, however, that since we have vessels we could organize the supplying of Yudenich on a commercial basis, provided we could obtain credits. At the same time General Radcliffe recognizes that Yudenich's army must be properly equipped, being the only force among the Baltic states which is able to undertake active operations against the Bolsheviks.

To Washington, for Minister Bakhmetiev.

PARIS, September 30, 1919. No. 2442 (code).

In a letter from a confidential Swedish source I am informed that Morris, American Ambassador at Stockholm, speaks of the growing sympathy toward the Bolsheviks in the United States and of the intention of stopping aid to Kolchak in order to enter into relations in the interests of American trade. Such statements by the official representative produce a strange impression.

Rec. October 5, 1919. Incoming, No. 3244.

Bakhmetiev—to the Minister.

WASHINGTON, October 4, 1919. No. 1021.

With reference to your telegram No. 2442 (code). I was confidentially informed at the Department of State that Ambassador Morris at Stockholm, and especially Hapgood at Copenhagen, are really known for their personal left sympathies, but that they have not influence or standing (authority) here, and that the Government is compelled to admonish them periodically, stating categorically that the American policy unalterably aims at supporting our Government in the struggle against the Bolsheviks.

\* Entry, No. 3343.

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## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*  
**RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU**  
 110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**I**T WAS an apt phrase Churchill used when he designated imperialist Poland as "the linchpin of Versailles." When the hammer-blows of the Red Army shattered that vital link, the whole ramshackle contrivance of the Entente politicians tumbled into wreckage and confusion. Despite their cynical repudiation of the Polish enterprise in the hour of its defeat, it is plain that the Allies, out of sheer lack of any other plan or resource, had staked everything on this last desperate gamble of force. To be sure, French officers, in reports which were carefully suppressed, had exposed the futility of the Polish campaign and predicted its inevitable disaster; likewise, a few English liberals like Cecil and Asquith had protested openly against its immorality and inexpediency. But these warnings that the thing was both bad policy and bad strategy did not deter those whose actions were dictated neither by prudence nor humanity.

Confronted by the accomplished defeat of the Polish army, the Allied politicians bluster and clutch at straws. Lloyd George twists and turns and tries in vain to dodge the barbed shafts hurled with such unerring aim by the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Millerand threatens war in one breath and begs for gold in the next. The irrepressible Churchill calls upon Germany to join with the Allies against the Russian workers. "Not by reckless military adventure nor with ulterior motives," says Churchill—though he does not suggest how else can Germany "build a dike of peaceful, lawful, patient strength and virtue" against Soviet Russia. To which Ludendorff replies by offering to raise an army in return for Posen and Danzig. The German Government meanwhile declares its neutrality in the struggle between Poland and Russia; though we learn that it took a "crowd of German civilians" to halt a trainload of munitions in transit across Germany to Poland. Dr. Simons, the German Foreign Minister, points out that the function of Poland should be that of a bridge rather than a barrier between Russia and Germany. This appears a most sinister suggestion to those who have become so possessed by their plans for blockades and barriers that they have lost all conception of the ordinary economic interests of the peoples of Europe. Dr. Simons,

for his own purposes, saw fit to take a bold line in a recent speech before the Reichstag.

"I do not believe," he said, "that it is to the interest of the Soviet Republic to devastate Germany with murderous, incendiary hordes. What the Soviet Republic requires is economic support . . . I am not one of those who see in Russia merely chaos. I know from thorough reports of unbiased, intelligent men that a variety of enormous, constructive labor is being performed—a work which, in certain respects, we would do well to use as a model."

Thus each separate leader cries his pet panacea in the market-place; each with a different nostrum to cure the ills of a decayed world order. A wild confusion of tongues tells the wreck of capitalist ambitions in Europe. The tottering edifice went down in a heap when the Red Army smashed through the Polish lines.

\* \* \*

**W**RITING in *The New Europe* for July 1, Professor George Young, who was, if we are not mistaken, formerly in the service of the British Foreign Office, gave a succinct account of the achievements of Soviet Foreign Policy.

"The tide has turned, and time is running against us," writes this Englishman. "Russia is fast making peace with the Finns at Dorpat, and soon the Petrograd water-gate will be opened through the blockade and added to the Reval sally-port. Already a long train of trucks, with ploughs, seed potatoes, printing paper and medicines, leaves Reval daily. Already the mines are being swept off Kronstadt. And with the blockade goes our best basis for bargaining. The main clauses of the treaty with the Letts, including the frontiers, are already settled. The Lettish peace opens the line to Riga. Lithuania is unimportant, and depends on the Polish settlement. Peace with Poland offers no difficulties, and is much nearer than is generally supposed. Some say Moscow could turn Warsaw Red tomorrow if it wished it, and that Warsaw knows it. With Polish pressure goes our next best basis of bargaining. Roumania is strictly neutral, awaiting an agreement as to Bessarabia, to which Moscow will accede. Peace with Georgia was made in half an hour a month ago. The new frontiers of Armenia, to include Trebizond and a transmigration of populations such as was effected recently in Thrace with Bulgaria, have now been settled by Russian mediation. The Turks of Asia Minor are allied with Russia, like the Tartars of Azerbaijan. Persian nationalism seeks Russian support, and Persia is going Red rapidly. Khiva is Red already. Bokhara could be turned Red at any moment. The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia at Verkhne-Udinsk, which will shortly extend to Vladivostok, is only kept by Moscow's influence in



# The Life of the Masses in Soviet Russia

## A Review of the Red Army by Trotsky

People's Commissar for Army and Navy, Leon Trotsky, wearing a soft black hat, and mounted on horseback, is seen in the background, to the left of the armored car. A military band is marching ahead of the car. The review is being held at Moscow as is also the parade in the following picture.



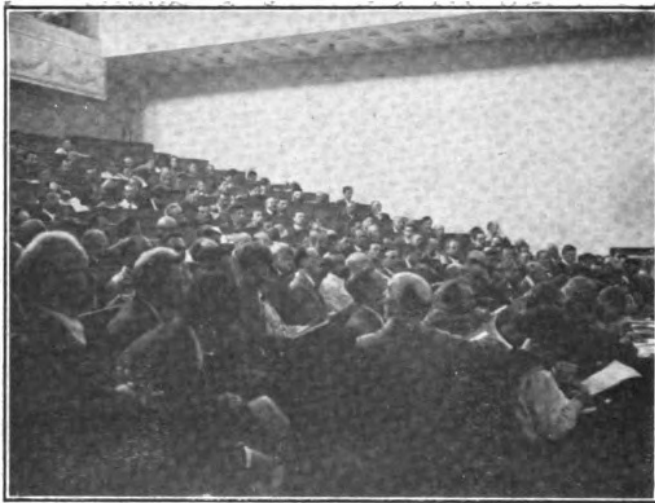
## Red Infantry

The Red soldiers, well-clothed in warm coats, in parade on Khodinskoye field, Moscow. The white structures in the background are soldiers' messes, a moving-picture theatre, and a concert hall where the best singers appear.

## First of May Celebration

The crowds are assembled in front of the old Historical Museum, Moscow, later the home of the Moscow City Duma. Banners with inscriptions celebrating the achievements of the Revolution are held aloft by the paraders.





#### **Educational Conference, Moscow**

A Moscow Congress of Educational Soviets discussing reforms in higher education. Eager interest is shown in the proceedings not only by the men, but also by the women, of whom a number are present.

#### **Congress of Working Women**

The All-Russian Congress of Working Women was held at Moscow in 1919. The banner seen on the right indicates that it is borne by the delegates of the Petrograd women workers.



#### **A Lesson in Geometry, Moscow**

A class in the Workers' Section of the University of Moscow. The picture shows only how interested are the students. It cannot show—but it is none the less a fact—that education is now accessible to all in Russia.



#### **Volunteers for the Labor Army**

The scene shows Moscow workers, chiefly young men, reporting voluntarily to be assigned to urgent tasks of reconstruction.



#### **Purchasing Horses**

The brilliant cavalry manoeuvres of General Budenny would have been impossible without good horses. The latter are carefully inspected and registered.



#### Revolutionary Songs

A chorus of trained voices leads the singing of revolutionary hymns at the unveiling of the Monument of Liberty, Soviet Square, Moscow, (see pictures of the Monument, page viii).

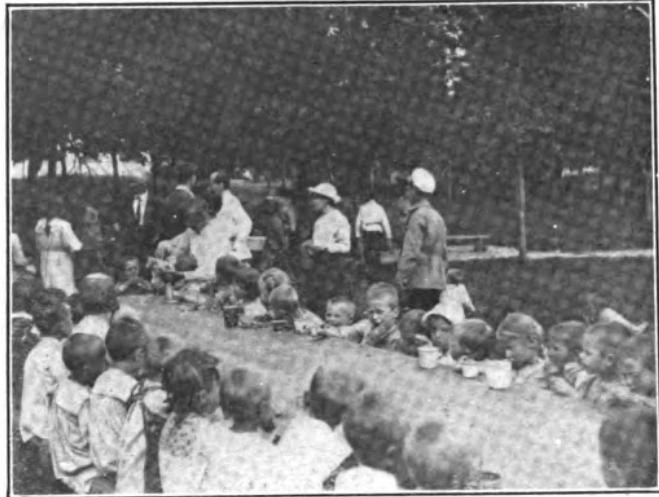
#### Religious Procession, Moscow

A scene on "Red Square", where so many victims of the Czars had bled. The Church of St. Basil is in the central background, with the Historical Museum on the right and the old Spassky Gates on the left.



### Children Lunching

Tsarskoye Selo, formerly the summer home of the Czar's family, is now Dyetskoye Selo ("The Children's Town"), where all the splendid buildings have been converted into sanatoria and vacation-houses for children.



### Children's Holiday, Pirogov County

The children of this community, not far from Moscow, are evidently gathered in one of their school-rooms to prepare for a parade and outing.

### Out in the Country

After having listened to speeches and recitations, the children are marching with their banners over the country roads.





### Church and People

The struggle of the Revolution evidently injured churches as well as other buildings, as may be inferred from the above photograph of a shell-scarred church near Moscow, but the other picture shows that the Soviet Government does not prevent religious processions. The scene is at the Nikolsk Gates, the Kremlin, Moscow.



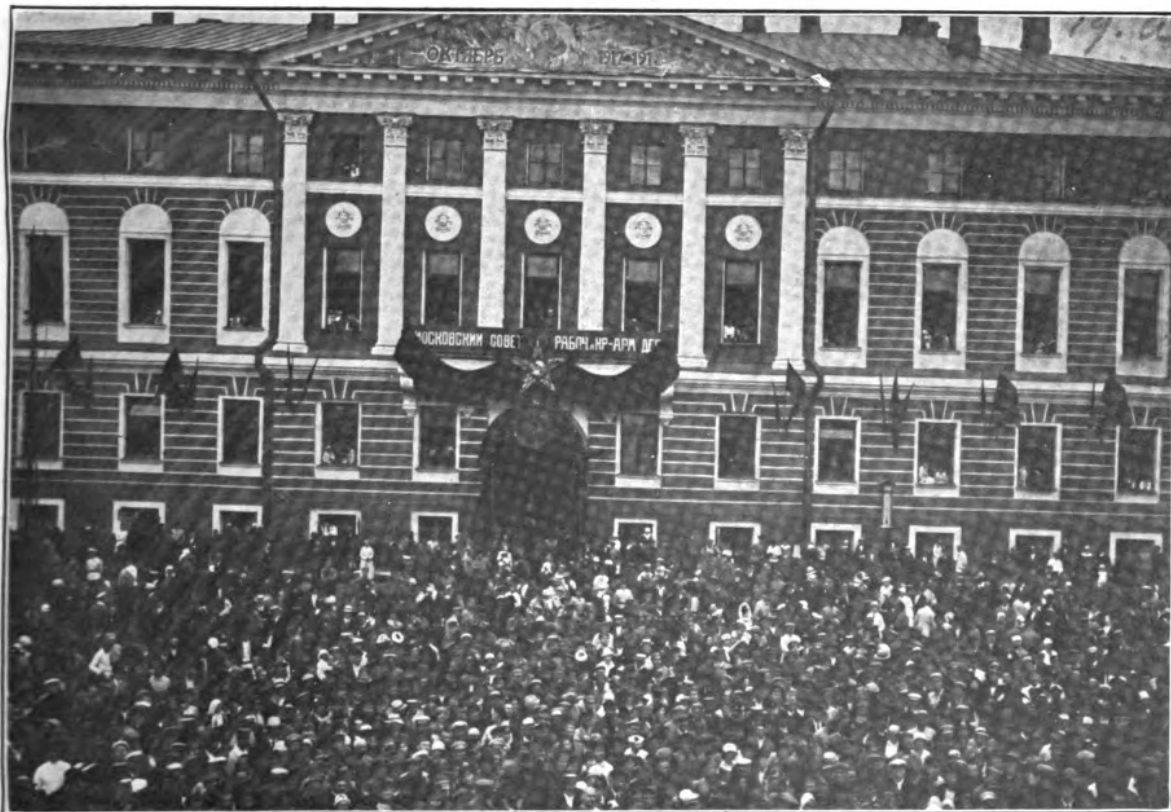
### Peasants' Soviets, Moscow

A photograph of some of the sessions of the Congress of Poorer Peasants at Moscow; a discussion of the future of exploitation.



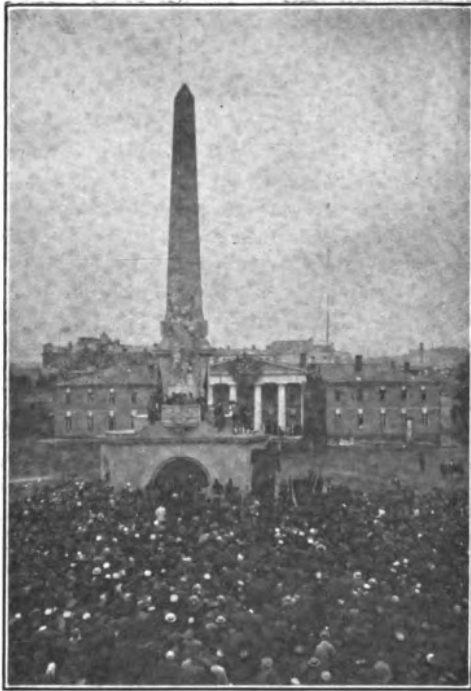
**Kamenev Speaking, Moscow**

A rally in Soviet Square, Moscow, in the spring of 1919, connected with the organization of the Red Army.



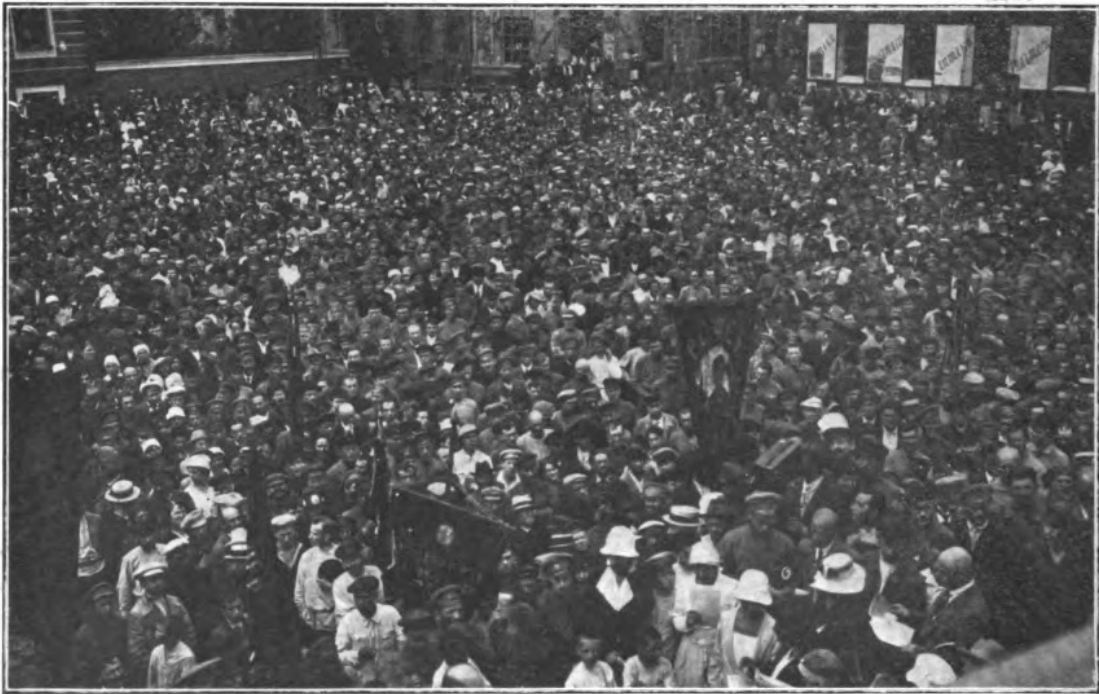
**Unveiling a Monument**

The crowds here shown are in front of the building of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Delegates, waiting for the unveiling of the Monument to Liberty (see next page). The red star of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic may be seen over the door of the building.



**The Monument to Liberty**

The Monument has recently been unveiled on Soviet Square. The detail picture shows that it is also equipped with a speaker's rostrum, bearing the seal of the Workers' Republic, with sickle and hammer crossed.



**Another View of the Crowds at the Unveiling of the Monument.**



the pink of propriety. If we stick in the mud of our old diplomacy much longer, the line will not run through Turkey, Persia and Kashgar, but through Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China. We cannot fight Eastern nationalism and liberalism with White terrors and black troops. Why should we let the Russians exploit all the true forces and facts of foreign relationships against us?"

Dissatisfied with "the tattle of refugee governesses, dished up in *Times* and *Morning Post* leaders," Professor Young went to Moscow to seek an explanation of this series of diplomatic successes. The explanation was not far to seek. Moscow acts, he found, "by common sense and in self-defense." He was somewhat surprised by the frankness of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. "How do you venture to tell me this?" he asked a Soviet official who had described a *coup* that was to come off the following week in Asia Minor to the confounding of British imperialism there. "Why not?" was the reply, "your people can't stop it, and they must be pretty stupid if they don't know what is going to happen. We, each of us, ought to know by now what is in the other's hand. We can lay our cards on the table because we know them to be better than yours."

A GREAT DEAL of adverse criticism has been directed by American editorial writers against the disfranchisement of clergymen by the Soviet Constitution. In this connection the following bit of constitutional history of the State of New York may be pertinent. The Constitution of the State of New York, adopted in 1777, just one year after the Declaration of Independence, contains the following provision (Section 39):

And whereas the ministers of the Gospel are by their profession dedicated to the service of God and the cure of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their function; therefore, no minister of the gospel, or priest of any denomination whatsoever, shall at any time hereafter under any pretence or description whatever be eligible to or capable of holding any civil or military office or place within the State.

#### RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN GERMANY

QUEDLINBURG, GERMANY.—The first detachment of Russian prisoners of war, to the number of 600, have left the prison camp for their homes. For this reason solemn memorial services in honor of the dead took place Wednesday afternoon at the soldiers' graves in the parish cemetery. In closed procession, wearing mourning-crepes, and with a black flag, the Russians walked to the cemetery where several of their compatriots made addresses, interspersed with hymns and strains of mourning from a near-by chapel. After the services the Russians, wearing red insignia and with a red flag at the head of the procession, returned to the camp. On the graves were placed large quantities of flowers and wreaths.—From *Die Kommunistische Sturmglöcke*, June, 1920.

#### PORT REGULATIONS

*Circular to all governments concerning entrance into the ports of the Soviet Republic in accordance with the naval command.*

The following rules are established for the entrance of foreign vessels into the ports of the Soviet Republic.

*First, for the Black Sea.* Vessels arriving from the high seas must first, before entering, having come within ten miles of the port, inform the authorities of the port by wireless telegraph; next, at a distance of from three to five miles, make known by the international code signals the purpose of their arrival. At both times the vessels must ask the right of way, and the hours and local rules of entry into the port. If weather permits, foreign vessels will, upon their approach, be received by the coast-guard scouts, who will furnish them all necessary information with regard to entrance into the port. Only the port of Odessa is open to foreign vessels.

*Second, for the White Sea.* Entrance of foreign vessels is not authorized on the Murman coast in Pechenga and on the coast west of the Isle of Fishers, on the White Sea, in the Gulf of Kandalaksha, in the Gulf of Onega, at Kem, in the Solovetsky Isles, in the mouth of the Pechora. On the other hand there are open to them Murmansk, Archangel, Novaya Zemlya, continuing on the Sea of Kara, and at the mouths of the Obi and the Yenissei. It is established as a condition that they announce themselves at the right time. To inform by wireless the commandant of the naval forces, who will send to meet them a warship from Murmansk to the Cape Pogan, from Archangel to Mudtug. Foreign vessels can communicate by signal with the lighthouses of Voids-Guba, Tsypanovskii, Teriberka, Pogan, Sviatoi, Nos-Gorodetski, Orlovskii, Sosnovetski. The "flame" of the international code, placed above the disk, indicates—free passage; under the disk—indicates entrance only with a Russian military pilot. The same "flame" under the cone with an apex indicates—possible, await arrival of a Russian war vessel. Hoisted between two disks it signifies—anchor until further orders.

*Third, for the Baltic Sea.* Rules for approach to the Russian coasts will be given out after the completion of dredging operations.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*

CHICHERIN.

*Commandant of Naval Forces,*

NEMITS.

June 7, 1920.

#### ENGLISH GUNS FOR WRANGEL

COPENHAGEN, July 8, 1920.—The counter-revolutionary Russian paper *Golos*, published in the Crimea, announces the arrival in Sebastopol of a steamship from England with 12,000 machine-guns, among them being 9,000 of Vickers pattern.

## Soviet Russia and Turkey

[An indication of Soviet Russia's readiness to live at peace with governments that are not based on Communism will be found in the following interesting items from the negotiations between the present government of Turkey and Russia. The two items are: 1, a wireless message from Chicherin to Kemal Pasha, with suggestions of the conditions on which the Turkish Government should make peace with foreign countries, offering the assistance of the Russian Soviet Government as mediator; 2, a clipping from a London newspaper of recent date, reporting the progress of direct negotiations, at Moscow, with Turkey.]

### NOTE TO TURKEY

Note addressed June 4 by Chicherin through the offices of the representative of the new Ottoman government to the President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey at Angora, Mustafa Kemal Pasha:

"To the President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. The Soviet Government has the honor of acknowledging receipt of the letter in which you express the desire of entering into regular relations with it, and taking part in the common war against the foreign imperialism which menaces the two countries. It is with satisfaction that the Soviet Government has taken cognizance of the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the new government of Angora.

"These principles are: First, the declaration of the independence of Turkey. Second, the inclusion in the Turkish State of territories incontestably Turkish. Third, the proclamation of Arabia and Syria as independent states. Fourth, the decision taken by the Grand National Assembly to allow Turkish Armenia, Kurdistan, the territory of Batum, Oriental Thrace, and all the territories of Turco-Arab population, to decide their own destiny. The government naturally understands by this that a free referendum will take place in the countries with the participation of the refugees and emigrants previously obliged to leave their country for reasons independent of their wishes, and who will have to be repatriated. Fifth, the granting to the minor nationalities of the territories forming part of the new Turkish state, having at its head the Grand National Assembly, of all the rights allowed minor nationalities in the most liberal states of Europe. Sixth, the reference of the question of waterways to a conference of the states bordering on the Black Sea. Seventh, the abolition of the conventions and economic control of foreign states. Eighth, the abolition of zones of foreign influence of every kind.

"The Soviet Government takes cognizance of the desire of the Grand National Assembly to conform your labors and your military operations directed against the imperialist governments to the noble ideal of the liberation of oppressed peoples. The Soviet Government hopes that diplomatic pourparlers will permit the Grand National Assembly to establish between Turkey on one side and Armenia and Persia on the other side, exact frontiers determined by justice and the right of peoples to decide their destiny. The Soviet Government is always ready, upon the invitation of the interested parties, to act as mediator.

"In order to bring about amicable relations and enduring friendship between Turkey and Russia, the Soviet Government proposes immediately to enter into diplomatic and consular relations. The Soviet Government extends the hand of friendship to all the peoples of the world, remaining invariably faithful to its principle of recognizing the right of all to dispose of their destiny. The Soviet Government is following with the greatest interest the heroic struggle which the people are undergoing for their independence and sovereignty, and in the present painful days for Turkey she is happy to establish a firm foundation for the friendship which ought to unite the nations of Turkey and Russia.

"In bringing to your knowledge the above, Mr. President of the Grand National Assembly, I have the honor in the name of the people of the Federated Republic of Workers and Peasants, to offer you our wishes for the success of the peoples of Turkey fighting for their independence."

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,  
CHICHERIN.

### NEGOTIATIONS AT MOSCOW

Moscow, July 6.—In an interview I have had with Djemal Pasha, who was formerly Governor of Syria, and was Turkish Minister of Marine during the war, he made the definite statement to me that

*Last January a British Emissary visited Enver Pasha in Germany, and made a proposal to him for an alliance with Enver, Talaat, Djemal and the Turkish Nationalists. This alliance was to assume the form of armed aid for the anti-Soviet forces to be sent into Russia.*

*The British Emissary spoke on behalf of Lloyd George and the Secretary for India, and went so far as to invite Enver to London.*

The latter discussed the matter with the Turkish group in Germany, and it was decided that, while they wanted the Turkish Nationalist aims recognized, nevertheless they were not justified in interfering in Russian affairs, nor was it politic to do so.

Turning to other subject, Djemal expressed his hope to see the creation of an independent Armenia.

He maintains that racial difficulties in Asia Minor were due to the old czarist policy of rousing one nationality against the other. Shortly after the Balkan War, Russia urged reforms in Armenia. Fearing Russian interference at that time, Turkey developed a scheme of creating three large provinces in Asia Minor covering the mixed populations. The scheme was submitted to Britain, who was asked to recommend inspector-generals and experts to help to govern the new provinces.

This verbal proposal was accepted, but when a written proposal was handed to the British Foreign Office, the answer was a refusal, on the ground that Russia would not approve—a happy example of old-school diplomacy.

## Saturdayings in the Villages

By L. SOSNOVSKY

THE importance of the saturdayings as a means of training the proletarians in the direction of communism is at present generally recognized. And their importance as a school in the organization of collective mass labor is not disputed, though not appraised at its full value.

More important from this standpoint is the use of saturdayings in the villages, among the politically and culturally backward peasants, where the individualistic, private property conceptions are particularly strong, offering great resistance to the new—communitic—conceptions.

Unfortunately, there is no record of the saturdayings in the villages. The party organizations do not give the saturdayings the serious attention which they merit. They are still looked upon as demonstrations. And who would bother to keep a record or make a study of demonstrations?

We are therefore forced to make use of accidental data. On looking over a few dozen provincial Soviet newspapers, I got the impression that the idea of the saturdayings has gotten quite a firm foothold in the villages. From the Archangel forests to the steppes of the Turgay region and the Yenisseisk province, not to mention the central provinces,—everywhere the saturdayings are mentioned. As a general rule, the village saturdayings are not directed by the city, but are organized by the peasants themselves, according to their own plans.

The only part in which the directing arm of the capital is still shown, is the tilling of the Red soldiers' fields, through the saturdayings. And even this is rather a compromise. The tilling of the soldiers' fields is *obligatory*, according to the decrees. And in this way the burden is placed upon the *volunteer* participants of the saturdayings, that is, first of all, on the communists and the sympathizing poor peasants. At any rate, the spread of the saturdayings has greatly advanced the work of aid to the soldiers' families. All reports mention not only the tilling of fields, but also the repairing of houses and implements.

Particularly noteworthy in the list of saturdaying works is the service for schools. Repairs on school buildings, cleaning, the storing of wood for the winter, the ploughing of the school garden—such is an incomplete list of the various tasks. A remarkable feature of the saturdayings is the participation of the teachers, who are sometimes even the initiators of the saturdayings. This was not the case before.

But, most of all, the saturdayings are devoted to the improvement of the unattractive surroundings. Here is a brief summary of the work for the First of May and for the week of the labor front only for one volost (Lenin volost, of Koliazin County—province of Tver).

"During the week for the labor front and the First of May saturdayings, 130 bridges were put

up in the volost, whose total length is 1,050 feet, and in addition the Votrin bridge of 175 feet.

"Ditches were dug for approximately fifteen versts, an average of about 1/14 verst for each village.

"Roads were repaired for over thirty versts, an average of a little over two versts for each village.

"This does not include the smaller scale work—the loading of wood on twenty-three carts, public tilling, etc."

The Cheliabinsk newspaper *Sovietskaya Pravda*, contains a summary of the work for the labor front week for a whole county. In forty-two volosts (townships) of Kurgan county, 35,262 men and 27,441 horses participated in the work during the week.

Repaired: seventy-three mills, twenty-six schools, 364 soldiers' houses, 201 storage places, fourteen oil mills, 183 bridges, twenty-two dams, 914 carts, 684 ploughs, 1,029 harrows; made—102 axes, 145 axes.

Mended: 1,954 pairs of boots, 1,035 pairs of shoes, 1,613 harnesses, 1,274 cart-seats.

Cleaned: 7,940 yards, 382 streets, and moved out 44,489 wagon loads of garbage.

Chopped 7,945 feet of wood and moved 6,055 feet; ground 13,450 poods of grain, and loaded and sent away 12,000 poods; brought in 8,000 pieces of timber; moved out 30,000 wagon-loads of straw, hay, ice, pulp and brush-wood.

The newspaper adds that similar work, though not so well recorded, was performed also in other counties of the province.

Let the reader ponder on these figures, this varied work, and chiefly on the expedient selection of the work. This list shows, firstly, what divers wants have accumulated in the villages for the last few years. Only great collective effort can save the villages from this situation.

Starting with the above mentioned work on bridges, mills, schools, oil-mills, storage places, roads, etc., the peasants will be led by experience to the socialization of the basic economic process—the exploitation of the soil.

The total figures are very considerable. This will be admitted by everybody who has been in touch with the Russian peasants during the last (after-war) years.

And this for but one week!

Let there be more such weeks, properly organized, directed by the party, and linked with a sensible propaganda of communism. No agitation—by speech or press—could compare in results with this agitation by actual creative work.

Try, for instance, to keep step with the agitation of the Red soldiers of the Fifth Army, who, in undeveloped Siberia, beyond Krasnoyarsk, effected in one day—the First of May—the electrification of the village of Sukhobuzimskoye.

The communist unit of the Fifth Army initiated

this idea, formulated a detailed plan of work and executed it in military fashion.

On April 29 a motor, dynamo, tools, and a group to prepare poles were sent ahead from the city. On the next day a detachment of Red soldiers departed with music. On the morning of the First of May the detachment, at a given signal, took up their places in the village and started to work. They erected poles, put up wires, attended to the interior wiring, and mounted the motor and dynamo.

During this time the educational unit and the agitators were holding several meetings in the neighboring villages.

At six o'clock in the afternoon the work was completed. A special commission examined the work and saw that everything was in proper order. In the evening, at the conclusion of a meeting where the significance of collective labor was explained to the peasants, the light was turned on. Later in the evening a play was staged for the peasants in the club-house, which was illuminated by electric light. Altogether, light was provided for eighty houses, for the school, the headquarters of the Revolutionary Committee and for the club-house.

On the next day two addresses of appreciation were presented to the Red soldiers in the name of the peasants.

Such is the result of one day of volunteer collective labor. The electrification of the village of Sukhobuzimskoye is a miniature anticipation of the bright future which awaits the country after we shall have overcome the main obstacles on our road.

In order to overcome these difficulties, it is necessary to attract the peasants to the common work, to awaken them to a conscious attitude toward the general work of reconstruction, to arouse the villages to volunteer collective labor, preparatory to the coming universal obligatory service—and the saturdayings in the villages are of great value for this purpose.

The saturdayings departments attached to the committees of the Russian Communist Party must become efficient, practical organs, must be in touch with the committees on labor service and must give particular attention to the development of volunteer labor in the villages.

This is one of the methods through which communism will make its way into the villages.—*Pravda*, June 6, 1920.

### THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT DORPAT

The first session of the peace negotiations at Dorpat began Saturday at 11.45 A. M. Both delegations were present in a body, with secretaries, experts, stenographers, and newspaper representatives. The meeting was opened by the chairman of the Russian delegation, Bersin, who stated that it was not the fault of Soviet Russia that the conference was holding its first meeting two and a half years after the proclamation of the independence of Finland, and expressed his joy that

the representatives of the two countries had at last met to clear up misunderstandings and create new relations. The chairman of the Finnish delegation expressed his thanks to the government of Esthonia for the hospitality it had afforded by allowing the negotiations to proceed on Esthonian territory. He stated that the aim of the negotiations was the creation of a foundation for political and economic relations between Finland and Russia which should last for a long time to come, and that this aim would be reached if, in addition to consideration of the historical and judicial facts of the past, the ideas of justice and self-determination of the peoples are laid down as leading principles. Numerous questions which had arisen during the time when Russia and Finland were united, as well as later ones, require solution. As for instance, the question of the territory between the northern boundary of Finland and the Arctic Ocean, to which Finland has an old historic right, derived from former times. The demand of the people of East Karelia to decide their political future for themselves, in accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples, must be taken up during these negotiations. The speaker expected happy results from the conference, if these principles were adhered to and impartially applied to the questions pending between Finland and Russia.—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, June 14, 1920.

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I

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SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 West 40th Street

New York, N. Y.

# Official Communications of the Soviet Government

## ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

1287. April 20, 1920.

### LENIN'S SPEECH AT TEXTILE CONGRESS

The congress, at the proposal of the president, gave an ovation to Lenin on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his birth. Lenin greeted the congress in the name of the Council of People's Commissars. He recalled to the audience the resolutions adopted by the last Communist Congress, especially those which concern the intensification of production and working discipline. Lenin invited all the workers in the textile industry to the labor front. In this branch, as in others, the situation is difficult. Russia must depend upon this industry if no cotton should be obtained from Egypt nor America, but only from Turkestan, in addition to which the ways of communication must be improved at all costs. The question of fuel must also be solved by the exploitation of peat-bogs. Peat constitutes the salvation of Russia in the matter of fuel. There are rich peat deposits near the textile factories, and the workers of these factories must be the first to exploit them in this way surmounting all difficulties and sacrifices. On the bloody front which the Red soldiers have held in water and mud, they have known how to carry off victory even under these conditions. On the labor front no task should be beyond our strength. Whoever yields is not a communist. The capitalists place their greatest hopes in our weakness. They hope that the Russian workers will become professional reformers of the old style. They wish to destroy all our production. The moment of the greatest and most severe trial has come. Every worker should repeat the deeds of prowess achieved on the front by every Red soldier. And these deeds will be one hundred times more profitable than the latter. We must be victorious. Down with the old trade unionism. Happily, the textile workers have maintained the proletarian enthusiasm with which they will repeat on the front of labor the miracles which have given victory to the Red Army. The congress resolved to distribute Lenin's speech widely among the members. The reports read at the meeting in the evening show that energetic measures have been taken for the transport of eight million poods of cotton, available in Turkestan. One hundred and fifty locomotives and six thousand cars will be repaired to this end, with the collaboration of the textile factories. The directing commission of water-ways promises to transport an important part of these supplies by the Caspian, Astrakhan and the Volga. Six great textile enterprises are already undertaking the repair of locomotives.

### AGRICULTURE

The general policy of the Commissariat of Agriculture aims at increasing the amount of surface under cultivation. To this end, the committees of the districts and the cantons of the province of

Saratov have organized extraordinary commissions to assure the cultivation of all available land. Moreover, the provincial agrarian section is organizing cultivation by the State with the aid of the labor army. Throughout the Republic and Soviet Ukraine, shops are being multiplied for the repair of plows and agricultural implements in general. In numerous provinces an increase is observed in the number of agricultural communes. Thus, in the single province of Saratov, sixty-four new associations for communal cultivation have been established in the month of March. Likewise, there are four hundred and sixty-seven communes and associations for communal cultivation in the provinces. In the province of Nizhni-Novgorod there has been declared an agricultural week, in the organization of which are taking part all the instructors and students of the agricultural faculty, and the communist committees. The Council of National Economy has sent into the country forty-six experts for the repair of agricultural implements. The cultivation of the land of all the mobilized is assured.

### WORKING MONTHS IN THE URALS

During the first six days of the working month, production in the mines of Cheliabinsk increased about seventy per cent. The workers in certain enterprises have spontaneously fixed a day of from ten to twelve hours. New excavators will shortly be put into operation. The machinery abandoned by the Whites has been returned to Cheliabinsk. The speed of trains has been restored to that of peace times, for example thirteen hours between Omsk and Cheliabinsk. The enthusiasm for work has taken possession even of the country districts, and everywhere the orders of the day establish spontaneously a working day of from nine to twelve hours. Bridges and roads are repaired, and the stocks of provisions demanded by the center are entirely made up. The peasants bring their grain to the railroad stations.

In the zone of the first labor army, with its center at Yekaterinburg, sixty-six railway bridges have been rebuilt since the creation of this labor army.

### INDUSTRIAL RENAISSANCE

In the region of Krasnoyarsk, the construction has been undertaken of an immense metallurgic factory, capable of working each year seventy-five million poods of metal with blast furnaces and Martens ovens for the manufacture of coke and the extraction of carbon or metals. Studies on a large scale are being carried on in the minor deposits of the region. Expert Russian and foreign engineers have been attached to the enterprise.

The Council of National Economy of the province of Tambov has sent to the bureau of the Supreme Council of National Economy a report, in twelve articles, on all the manufactures of the

province for the month of March, the leather industry, building, textiles, automobile repairs, manufacture of preserves, paper, forestry, etc.

#### COAL

Extraction of coal in the Moscow basin has increased by about six hundred thirty thousand poods from February to March. At Kizal, in the Urals, there was an increase of about fifty-four per cent. Everywhere there is evident improvement in the mines.

#### THE LABOR ARMIES

The first labor army during the first twenty-five days of March furnished more than three thousand highly qualified workers to the principal factories in the Urals.

#### RAILROADS

At Kharkov the railway construction shops are operating at maximum capacity. During the last fifteen days, two new locomotives have been constructed and three major repair operations completed, exclusive of the repair of numerous trains, six camion automobiles, two light automobiles, etc.

On the Volga-Bugulma line the trains are now accomplishing in forty-eight hours the trip which recently took eleven days.

On the Alexandre line working production is on a constant increase throughout the system. Days of idleness are diminishing in number and the workers are spontaneously instituting supplementary working hours.

1300. April 22, 1920.

#### CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

The Supreme Council of National Economy is organizing into a single group all the enterprises for the manufacture of oxygen and acetylene. The purpose is to develop these manufactures.

The production of potash in the province of Saratov is expected this year to reach seventy thousand poods instead of the twenty-two thousand of last year.

#### FUEL

An article in *Pravda* points out the excellent results obtained by the use of peat coke, already employed for two years on the Alexander line and in two or three factories in Moscow. This coke can be used with advantage for the forge and without inconvenience for the foundry. It may be obtained either by rudimentary processes, as coke is obtained from wood, by the means of kilns, or pits, or by the use of special coke ovens.

#### TRANSPORTATION

The resumption of transports is proceeding rapidly on the Southern lines. In the month of March five hundred and thirty locomotives and fourteen hundred and ten complete cars underwent capital and lesser repairs. The organization of the work also has made enormous progress.

The report of the commissar of the third sector of the Kazan line, that is, in the region of Murom, indicates general and significant improvement in all the services. Orders are executed with mili-

tary precision, loading attains the fixed figure and even surpasses it sometimes. Idleness has disappeared. During the "week of the front" four hundred sixty-eight seriously damaged locomotives were repaired in addition to routine repairs.

In *Pravda*, Arski points out that in the first week of April in the entire system of Russia the number of cars loaded and unloaded has exceeded the figure fixed and reaches sixteen thousand one hundred and ninety-five, an increase of fifteen hundred over the preceding week. Similarly, the time that the cars stand idle has diminished considerably, being reduced to three days at Moscow, for example, instead of four days at the end of March. The results are insufficient, but incontestable.

#### A NEW BRIDGE

On the 29th of March, several hours before the break-up of the ice on the Volga, a bridge was opened on the Savielovo-Kaliazin-Kachin line, which is under construction. This event must be noted as the first example since the revolution of a bridge newly built on caissons. Construction, begun in 1917, was resumed in the winter of 1918, and has just been completed, thanks to the extraordinary energy of the workers and the technical personnel, who worked as much as fourteen hours a day to insure completion at the moment of the breaking up of the ice. This bridge is the shortest route between Moscow and the rich forests of the province of Cherepovets and the districts north of the province of Tver. Thus the Soviet Republic not only repairs the destruction wrought by the Whites, but also enriches the country with absolutely new roads and works.

May 2, 1920.

#### ECONOMIC SITUATION

Bukharin compares the economic situation with that in which the Soviet Republic has been from a military point of view. "On the laboring front the proletariat inherited the same ruins as in the army. The old regime of labor was nothing more than a mass of filth and debris. The first step of the workers to piece together the little that remained was the communist Saturdays. They constituted on the laboring front that which the Red Guard was formerly. The communist Saturdays embraced all Russia. There were seen to appear detachments of volunteers or partisans fighting sometimes heroically on the laboring front. Then the Soviet power accomplished the next step in realization of universal obligatory labor. The corresponding decree plays the same role as the decree for the formation of the Red Army. Since, then, we possess the necessary form, it is necessary that we place in it a content worthy of it. We must obtain the power of enthusiasm for work indispensable to overcome the crisis. We must understand the necessity for an implacable war, a regular war on the laboring front. We are already on our way. The enthusiasm for work is in process of being born. The masses understand their

duty more and more. Thus we see the regular labor army being created at this moment."

#### INDUSTRIAL AWAKENING

At Petrograd the Council of National Economy has ordered all enterprises to furnish for the 5th of May a detailed report of the products manufactured by them and the quantity of fuel utilized.

The extraordinary commission for the repair of rolling stock has noted a considerable increase in the production of the shops of the Northwest system at Petrograd. They are making repairs with great success and send locomotives to the central shops only in exceptional cases.

Recently the San Galli factory at Petrograd was still scarcely operating. It is now in full swing and its production is increasing. It is repairing the bodies of locomotives and cars, manufacturing hatchets and all kinds of material for hospitals, etc., with the same number of workers. The weight of metal worked has tripled between February and April. In the same period the value of the articles manufactured has also tripled. The factory is directed practically by a workingman president and an engineer.

The Kalinkin brewery at Petrograd has been shut down since the Yudenich invasion, when all the workers were obliged to take arms to repulse the enemy at the gates of the capital. Now it is again operating for the manufacture of starch.

A factory has just been organized at Petrograd for the production of turpentine essence. This manufacture is absolutely new for Petrograd.

#### RAILWAYS

In an article in which he indicates that the situation remains serious, and in which he urges the proletariat to redouble their efforts, Krumin notes that the average number of cars, loaded each day on the Soviet railway system has nevertheless increased about twenty-three per cent between January and March.

#### TRADE UNIONS

At Petrograd has just been held a full meeting of the council of trade unions, the purpose of which is to put into practice the last resolutions adopted by the communist congresses, as reenacted by the congresses of trade unions.

#### THE GRATEFUL PROLETARIAT

Under this title Krizhanovski describes the vast horizons which are opening to agricultural and industrial Russia, thanks to the communist regime. This article, written by one of the first engineering specialists of Russia, the creator of the ambitious plan for the electrification of the entire country, and president of the commission designated for its realization, is a symbol of the union which now exists between the scientific forces and the Soviet Government. Krizhanovski recalls that the productivity of a hectare of Russian soil is from three to six times inferior to that of a hectare in other countries. The imbecile enemies of the Soviet power reproach it because Russia now suffers from hunger, while formerly she nourished Europe. It

is true that Russia exported a fourth of her crops, but it was at the expense of her people. The proletariat and the peasant know this truth by experience. Since 1880, famine has been a recurrent phenomenon of Russian life. Extensive cultivation on an exhausted soil had become insufficiently remunerative, and the Russian peasant was obliged to emigrate to the virgin lands of Siberia. This was the case until October, 1917, when the proletariat came to the aid of the peasant. Then the peasants received two hundred and two million hectares of land of the nobles or of the crown, and were freed from a redemption tax of from four hundred to four hundred and fifty million rubles per year. Now the proletariat is preparing to give the peasants their liberty, by no means the liberty understood by the ruling classes, but rather the liberation of the man from all the debasing influence of toil, from perpetual care for his daily bread, from fear of the morrow, from stupid submission to nature. The liberty given by the proletariat to the peasants will be the destruction of ignorance, of misery; it will be the firm and sure step of the man who knows why and how it is necessary to act, it will be the domination of the forces of nature. To deliver the villages from ignorance it was necessary to destroy the privileged classes. The proletarian alone is interested in having the peasant enlightened, for then only does he become his friend and ally. But this ambitious program cannot be attained by ordinary means. Fifteen years will be necessary to repair the loss of horses in the war. Fifteen years are needed to repair the ordinary agricultural materials of peasant exploitation. To repair the ruins of the great catastrophe which has put an end to capitalism it is necessary then to employ new methods. Agriculture cannot get out of its impasse except by the support of industry. A profound and attentive mechanization of agriculture is a fundamental condition for Russian crops. Thanks to the communist regime, this ideal is capable of realization. We shall be the witnesses of the gigantic rivalry between powerful tractors and rapid electrical ploughs. Electrical energy will also play an essential part in technical cultivation, such as that of flax. Electrical current will set in motion all kinds of contrivances, facilitating the care of cattle, the manufacture of milk products, etc. Already, following upon their revolutionary experiences, the Russian people are making colossal progress. Their pacific and military alliance with the proletariat is showing itself more plainly each day. In the near future we shall see new progress towards a superior conscience and quality of human labor. The new model worker will rapidly assimilate the principles of agriculture and electrotechnical theory and practice, and will himself know how to use to his profit the electrical energy which is available in the peat deposits or in the rivers. Already the Russian peasant is demanding electric light for his homes and electric motors for his mills. Henceforth famine has ceased to dominate the Russian land. But the scientific

cultivation of the soil was not possible until the day the proletariat put an end to the arbitrary egoism of the petty proprietors, discovered the riches of the soil and the treasures of science and consecrated all its governmental forces to the service of the workers.

1441. May 4, 1920.

#### ELECTRIFICATION

The question of the electrification of the Donetz basin is on the way to realization. The entire plan will be executed in two or three seasons. Work on the construction of the electric stations in the Valdai lakes has passed the preparatory phase and will be completed next summer. The Supreme Council of National Economy has given orders to the effect that the commands necessitated by night work be executed immediately.

#### RAILROADS

The factories and shops of the Petrograd railways have in the month of March made capital repairs upon twenty-one locomotives and nine hundred and ninety-five cars as against twenty locomotives and six hundred and seven cars the preceding month.

On the Tomsk line traffic has doubled since the power of the Soviets was established. The park of locomotives is henceforth sufficient. Coal is furnished by the mines of Andjer Sudja Temirov, which are constantly increasing their production. The situation is improving every day.

#### COTTON FROM TURKESTAN

Several train-loads of cotton are en route from Turkestan to Samara and Moscow as well as the industrial centers of the Volga.

#### FOOD

The Council of People's Commissars publishes a fundamental decree and proceeds with long discussions and studies regulating the whole food question. "In order to assure a more intelligent distribution of food products among the working population of the cities, the industrial centers, and the non-agricultural population of the country, in order to increase the capacity for work and productivity, the Council of People's Commissars has decided, first, to distribute food products among the working population in conformity to a uniform system for the whole republic, the distributions being calculated according to the number of days of effective work or of legal inactivity. There will be distinguished among the workers the following groups: first, manual workers in Soviet enterprises, second, intellectual workers or those in the office of Soviet institutions; third, workers in private enterprises not exploiting the work of others. The relative proportion of rations between the first and second groups will be composed by the Commissariat of Provisioning, in accord with the Commissariat of Labor and the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions." The remaining articles of the decree anticipate the particular cases regarding invalids, the unemployed, children, the families of the mobilized, and the medical personnel during periods of epidemic.

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## Bertrand Russell in Soviet Russia

By JACOB WITTMER HARTMANN

IT IS not certain that the first expressions of a new religion or a new art will always be appreciated by outside observers for what they really are. Early Christianity, which was undoubtedly a real religious force, and which certainly bore within it the germs of a long and very impressive development of many arts, did not appear to the Roman masters as anything else than a dangerously seditious irruption which had to be suppressed at any cost. We doubt whether even the most gentle and sympathetic Romans of the Augustan period—those who deplored the massacres of Christians and were for giving them a “fair deal” with the rest of the population—had any real understanding of the mighty alteration in the mode of life of the Roman Empire which was finding its crude expression in the first stirrings of the Christian sect and in its earliest, exceedingly primitive, artistic production. Of course, those Romans who were themselves Christians, who had that sympathy with the oppressed classes that had kindled them with the flame of the new life, must have understood the importance of what was in progress; but we could not expect such understanding from even the well-disposed outsider.

It is often a source of kindly amusement to those of mature years to be obliged to hear the frenzied and inspired words of atheism spoken by the young, for it is impossible to think that such devotion to no god can be without religion. How is it that Mr. Bertram Russell could have taken so literally the man who told him in Russia a few months ago that art and religion were matters of no moment for that country? “We haven’t time for a new art any more than for a new religion,” were his exact words. Mr. Russell really

does not believe this man, for he has furnished us with all the data we need to refute him. Thus, to quote Mr. Russell:

“The Communist who sincerely believes the party creed is convinced that private property is the root of all evil; he is so certain of all this that he shrinks from no measures, however harsh, which seem necessary for constructing and preserving the communist state. He spares himself as little as he spares others. He works sixteen hours a day, and foregoes his Saturday half-holiday. He volunteers for any difficult or dangerous work which needs to be done, such as clearing away piles of infected corpses left by Kolchak or Denikin. In spite of his position of power and his control of supplies, he lives an austere life. He is not pursuing personal ends, but aiming at the creation of a new social order. The same motives, however, which make him austere make him also ruthless. Marx has taught that Communism is fatally predestined to come about; this fits in with the Oriental traits in the Russian character, and produces a state of mind not unlike the early successors of Mahomet.”\*

Here is a description that seems to register the impressions of a person who has just been in contact with a “religion” he does not understand. And note how the presence of the strange enthusiasm leads to attempts at a racial explanation, to a feeling that it is essentially “Russian”, or “Oriental”, to the surprising (for the reader) analogy with the “successors of Mahomet” (later varied by the substitution of Cromwell’s Puritans for Mahomet’s successors); at least Mr. Russell has not found a parallel in the blind nationalistic fanaticism preached by certain sections of the population of the European nations before and during the Great War. The devotion of the Russian people to the ideal of a nation that is the common

\* “Soviet Russia—1920”, by Bertrand Russell, *The Nation*, New York, July 31, 1920.

possession of the whole population (a devotion that is by no means peculiarly "Russian" or "Oriental", and that seems to be sufficiently prevalent outside of Russia to have made the masses in all countries understand perfectly well that they must do everything in their power to prevent their masters from crushing the Russian Revolution) is as near to a religion as anything that has been born in the last few centuries, and it is difficult to find parallels to a devotion so complete and self-sacrificing. Mr. Russell likes to compare the present Russian situation with that of England under Cromwell after the Revolution of 1648.

"The sincere Communists (and all the older members of the party have proved their sincerity by years of persecution) are not unlike the Puritans in their stern politico-moral purpose. Cromwell's dealings with Parliament are not unlike Lenin's with the Constitutional Assembly."

The parallel with the Cromwell period is by no means perfect. Cromwell's firmness and severity in dealing with counter-revolutionary parliaments may have been as great as Lenin's, but not his consistency of purpose and inflexible mental straightness. Cromwell was an opportunistic "revolutionist" of the type of Martin Luther, and was not opposed to making concessions that jeopardized the interests of those sections of the population that had most strongly supported the overthrow of the monarchy.\* Lenin, together with the Bolshevik group and its successor, the Russian Communist Party, has remained true to those classes that made the revolution possible, and all the severity which the present dominant party of Russia is sometimes obliged to use in order to preserve the achievements of the revolution, is directed not against those parties who insist on putting through the revolution with absolute consistency, but against those elements whose policy of concession and coalition has endangered the very existence of the new state. Cromwell's policy toward true Communists of the type of Gerard Winstanley and John Lillburne was one of opposition, repression, and persecution, which is quite different from the policy of the Russian Soviet Government and that of the party now dominant in that government.

But Mr. Russell should not be one of the first men to object to the alleged absence of art and religion in Russia, for Mr. Russell seems to be entirely irreligious. He rejoices that "English life has been based ever since 1688" upon "that kindness and tolerance which are worth all the creeds in the world," although he admits that his fellow-countrymen "do not apply to other nations or to subjects races" the dictates of this "kindness and tolerance." The fact is that Mr. Russell is a member of a class which in England as well as in other countries has no religion, no creed, and therefore is inclined to exalt as a creed, when he needs one, those practices of that class which have made its mode of life seem pleasant and exem-

plary to those who have been able to lead it. The college professor—and Mr. Russell is a distinguished mathematical scholar who occupied a chair at Oxford, and we may therefore speak of him as a college professor—who is shielded in many ways from the rude contacts to which much of the rest of the population is exposed, frequently comes to regard the privileges of his class as the common possession of the entire population. He meets persons who are cultured and refined, and who are unable to use poor English, and falls into the serious error of believing that the use of choice diction and the affectation of a "judicious attitude," of "detachment" from life's merely personal interests, are accomplishments that are accessible to the entire well-disposed section of the body-politic, eschewed only by those whose vulgar natures have denied them the faculty of appreciating such achievements. Constantly in contact with persons of modest wants, like himself, but of excellent powers of enjoyment and appreciation, he forgets that many have been excluded from the charmed circle they would love to enter (has he read "Jude the Obscure"?), and that many more, in fact, almost the whole population, have never wanted to enter it, have never wanted to lead detached lives, but have always eagerly pursued interests that have been more compelling than those of a merely kindly, detached and tolerant discussion of affairs. In fact, Mr. Russell must know that though "kindness and tolerance" be "worth all the creeds in the world," it is a view which not only is not applied to other nations or to subject races, but is not applied, except within a small group, in England either.

Real life in England is not always a gentle discussion between intellectuals; there is much vigorous hating and a strong tradition of physical violence, expressed in often cruel juvenile games and frequent resort to fisticuffs by all classes. Mr. Russell's tradition of delicacy has so completely cut him off from his own countrymen that he entirely misrepresents the really vigorous tone of English life, which is often far from kindly and tolerant.

The Russian Revolution is also not "tolerant." Every individual who took part in the great achievement of November 7, 1917, had suffered personally the blows of tyranny and economic exploitation. Through long years of preparation, the political bodies had been organized, on whom would ultimately depend the execution of the great project of overthrowing the Czarist Government. False leaders had been interposed, and for the six months before November one mass upheaval after the other had come to naught because of the readiness of these faithless ones to dilute the demands of the people in a pointless and disillusioning policy of compromise and coalition. The Soviet Government was established in November precisely because every attempt to put through a revolution by using the efforts of gentle, well-meaning "sympathizers" had failed, and because the Bolshevik Party had promised that it would carry out the

\* Eduard Bernstein, *Sozialismus und Demokratie in der Englischen Revolution*, 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1908.

Revolution without compromise, without coalition. To the Bolsheviks the masses looked for salvation, for peace, bread, and land, after all the others who had promised them these things had turned out to be deceivers.

The world knows how well the Bolsheviks and the government they founded carried out the promise to give peace, bread, and land to the people; the world also knows that it is because of its services to the Russian people in these and other ways that the Soviet Government, and its dominant party, are allowed to continue in power. And the world also knows that in this achievement of returning their possessions to the people the Soviet Government has had to encounter the opposition of every force of reaction inside and outside Russia. It has been impossible to fight all these forces with gentle means, although gentle means were more frequently applied than is commonly known. How was it possible to use gentle means against the Staff of the Seventh Army, to whom the defence of Petrograd against Yudenich had been intrusted, and which turned out to be in league with Yudenich, and preparing to hand over the city to him? How is it possible to fight active counter-revolutionists without the use of force? Do not forget that it is hard for men in power to feel that they should give up this power; Mr. Russell himself declares this to be a fact with regard to Communists; can he not see that it applies much more strongly to the great body of exploiters and parasites who ruled Russia until November, 1917?

"Almost all men, when they have acquired the habit of wielding great power, find it so delightful that they cannot voluntarily abandon it. If they were men who were originally disinterested, they will persuade themselves that their power is still necessary in the public interest; but, whether with or without self-deception, they will cling to power until they are dispossessed by force."

Perhaps such powerful elements would prefer to remain undisturbed in their kindly and tolerant discussion of what they conceive to be public affairs; and to retain this privilege of "detached" and "disinterested" discussion they are often willing to let loose on an unhappy nation all the terrors of espionage, imprisonment, exile, physical torment, and the death penalty. With such tenacity do they cling to their gentle privileges, that only force, determined force, can dislodge them.

And what shall be said of the intellectual elements who had fed from the hands of the mighty in Russia, who felt perhaps instinctively that their privilege also of "kindly and tolerant" discussion was threatened by the downfall of the class on which they depended? Did they not vigorously defend the reaction in order to keep the people from power? Did they not write against the Soviet power in counter-revolutionary papers, take part in counter-revolutionary conspiracies, conduct counter-revolutionary propaganda in foreign countries?

The first duty of a revolution is to defend itself. Self-defence requires the use of force where necessary. Revolution is first and foremost an act of force—the overthrow of an existing government—

and then the defence of the new government against such remnants of the old order as continue actively to oppose it. Every petty noble who can draft a little army and secure financing for it from foreign powers will raise such an army and hurl it against the new government; the capitalists of the whole world will unite in increasingly greater numbers for the purpose of crushing the new organization, by crippling its transportation, blowing up its bridges, burning down its factories and wireless stations, discouraging those elements who are eager to work, and destroying its stocks of food. No measures can be too stern to be used in putting down rebellious acts of this kind, and if a little of the leisure of detached non-combatants of the Russell type has had to be sacrificed in the process, we can only say that no revolution was ever made to please pacifists, and that Mr. Russell would probably not find any revolution to suit his taste.

A gentleman who had always lived among nice people and had been pleased with their pleasant manners, manners perfectly possible because no serious interests were colliding, was suddenly thrown among plain men faced with great problems, who were more concerned with the solution of their problems than with the delicacy of their methods. This is Mr. Russell's difficulty. And yet he would no doubt understand Schiller's words, spoken by Wallenstein, to the effect that the mind has room for many things, even for discordant thoughts, while space is filled with real objects, many of which collide unless carefully distributed:

Eng ist die Welt und das Gehirn ist weit.  
Leicht bei einander liegen die Gedanken,  
Doch hart im Raume stossen sich die Sachen.

Mr. Russell's own inference from his own facts should have been: Applied Socialist is being born in Russia; it has all the rudeness and animation of physical life, and it will tolerate no fooling.

\* \* \*

A CONCESSION granted by Mr. Russell is that the Mensheviks have not fared so badly under the "Bolshevik tolerance" as to be deprived of representation altogether; he admits that of the 1,500 members of the Moscow Soviet, forty are Mensheviks, although every possible hindrance is placed in the way of electioneering by opposition parties; Mr. Russell enumerates a few of these:

"In the first place, the voting is by show of hands, so that all who vote against the government are marked men. In the second place, no candidate who is not a Communist can have any printing done, the printing works being all in the hands of the state. In the third place, he cannot address any meetings, because the halls all belong to the state."

Mr. Russell's objections are the typical objections of a bourgeois democrat. And yet Mr. Russell knows perfectly well that whenever any government finds it necessary to devote all its energies to the struggle to maintain itself against external enemies—which was the case of England during the World War, and with Soviet Russia after the Revolution—many of the so-called "safeguards" of democracy must be abandoned. We are not cer-

tain that Mr. Russell's charges are correct: our direct communications from Soviet Russia are too incomplete to permit us to speak with authority on the technique of elections; but there is a certain refreshing return to the most "democratic" procedure in the picture Mr. Russell paints, of a whole nation resorting once more to direct, open, frank recording of opinion by word of mouth. No doubt the Soviet Government must withhold freedom of the press from political parties suspected of being in league with foreign and counter-revolutionary enemies; but to all genuine workers freedom of the press and of assembly are guaranteed by the constitution of the Soviet Government.

But it is difficult to believe that the Soviet Government is as "autocratic" as Mr. Russell says, even for those who have not had the information we have just given. It is true that the text of decrees concerned with the mechanism of elections is not in our possession, and we are obliged to depend on data from the mouths of those who have witnessed elections in Soviet Russia; it is not the first occasion on which we have wished that there might be complete postal and telegraphic intercourse between the United States and Soviet Russia. But there is a way of considering this question logically, even though much of the necessary data be not at hand. A government that is autocratic feels the necessity of suppressing discussion, of denying the right of assembly, of drawing the inhabitants apart rather than bringing them together. Let us see whether any effort is made to prevent people from gathering for discussion in Russia. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets, in its existence of less than three years, has already had no less than seven sessions, and is now engaged in the preparations for its eighth All-Russian session, and of course the subsidiary Soviets are holding very frequent local sessions. The pages of this weekly have from time to time printed the proceedings of workers' gatherings, and the impression one gains from the official wireless messages is that such gatherings are constantly in progress and are well attended; we had a number of recent photographs of such conferences and demonstrations in the last issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. Lenin addresses the Textile Workers' Congress; the All-Russian Congress of Wireless Operators sends out a message to the wireless operators of the world; a Congress of the Poorer Peasants of Russia meets in a brilliantly lighted hall in Moscow; teachers and librarians are constantly holding congresses of provincial as well as national scope; to one not accustomed to the present condition of affairs in Russia, the probable impression of the exceedingly active political life would be rather one of over-interest in politics, of too many meetings, of too much participation in public affairs, and we have no doubt when some gentleman of Mr. Russell's type, who has given up all interest in things political, goes to Russia and witnesses the universal love of discussion and liberation that seems to have seized that country,

he will come back with pessimistic tales of a land going to the dogs for too much democracy, for too much talk, too much attention to everyone's opinions.

\* \* \*

FINALLY, let us come to Mr. Russell's personal impressions of individual Russians of importance. He is particularly interested in Lenin, Trotsky, and Gorky. In Lenin he finds religion: "religious faith in the Marxian gospel, which takes the place of the Christian martyr's hopes of Paradise, except that it is less egotistical." It is just in Lenin that we had thought the Marxian method unmixed with elements of religion; we had rather supposed that it was the Russian masses who would transform the Marxian teaching into a religion. It is interesting that Trotsky made a more favorable impression on Mr. Russell than did Lenin; certainly there are a number of Americans who will agree from personal observations not much more than three years old that Trotsky "has bright eyes, military bearing, lightning intelligence, and magnetic personality." Russell met Gorky at Petrograd and found him in bed seriously ill. "Gorky has done all that one man could to preserve the intellectual and artistic life of Russia. But he is dying, and perhaps it is dying too." And perhaps it isn't. Gorky himself has his own ideas on the subject, which he appears not to have succeeded in communicating to Mr. Russell. We have recently seen a Swedish translation of what appears to be Gorky's latest book,\* a study of the relations of the *petit bourgeois* spirit to the Revolution, and, while we do not like to speak of a man of Mr. Russell's self-sacrificing and intellectual spirit as a *petit bourgeois*, there are many lines in this new Gorky book that make Mr. Russell appear in the light of a small man interested only in comfortable and pleasant discussion with nice people, and not in the hot, fierce breath of creation, the blast of social transformation, which is less pleasant than magnificent—but whose magnificence only those can see for whom life is more important than any of its external forms.

#### SOVIET RUSSIA AND GERMANY

According to German newspaper reports, the German representative, Gustav Hilger has arrived in Moscow and has been received by People's Commissar Chicherin. When receiving him, Comrade Chicherin declared that Russia's attitude towards Germany would be dictated by the sole wish to establish closer economic, political, and cultural relations. Temporarily, Hilger is only a semi-official representative and holds practically the same position as does the Russian representative, Comrade Kopp, in Berlin. An official resumption of diplomatic relations, therefore, is still a thing of the future.

\* *Smaborgaren och Revolutionen*, Translated by Ture Nerman, in the series "Roed Kultur", Stockholm, 1920.

## Soviet Russia and England

The real significance in a financial way of the Russian advance into Poland could be determined more nearly than at present if the real intent of the Soviet powers were recognized. As the week ended the military outlook was decidedly discouraging, but only as much of the diplomatic exchanges were coming to light as the British Premier elected to make public.—Financial Page, *New York Times*, Monday, August 9, 1920.

### I

*Note handed by M. Krassin to Mr. Lloyd George at their interview on July 29:*

"In submitting the following reply to the declaration made by the Prime Minister and other members of the British Government at the sittings of June 7, I am constrained once more to point out the abnormal conditions in which the representatives of the Soviet Government have been placed in connection with the present negotiations.

"The plenipotentiary representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, whose presence is absolutely necessary at the negotiations in the course of which the British Government has raised purely political questions, has not been admitted, whilst my own telegraphic intercourse with the Soviet Government has been very imperfect. Between twenty-five and thirty per cent of outgoing and incoming telegrams have failed to reach their destination, and numerous telegrams have been received in a highly mutilated condition.

"Nor have we succeeded up till now in organizing a courier service with any regularity, despite the promised assistance, owing to the difficulties and delays in the issue of visas by the countries through which the couriers have to pass. These circumstances not only deprive me of the possibility of promptly returning answers to questions put to me and of submitting as promptly questions on our part, but also prevent me from fully and precisely informing myself of the decisions, and intentions of my Government.

"The British Government has put forward as the main conditions of the renewal of commercial relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain the demand for a mutual pledge to cease all propaganda and hostile acts, and for the recognition in principle by the Soviet Government of Russia's liability towards private creditors.

"On the first question it is necessary to distinguish between the propaganda of communist ideas amongst laboring masses of the Western European countries and the organizing of the working class of those countries for the final struggle against the capitalist order on the one hand, and the general direction of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia against the Entente countries, particularly Great Britain, and complicity with or direct participation in, hostile acts directed against Great Britain in various countries of the Near and Middle East, including India, on the other.

"So far as the Communist propaganda and interference in the political life of Great Britain are concerned, the Soviet Government is prepared to give a formal pledge not to carry on such propaganda in England either openly or secretly, and not to interfere in her internal political life, if a general agreement is reached between the two countries concerning the renewal of economic and commercial relations and if the British Government on its part undertakes not to carry on any propaganda in Russia against the Soviet Government, provided that such undertaking does not prevent the representatives of the Soviet Government in England from issuing through the press or some other channel denials of false or deliberately perverted reports and communications regarding the fundamental principles of the Soviet Regime or incidents in the life of Soviet Russia.

As regards the general foreign policy of Soviet Russia, the Soviet Government has more than once proclaimed to the world its readiness to begin peace negotiations which alone would put an end to all hostile acts between the various States and bring about the complete restoration of peace. The Soviet Government would be perfectly willing to revise the fundamental

principles of its foreign policy, and, in particular, withdraw from all participation in hostile acts directed against Great Britain, if the British Government were to give a similar undertaking.

"The loyal fulfilment of this understanding would have to be properly guaranteed by a special treaty between the two governments, to be drawn up at a special conference composed of an equal number of representatives and experts on either side without the right of objection to any members of such conference on either part. The Soviet Government would be prepared on the question of place and time of such conference to meet the wishes of the British Government in the most liberal spirit.

"A considerable difficulty in the drawing up of such treaty is presented by the fact that Great Britain is a member of a military Coalition, some members of which are to this day directly or indirectly in a state of war with Soviet Russia and are taking part, in one way or another, in hostile acts directed against her, in consequence of which an undertaking on the part of Great Britain to stop hostile acts would lose a good deal of its importance, as it could easily be paralyzed by the action of Great Britain's Allies in continuing their assaults against Soviet Russia and in supporting her enemies by any and every means.

"It would seem, therefore, that a final settlement of this question would only be possible by the negotiations for the conclusion of a formal and definite peace.

"The British Government makes it a preliminary condition for the restoration of commercial relations between the two countries that the Soviet Government recognize in principle the liabilities of the Russian State towards private creditors.

"Such formation of the question obviously tends to the disadvantage of Soviet Russia, since in consequence of the nationalization of land, factories and works, as well as of commerce, the greater portion of the private claims on the Russian side has been transformed into state claims, and Soviet Russia, therefore, in case of an unqualified acceptance of the above claim of the British Government, would risk losing the preferential right to put forward a large number of quite incontrovertible claims of her own.

"The liabilities to private persons form but a fraction of the mutual liabilities of the two countries, and there is absolutely no ground to put forward for accepting, in the order of priority, this particular fraction of the mutual liabilities. The argument that the British business world would, without such recognition, never agree to resume trade negotiations with Russia is refuted by the numerous declarations of British business men anxious to resume such relations as soon as the obstacles raised by the British Government in their way have been removed.

"Such declarations frequently emanate precisely from such British industrialists and business men who have claims on Russia, as these business men quite justly think that, in the absence of all possibility in the near future for ruined Russia to pay the claims of her creditors, the immediate resumption of trade relations will constitute the best and probably the only means of gaining such advantage through regular intercourse with Soviet Russia as may in the next few years more than meet such claims.

"The demand to recognize private claims has for its object to protect in the first place the interests of those capitalist circles of Great Britain who have already taken full advantage, with great profit to themselves, of the war of 1914-1918, and are now trying to exploit to perhaps still greater advantage to themselves, the winding up of that war. The workers' and peasants' government of Soviet Russia cannot pos-

sibly recognize the interests of this particular section of the population as the most important and as deserving preferential treatment.

"On the contrary, from the point of view of the Soviet Government, primary importance and urgency attach to the private claims against the Entente Powers on the part of the hundreds of widows and orphans of workers and peasants of the Soviet Russia, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Siberia, whose kith and kin have perished from British and French bullets and shells during the so-called intervention, that is, the wholly uncalled-for interference of the Entente in the internal affairs of Russia. Russian debts towards British subjects were contracted as the result of certain agreements or undertakings entered upon in respect of such persons by the previous Government of Russia.

"Such agreements and undertakings towards British subjects were, however, annulled by the acts of the British Government itself at the moment when it began war and intervention against Soviet Russia and proclaimed a blockade, having for its object to compel the Russian people, by famine and privation, to renounce the form of government which it had chosen after having overthrown the autocratic Czarist regime.

"Hence the question at issue at the present moment cannot possibly be the recognition of treaties and agreements abrogated by the war, but only their restoration—an act which is only possible after the Soviet Government has been officially recognized as the result of peace negotiations and the signing of a peace treaty.

"The Soviet Government agrees to the examination of all mutual claims, including those arising from liabilities towards private British subjects in conjunction with peace negotiations at a conference to be held on the basis of an equal number of delegates and experts without the right of objection to anyone on either side.

"If the British Government regards the immediate clearing up of all misunderstandings and frictions in the domain of foreign policy and in particular the cessation of all hostile acts in the Middle and Near East, as well as the immediate settlement of material claims on the basis of reciprocity as necessary and urgent, the Soviet Government will be prepared to meet such desire half way, but does not regard, for reasons of principle as well as on actual practical grounds, an agreement on such points as possible, except as the result of formal negotiations for the restoration of peace relations between the two countries.

"Should the British Government be unwilling to enter into such official negotiations for the restoration of peace relations between the two countries, the immediate resumption of economic and commercial relations appears, nevertheless, possible, on the following basis:

1. All controversial questions in the domain of foreign policy, as well as those relating to the participation of individual Governments in coalitions, alliances, and individual enterprises of a hostile character to the other country, as well as all questions relating to the mutually material claims of Governments and subjects, are to be postponed until such time as they may be settled by diplomatic methods at the Peace Conference.

2. The two Governments immediately proclaim the resumption of economic and commercial relations, and announce the temporary suspension of the material claims of the Russian State and Russian subjects against Great Britain and the British Empire, and of British subjects against Russia, pending the settlement of the question at the Peace Conference.

3. The fundamental principles for the resumption of trading relations are immediately established, including:

- a. Concrete measures for the removal of mines in the Baltic and other seas, as well as other measures for the safety of navigation.

- b. An official announcement to all neutral countries about the renewal of commercial relations be-

tween Russia and Great Britain and the complete freedom of navigation from and to Russian ports.

- c. The establishment of commercial representations in the two countries on the basis of reciprocity and immunity, with the right of free sojourn, travel, communication with other countries by letter, telegram and courier and the use of cypher.

- d. An agreement by which passports, certificates of identity, powers of attorney, protocols, agreements, and such like documents issued or certified by the authorities of one country are recognized as valid in the other country on the basis of reciprocity.

"With particular regard to Clause (c), I have the honor to add that the suggestion made by the British Prime Minister about applying to commercial representatives the principle of prior consent to their appointment on the part of the Government of the other country is unacceptable to the Soviet Government, since, from the point of view of the bourgeois governments of Europe who, on principle, are opposed to the Soviet regime, every representative of the Soviet Government might be treated as *persona non grata*.

"The reference to the agreement concluded by myself in Sweden does not refute, but, on the contrary, bears out the point of view of the Soviet Government, since the consent given to this reservation in their agreement with Sweden is already bringing about the impossibility of establishing commercial representation of Soviet Russia in Sweden.

"The Soviet Government, being anxious as much as possible to meet the wishes of the British Government, will not object to the right of each Government to insist upon the immediate recall of such members of the trade delegation of the other country, with regard to whom an infringement of the laws of the country in which they reside, or, in particular, participation in political propaganda or interference in the internal affairs of the country, will save been proved.

"In conclusion, on behalf of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, I have the honor once more to bring under the notice of the British Government and the entire British people, and particularly the British laboring masses, that it is the most urgent and earnest wish of the Government of Soviet Russia and of the entire Russian people, to conclude at the earliest possible date a full and general peace, without reservation, with all the powers who in recent years have taken part in hostile acts against her."

## II

*Mr. Lloyd George's reply was handed to M. Krassin on the eve of his departure for Moscow on July 1:*

"The British Government has given careful consideration to the Memorandum of June 29, produced by M. Krassin, on the negotiations which have been proceeding since the arrival of the Russian Delegation at the end of May. The British Government has, during the course of these negotiations, shown its sincere desire to end the isolation of Russia from the Western world and to reach an agreement for the resumption of trading relations which might pave the way to a general peace.

"They do not think that any useful purpose will be served at this moment by attempting a detailed reply to the Russian Trade Delegation Memorandum or by entering into arguments of a recriminatory character. The negotiations have now reached a stage where it is necessary to bring them to an issue. It is not clear from M. Krassin's Memorandum whether the Soviet Government really desires the restoration of trading relations or not, or what are the conditions upon which it is willing to resume them.

"In order, therefore, to arrive at a definite decision, the British Government now repeats what it has declared throughout, that it is willing to make an agreement for the mutual cessation of hostilities and the re-

sumption of trading relations with Russia, and asks for categorical replies, yes or no, as to whether Russia is prepared to enter into a trade agreement with the British Empire and other powers on the following conditions:

"1. That each party refrains from hostile action or undertaking against the other and from conducting any official propaganda, direct or indirect, against the institutions of the other party; and, more particularly, that the Soviet Government will refrain from any attempt by military action or propaganda to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against British interests or the British Empire. For reasons already given, this, in the opinion of the British Government, is the fundamental condition of any trading agreement between Russia and any Western Power.

"Trade is only possible under conditions of peace or armistice. The British Government proposes what is tantamount to a general armistice as the condition of the resumption of trade relations, in the hope that this armistice may lead ere long to a general peace.

"2. That all British subjects in Russia should be immediately permitted to return home, all Russian subjects in Great Britain or other parts of the British Empire who desire to return to Russia being similarly released.

"3. That the Soviet Government, in return for a corresponding undertaking from the British Government, agrees to recognize in principle that it is liable to pay compensation to private citizens who have supplied goods or service to Russia for which they have not been paid. The British Government asks for some declaration of this kind at the present time because it believes something of this nature is essential to the effective starting of trade between the two countries.

"It considers it a matter of simple justice, for instance, that where a merchant has supplied the Russian people with a thousand ploughs which have been used or are still being used by the Russian people to their own great benefit, that the Russian people should admit that they ought to pay that merchant and the workmen who manufactured the ploughs for the goods and services they have rendered. Unless Soviet Russia is prepared to admit that it must deal with those whom it now wishes to trade on some recognized principles of justice, trade on a large scale such as is desired on both sides will be found to be practically impossible. The British Government does not ask that these debts should be settled now.

"It is prepared to leave the determination of Russia's liabilities under this head as well as all other questions relating to debts or claims by Great Britain on Russia or by Russia on Great Britain to be mutually settled at the negotiations of peace. But it considers it necessary that the Soviet Government should make a declaration on this point in order to give the necessary confidence to Western merchants, manufacturers and workers to embark upon manufacturing and trading operations.

"4. The British Government agrees to the conditions laid down by the Soviet Government in regard to commercial facilities, communications and so forth, provided that they are mutual and excepting that it cannot agree to surrender the right possessed by every civilized Government, and which it freely accords to the Soviet Government also, to object to the entry as an official agent of any Government of any person who is non-grata to itself.

"It asserts, however, that it has no intention of debarring any Russian on the ground of his Communist opinions, provided the agents of the Russian Government comply with the normal conditions for friendly international intercourse.

"The British Government now awaits a definite statement from the Soviet Government as to whether it will accept these principles as the basis of an agreement to

reopen trade negotiations between Russia and the British Empire and any other power willing to accept the same conditions. If an answer is returned in the affirmative the British Government will be willing to discuss details with any experts or representatives which Soviet Russia may nominate, except such as have already been refused.

"Should, however, no affirmative reply be obtained within one week of the presentation of this Note, the British Government will regard the negotiations at an end, and in view of the declared unwillingness of the Soviet Government to cease its attacks upon the British Empire will take counsel with its Allies as to the measures required to deal with the situation."

### III

*The text of the Soviet Government's acceptance of the foregoing offer of the British Government is reproduced below:*

"Complying with the desire of the British Government and with the object of arriving at an early peace between Russia and Great Britain, the Russian Soviet Government accepts the principles laid down in the Allied memorandum transmitted on July 1 by the British Government to the President of the Russian Delegation, Krassin, as the basis of an agreement between Russia and Great Britain, which agreement will be the object of negotiations, which must begin without delay, between both Governments.

"The Soviet Government agrees that the plan proposed by the British Government will have to be considered as a state of armistice between Russia and Great Britain, and shares the British Government's expectation that this armistice will pave the way to a definite peace. At the same time the Soviet Government protests against the affirmation, contrary to the real facts, relative to the presumed attacks of Soviet Russia upon the British Empire.

"The Soviet Government emphasizes once more that as to Soviet Russia in her relations with Great Britain, she desires nothing but peace, and that the absence of the same disposition on the other side was the only cause preventing it from being as yet attained."

### IV

*Note from Lord Curzon from Spa to Chicherin on July 11, demanding an armistice for the Poles, and asking for a reply within a week:*

"The British Government notes the acceptance by the Russian Soviet Government of the principles laid down in its memorandum of July 1, as the basis of an agreement for the resumption of trade relations and the cessation of mutual hostilities, and it therefore agrees to continue the negotiations for a definite trade agreement as soon as the Russian delegates return.

"The British Government has a further proposal to make. The Soviet Government of Russia has repeatedly declared its anxiety to make peace with all its neighbors; the British Government, which is no less anxious to restore peace throughout Europe, therefore proposes the following arrangement with this object in view:

"a. That an immediate armistice be signed between Poland and Soviet Russia whereby hostilities shall be suspended. The terms of this armistice should provide on the one hand that the Polish army shall immediately withdraw to the line provisionally laid down last year by the Peace Conference as the Eastern Boundary within which Poland was entitled to establish a Polish Administration; this line runs approximately as follows: Grodno, Vapovka, Nemirov, Brest-Litovsk, Dorugusk, Ustilug east of Grubeshov, Krilov, and thence west of Rawka Ruska east of Przemysl to Carpathians. North of Grodno, the line which will be held by the Lithuanians will run along the railway running from Grodno to Vilna and thence to Dvinsk.

"On the other hand, the armistice should provide that the armies of Soviet Russia should stand at a distance of fifty kilometers to the east of this line; in Eastern Galicia each army will stand on the line which they occupy at the date of the signature of the armistice.

"b. That, as soon as possible thereafter, a Conference sitting under the auspices of the Peace Conference, should assemble in London, to be attended by representatives of Soviet Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Finland, with the object of negotiating a final peace between Russia and its neighboring states.

"Representatives of Eastern Galicia would also be invited to London to state their case for the purpose of this Conference. Great Britain will place no restriction on the representatives which Russia may nominate, provided that they undertake while in Great Britain not to interfere in the politics or the internal affairs of the British Empire or to indulge in propaganda.

"The British Government as a separate proposal suggests that an armistice should similarly be signed between the forces of Soviet Russia and General Wrangel, on the condition that General Wrangel's forces, shall immediately retire to the Crimea, and that during the armistice the Isthmus be a neutral zone and that General Wrangel be invited to London to discuss the future of troops under his command and the refugees under his protection, but not as a member of the Conference.

"The British Government would be glad of an immediate reply to this telegram, for the Polish Government has asked for the intervention of the Allies, and if time is lost a situation may develop which will make the conclusion of lasting peace far more difficult in Eastern Europe; further, while the British Government had bound itself to give no assistance to Poland for any purpose hostile to Russia and to take no action itself hostile to Russia, it is also bound under the Covenant of the League of Nations to defend the integrity and independence of Poland within its legitimate ethnographic frontiers.

"If therefore Soviet Russia, despite its repeated declarations accepting the independence of Poland, will not be content with the withdrawal of the Polish armies from Russian soil on the condition of a mutual armistice, but intends to take action hostile to Poland in its own territory, the British Government and its Allies would feel bound to assist the Polish nation to defend its existence with all the means at its disposal.

"The Polish Government has declared its willingness to make peace with Soviet Russia and to initiate negotiations for an armistice on the basis of conditions set out above, directly it is informed that Soviet Russia also agrees. The British Government therefore would be glad of a definite reply within a week as to whether Soviet Russia is prepared to accept the aforesaid proposal for putting an end to further unnecessary bloodshed and giving peace to Europe."

## V

*Text of the Soviet Republic's reply to the Allied ultimatum of July 11:*

The Russian Soviet Government is the more pleased to acknowledge the declaration of the British Government of its desire to contribute to the establishment of a general peace in Eastern Europe, as even quite recently, at the time when the complications between Russia and Poland were developing, which led to the Polish advance against Russia and the Ukraine, the British Government, unfortunately, did not manifest the same desire to contribute to the cause of peace in Eastern Europe. Earlier, also—namely, at the time when Soviet Russia was trying to obtain peace with the Border States—the British Government did not support the attainment of this aim, and, again, when the Estonian Government was preparing to conclude peace with Soviet Russia in December of last year it received a warning in the name of the Supreme Council.

The present change in the attitude of Great Britain on the question of peace between Soviet Russia and other States is in complete harmony with the wishes of Soviet Russia, whose desire to live in peace with all other States, to which reference is made in the last communication of the British Government, remains firm and unalterable.

Regarding Poland, likewise, in spite of the latter's wanton aggression against the Soviet Republic, Soviet Russia remains as faithful as before to the principles she has proclaimed so often, and to her earnest desire of establishing peaceful relations with all peoples.

The question, however, of the cessation of the armed struggle between Russia and Poland will be unfavorably influenced by the fact that on the part of the Polish Government there has been no direct declaration to the Soviet Government regarding its wish to conclude peace. Numerous utterances of representatives of the Polish people have come to the knowledge of the Soviet Government in which they express themselves in an extremely bitter sense as to the British Government's political action on this question, and information has been likewise published in the Press as to a decision of the Polish Diet to reject the proposal of an armistice with Soviet Russia.

The Soviet Government must, therefore, consider with some caution such proposals so far as they do not come directly from the Government and as long as the danger exists that the attitude of the Polish Government will not correspond to the declarations of other Governments which speak in its name.

The necessity of a direct communication from the Polish Government to the Soviet Government in this case is the more urgent as the past attitude of the British Government in the conflict between Poland and Russia can hardly be considered as a reason for assuming the role of mediating between these two governments.

If at the time when the Polish Republic was preparing its wanton aggression against Russia and the Ukraine the British Government not only made no attempts at hindering this aggression, but even left without any answer the communication of the Soviet Government to the Entente Governments on this question; if at the time when the Polish offensive has had, as a result, military disaster for Poland, the British Government tries to assume the role of mediator in order to suspend the hostilities that have become so disastrous for Poland, the position which results for the British Government from this line of action is such that it deprives it of the role of an impartial third party which would alone render possible its mediation between the belligerents.

It is necessary to remind the British Government, likewise, that it has itself described the state created by the adoption by Russia of its memorandum of July 1 as a state of armistice, and that it has, therefore, described itself in this way as a belligerent waging war against Soviet Russia—a fact that can in no way create a normal basis for the recognition of its role of mediator between Soviet Russia and another belligerent.

Regarding the British Government, the Russian Government has in its answer to the memorandum of July 1 made an absolutely conciliatory declaration, including the acceptance of all the demands of the British Government. It has thus shown its anxious desire to remove completely all conflicts and to obtain a definite peace with Great Britain. It desires, likewise, to establish peace with Poland, and in the attainment of this aim it considers direct negotiations with Poland without any "immixion" from outside, as necessary as direct negotiations with Great Britain in its relations with the latter.

The Soviet Government is the less inclined to accept the proposed mediator for the negotiations with Poland as the reconciliation with Poland (which it earnestly desires) can only be hampered in such a case, in view of the subordinate position which Poland's interest and fate, in comparison with interests foreign to Poland,



are occupying in the domain of relations between Soviet Russia and a third power.

With a frankness which can alone completely remove all misunderstandings between the two governments, the Soviet Government ventures to recall to the British Government that, when one of its members defended in the House of Commons the help given to Denikin and Kolchak, he justified this line of action of the Government by the argument that the struggle of Denikin and Kolchak against the Soviet Government presumably helps towards the defense of Indian and of British interests in Asia; in general, against the dangers which are alleged to threaten them.

Not long ago, when the Head of the British Government was negotiating with the Head of the Russian Trade Delegation regarding the resumption of trade relations, he referred to the relations between Russia and the numerous other States as to facts that can have some influence upon the commercial relations between Russia and Great Britain.

The Soviet Government is of opinion that reconciliation with Poland can be successfully accomplished only in case the interests of both parties are taken into consideration, seeing that these interests can easily be reconciled; and this aim will be, on the contrary, extremely hard to attain if these interests are subordinated to the interests of a third Power.

The laboring masses of Russia desire full and complete reconciliation with Poland, and, in order to attain this aim the Soviet Government considers it necessary to remove from the action of reconciliation all that does not belong to the interests and desires of the two peoples and Governments.

In the matter of reconciliation with Poland the Soviet Government finds it necessary to consider, besides the interests and desires of the Russian laboring masses, only the interests and desires of the Polish laboring masses, and it finds it therefore possible to attain peace with Poland only through direct negotiations with the latter.

It must also point out that it has already obtained without foreign "immixion," complete reconciliation with three neighboring States, and that Esthonia has concluded peace with Russia, in spite of the warning of the Supreme Council; that the treaty between Russia and Georgia has been, at the moment of the negotiations between the Head of the Russian Trade Delegation and the Head of the British Government, a complete surprise for the latter; and that the British Government was deprived of all information regarding the peace between Russia and Lithuania when, in its ultimatum of July 12, it pointed to Lithuania as to one of the Border States with which Russia has still to obtain peace.

The Soviet Government thinks that it can, with the same success, obtain peace with Poland through direct negotiations as it did with three other neighboring States.

The Soviet Government considers still less admissible the interference in the cause of peace between Russia and Poland of the group of governments called the League of Nations, whose covenant is quoted by the British Government in its ultimatum of July 12.

The Russian Government has never received from the so-called League of Nations any communication as to its creation and existence, and it has never had the opportunity of adopting a decision about the recognition or non-recognition of this association of States.

When acquainting itself from unofficial press sources with the covenant of the so-called League of Nations, the Soviet Government could not leave unnoticed the fact that, according to Article 17, the non-members in case of a conflict with members of the so-called League of Nations can be invited to submit to its decision as if they were members. The Soviet Government can in no way agree that one group of powers should assume the role of supreme body over all the States

of the world; and watching over the full inviolability of the sovereign rights of the Russian laboring people the Soviet Government absolutely rejects the pretensions of any foreign groups of Powers claiming to assume the role of supreme masters of the fate of other nations.

It absolutely rejects, therefore, every "immixion" of this association in the cause of peace between Russia and Poland.

Direct negotiations with Poland are in full harmony with the wishes of the Soviet Government, and it declares therefore, that if the Polish Government addresses to Russia a proposal to enter into peace negotiations the Soviet Government will not reject its proposal, and will also consider in the most friendly spirit any subsidiary proposal as to an armistice or some other means intended to facilitate peace negotiations.

The Soviet Government also expresses its willingness to agree to a territorial frontier more favorable for the Polish people than the frontiers indicated by the Supreme Council in December last, and proposed once more by the British Government in its ultimatum of July 12.

The Soviet Government cannot leave without notice the fact that this frontier was elaborated by the Supreme Council in some parts under the pressure of counter-revolutionary Russian elements, adherents of the Russian capitalist and landed class, and that, for example, as to the region of Kholm, the decision of the Supreme Council clearly reflected the influence of these counter-revolutionary elements and followed the wishes of the anti-Polish policy of the Czarist and Russian imperialist capitalist class on this question.

Soviet Russia is willing, in general, as to the peace conditions with Poland, to meet the wishes and interests of the Polish people the more fully, the more the Polish people in its internal life enters upon the path creating a solid basis for really fraternal relations between the laboring masses of Poland, Russia, Ukraine, White Russia, and Lithuania, and creates guarantees that Poland will cease to be an instrument of aggression and intrigue against the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia and other countries.

As a separate proposal, the British Government has put forth the idea of an armistice between Russia and the mutinous ex-General Wrangel. The Soviet Government, however, cannot shut its eyes upon the indissoluble connection between the military operations of Wrangel, which were supported by the Entente Powers, and the Polish campaign against Russia and the Ukraine. This close connection found its expression in the negotiations and the military agreement between Wrangel and the representatives of the Polish Government.

Wrangel's offensive, which coincided with the advance of the Polish Army in the Ukraine, was only a subsidiary military manoeuvre aiming at rendering more difficult the struggle of the Russian and Ukrainian troops against the Polish aggressor, and at facilitating the latter's task. The army and administration of Wrangel, being almost completely deprived of sources of revenue of their own, exist almost entirely with the financial help received from some Entente Powers.

His military operations are carried out exclusively with the help of the war material sent by these Powers. This war material is brought to him on British ships or from harbors under British occupation, and the proposal itself regarding Wrangel in the British ultimatum of July 12, in which the British Government decides for Wrangel that he will come to London for the discussion of the fate of his troops, shows with complete evidence that he is only a subordinate agent of the British Government and partly of its Allies.

The Soviet Government, in its wish to obtain peace with the British Government, and wishing to meet the latter's desires, confirms once more its willingness to guarantee personal safety to the mutinous ex-General Wrangel, to all persons belonging to his army, and to

the refugees under his protection, on the condition of immediate and full capitulation and of surrender to the Soviet authorities of all the territory he occupies and of all the war material, stores, buildings, means of communication, and so on in his power on the same terms as was proposed by the Soviet Government with reference to the Northern Government of the ex-General Miller.

The Soviet Government cannot, however, remain indifferent to the repeated attempts of the British Government to transform the Crimean Peninsula into an inviolable permanent asylum for the mutinous general and for other mutineers who, in fact, are the British Government's subordinate agents, and thus really to render the Crimean Peninsula a British Dependency. It is impossible not to mention that, at the time when the Archangel and the Murmansk region was in the same subordinate position to Britain, the British authorities ruled there unrestrained, and acted as the Supreme Power, devastating the whole region, wasting its natural resources, and exporting to Britain as much as possible of its riches.

The bearer of the will and the representative of the interests of the Russian laboring people, the Soviet Government, cannot remain indifferent to any violation of its vital interests and of the inviolability of its territory, and it protests most strongly against the attempt of Great Britain to annex in fact the Crimean Peninsula.

It must be pointed out that the present proposal of the British Government is a violation of its preceding proposal, which became an obligation, after having been adopted by the Soviet Government, regarding the cessation of any help and support to ex-General Wrangel. The Soviet Government is, therefore, of opinion that the greatest possible concession on its part—a concession which is the outcome of its anxious desire to come to terms with the British Government—is its willingness to agree to the capitulation of ex-General Wrangel and of his troops, with the guarantee of their personal safety.

The Soviet Government thinks that the proposal to convoke in London a Conference of representatives of Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Finland, is the outcome of insufficient information of the British Government as to the relations between the Russian Republic and her neighbors. The peace treaty between Russia and Lithuania was signed on July 12, and the negotiations between Russia and Latvia, and Russia and Finland are being carried on independently without foreign interference, and their further continuance on the same lines is the best pledge of their successful result.

Being animated with the most earnest desire to put an end to all conflicts between Russia and Great Britain, and to the struggle between them, and to obtain a definite peace with Great Britain, the Soviet Government rests its hopes upon the Delegation which it sends to London, with additional members, for the

purpose of carrying on negotiations with the British Government on the basis of the British Memorandum of July 1, and of the reply of the Soviet Government of July 7, in order to obtain a full agreement with Great Britain. This aim will be attained the more successfully if all new and strange elements which can only do harm to the beginning of an improvement in the relations between Russia and Great Britain are kept aside.

(Signed),

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, CHICHERIN.

## VI

To Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, Foreign Office, London.

I am instructed by Mr. Chicherin to acknowledge your message of July 2, Number 1312, transmitted through the Russian Trade Delegation in London, and to point out that the Russian Government are in possession of a number of undoubted informations about the continuation of help to Wrangel by Great Britain. In particular Batum continued to be the supply base for Crimea. Small craft with supplies of war materials were being daily despatched to Wrangel from Batum. The British authorities in Batum were arresting workmen who refused to load these supplies. A transport of war material, petroleum and benzine loaded for Crimea on June 17, was put on fire by the workers in Batum port. At same time the British authorities organized in Batum recruiting of soldiers for dispatch to Crimea. Several thousand men were recruited in Batum in short time, middle of June. The Governor General of Batum declared to the representative of volunteer army, General Drotzenko, that England has sent out to Wrangel two thousand guns besides horses. Middle June British ships transported in great numbers from Batoum to Theodosia, and Sebastopol Cossacks going to join Wrangel. On June 21 a large steamer loaded with various war material and goods for Wrangel was to leave Batoum for Crimea. The Russian seamen refused to carry the goods to the volunteer army. When attempt was made to replace them by Englishmen, the Russians raised anchor, intending to go out into the open sea, but the steamer was sunk by gun fire of British batteries. *The Daily Express* of June 25, brings an account of its Constantinople correspondent of how the British authorities are forcibly sending Russians from Turkey to Sebastopol, where they are made to enlist in Wrangel's army, under threat of being hanged. These few individual facts picked out of a large number in our possession afford undeniable proof that Great Britain or its agents continue to give support to Wrangel and that all the inferences the Russian Government formerly drew from these facts thus remain in force.

LITVINOV.

Copenhagen, July 19, 1920.  
Hotel Cosmopolite.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

New York City, August 8, 1920.

IN THE *Detroit Times* of July 20, 1920, I firmly stated that "unless there is an armistice, the Polish capital will be occupied by the Soviets within three or four weeks."

This was not a prophecy or an optimistic supposition; my declaration was simply an inference from the military situation of both belligerents, as well as the political and strategical condition of the rest of the world.

Such a strategical center as Warsaw may be captured only if the Polish army has suffered complete defeat on the battlefields. Conversely, once this defeat has been accomplished, the fall of Warsaw is certain. The Germans were unable to capture Paris in 1914, because General Joffre, by skillful manoeuvring, on the one hand, succeeded in withdrawing his army beyond Paris, practically intact, and the vigorous Russian invasion of East Prussia, on the other hand, forced the Ger-

### The Military Situation in European Russia on August 8, 1920



The heavy dotted lines indicate the Polish and Crimean fronts. The lighter dotted line indicates the Polish front as it was on July 18, 1920. The line of small crosses indicates the farthest Polish advance before the present drive of the Russian armies.

mans to make a regroupment of their forces that was most unfavorable for their strategy.

In spite of several tactical reverses, which the Anglo-French army suffered while falling back, the Germans were unable to force their enemy to accept a decisive battle; on the contrary, the Anglo-French armies were able to accomplish a concentration and to complete their mobilization.

As soon as the German General Staff understood that the Anglo-French field army had succeeded in escaping the general battle, the German army stopped its dash on Paris, and took the defensive, thus permitting the Allies to counter-attack, which resulted in the first serious tactical reverses of the invaders on the Marne. Then the Great War lost its manoeuvring character (*Bewegungskrieg*) and became a war of purely positional type (*Stellungskrieg*). This was the German method of warfare, and is commonly known as trench-warfare and the reason for it was that the Germans were first of all concerned with keeping their fighting forces as long as possible on the enemy's territory with the least possible losses, thus preventing their adversary from reaching their strategical objective—Berlin. There cannot be any doubt that Germany succeeded in this absolutely. German territory was occupied by the Allies only after the armistice was signed in France, and finally, the German people escaped the most terrible possibility of the war—invasion by the Allies.

Quite different is the Polish situation at present.

Polish strategy aimed at Moscow as its objective, and the Poles directed all their efforts to find the main Russian army, in order to challenge it in decisive battle and destroy it, thus opening for them the gates of the Russian capital.

The Polish General Staff, thanks to the unreadiness of the Russian Red Army on the western front, succeeded in concentrating its armies and finally found its enemy's main forces east of the Berezina and Dnieper rivers, thus accomplishing two important strategical tasks of the planned campaign. Now the Poles had to defeat the Russians. In order to do this, the Polish command sent to the battle front not only all its first and second lines armies, but also the greater part of its strategical reserves, a fact which now is fully established. So the Poles have had practically all their fighting forces in the field against Russia. But, unfortunately for them, they were unable to defeat the Soviet armies, but were defeated themselves, and finally the main bulk of their tactical body, their field army, was annihilated. After a careful study of the way in which the retreat of the fragments of the beaten Polish armies was carried out, their fighting body is seen to be in panic-stricken flight, with the pursuers at their heels. The Russians are speedily pressing the beaten enemy towards Warsaw—and Lemberg.

Therefore, in spite of all the endeavors of the Entente press to assure public opinion that the Polish army can be reorganized and will recover its fighting ability for further resistance to the

Soviet Army, I can state that the Polish field army is completely beaten and that the gates of Warsaw are wide open to the victorious Red Army.

The Russian Red General Staff well knows that it will have no difficulty in entering Warsaw, but its main idea is not so much to capture the Polish capital as to force the Entente to accept the terms dictated by Soviet Russia from Moscow. We must not neglect the fact that at the present moment the Russian strategy supporting the diplomacy of the Soviets. First of all, the supreme military command of the Red Army directs its forces to preventing the Entente from supporting the beaten Poles by sending them fresh reinforcements through the so-called corridor with a landing base at Danzig. In order to accomplish this, the Northern Russian army, basing itself on Bialostok, captured Lamzha, about sixty-five miles northwest of Warsaw, and occupied Mlava, about seventy miles northwest of Warsaw, thus threatening the communications of the Polish capital with Danzig through the corridor built by the Allies.

The Red Russian Army in the northern part of the battle front is very strong and fully ready to meet any attempt of the Entente to support the Poles, in case this foolish and militarily abortive measure should be resorted to by the senseless Anglo-French military leaders. In one of my former articles I have already explained the reason why the Allies would be unable to reinforce the Polish fighting body with their troops—I repeat again that it is an impossibility no less than the suggestion that England might involve Europe and America in a new war with Russia. The Poles themselves understand this, and in distress and fear they appeal to President Wilson for moral support. An army which needs such support from the outside is no longer an army at all.

There cannot be any doubt that the Red Army's vanguard is already in the sphere of defense of the Polish capital in spite of conflicting reports from Poland. Already on August 4, the Associated Press informed us that in some sectors the Red cavalry was seen 36 miles from Warsaw.

The first rumors of a possible armistice found me in Detroit, Michigan, and I was asked by the representatives of the local press to make a statement about its possibility. It was about July 19 when the Russian Red Army was east of Brest-Litovsk, and Bielostok was still held by the Poles.

"As a military man, I hope there is no armistice," I stated, "only through defeating the Poles will Russia be safe from other attacks. Poland forced the war on Russia, though my country made several overtures to prevent it. Unless the Allies stop backing Poland in its unwarranted warfare, they will regret it later.

"I am against an armistice for the same reason that I was against the armistice with Germany. The Allies and United States should have gone to Berlin. Though they won the war tactically, they lost it strategically. Such would be the case, I fear, should Russia treat with Poland now." (The Detroit Times, July 20, 1920.)

Naturally, the Russian Soviets are seeking peace, and they would not have rejected an armistice in the moment when the circumstances were such as to allow its acceptance, but there cannot be room for an armistice, when the victory is in the hands of the Red Army and when one hour of vacillation or delay may be disastrous to the victor.

Therefore it is clear why Lloyd George and Millerand are doing their utmost to arrest the victorious advance of the Red Army even for ten days. This time will be sufficient for the Poles to bring the fragments of their beaten army into a certain order, and to receive from their supporters their "moral" help, which will not prevent the final disaster and only prolong the premature agony of the Polish militarism. According to the *New York Times* of August 9 (*Associated Press*, August 8):

Before receipt in Moscow of the note dispatched as a result of Friday's conference between Premier Lloyd George and Leo Kamenev of the Russian delegation, today's announcement says, the Soviet Government instructed its delegation to communicate to the British Government the following statement:

"Resultant on acceptance by Poland of the armistice terms, which will deal principally with reduction of her armed strength, the Soviet Republic will be prepared to begin withdrawal of her troops to the line drawn by the Supreme Council in 1918 and indicated again by Earl Curzon (British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), in his note of July 20 to M. Chicherin (Bolshevist Foreign Minister), and considerably to reduce the number of Soviet troops on this line if the Allies, particularly France, undertake not to advance and not to support any advance against Soviet Russia on any front and to withdraw General Wrangel's army from the Crimea."

There is no doubt that Moscow is standing firm on its decision and does not show any confidence in the promises and "guaranties" of the Entente. On the other hand the Russian people know well that the Allied blockade still is hanging over Russia and was never lifted, as it is alleged, and therefore to threaten Russians with a new blockade would be fruitless. A new performance on the seas, which England and France may stage for their "democracies", is the senseless bombardment of certain Russian ports, even Kronstadt and Petrograd included, but the results of such a game would be the same as they were in the past; serious experts, I am sure, will share my opinion.

The sufferers would be only those countries which have just begun to trade, thinking the seas are open for them, and Great Britain herself will suffer most of all, and she knows it.

Soviet Russia has broken through the *cordon sanitaire* of Clemenceau, and in spite of the British blockade on the seas, Russia will still be able to continue her fighting for freedom and justice, and she will win. Let the Allies take the matter seriously, let them understand that Italy has parted company with their criminal coalition, and there are many other nations in Europe which are far from joining in their new plot against Soviet Russia.

According to the latest news from Paris (*New York Times*, August 9), the Reds are massing troops in the region of Mlava, north of the capital,

for a drive upon Warsaw, in conjunction with the movement of troops from the east. "The Bug river was crossed by the Reds on a wide front," the gessage says, and there can be no doubt that the Warsaw-Danzig railroad has already been cut.

The Red Army is so close to the capital that its siege artillery already started the bombardment of the outer forts of Warsaw on Friday. There is no danger to the city, however, because these forts are very near the town, but the fall of one of them means the capture of Warsaw.

The withdrawal of the Polish Government from Warsaw to Cracow proves that the surrender of the new capital of Poland is a matter of a very short time.

I think that after the retreat of the government a new government—a Soviet Government—will be established in the city, which will seek contact with the military command of the Red Army. The fact that the Warsaw police were directed to the front (*New York Times*, August 9), is suggestive in this connection.

I believe also that the Reds have already captured Siedlec, fifty miles east of Warsaw, and Lublin has also fallen into the hands of the Red Army. (Lublin is situated about 100 miles southeast of Warsaw, and has great strategic importance.) From there the Red troops are moving in a northwesterly direction, along the Lublin-Warsaw railway, aiming at Ivangoro, situated on the eastern bank of the Vistula, about sixty miles from Warsaw. These places are now bases for the Russians in their operations against the Warsaw fortified region.

It seems that the Poles are making a last mad effort to save their capital. Thousands of men are working on the defenses on the east bank of the Vistula, the great semicircle taking in the ex-fortress of Novo-Georgievsk, the forts of Modlin, Segev, Sielce, and Ivangorod. They stopped repairing the great bridge destroyed by the Russians in 1915. There are two more bridges, one for railway traffic only, and another for vehicles; the latter is overcrowded by refugees.

The Russian airmen are freely flying over the city and dropping . . . not bombs, but only propaganda . . . Did the Poles and their Allies, when they flew over Kiev and other Russian places, limit themselves to dropping printed propaganda? The hour has come when the Polish *Shliakhta* must pay their debts to the Polish proletariat.

On the eve of the fall of the Polish capital it will be interesting to recall that Warsaw was not originally the Polish capital. Warsaw, situated in the territory of the former duchy of Mazovia, was founded by a Mazovian duke, Conrad, in the ninth century, who built a castle there. In 1526 the Poles and Lithuanians, after their endless quarrels, reunited, and Warsaw became the residence of their kings. In 1550, Sigismund Augustus (*Wasa*) proclaimed Warsaw as his capital, thus suppressing the old Polish capital, Cracow.

(Continued on page 159)

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*  
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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**I**N A NOTE dated December 24, 1918, one of the many offers of peace addressed by the Soviet Government to its enemies, Maxim Litvinov stated clearly the alternatives then open to the capitalist powers. One choice, he said, was "to come to an understanding with the Soviet Government, to withdraw foreign troops from Russian territory, to raise the economic blockade, to help Russia to regain her own sources of supply, and to give her technical advice how to exploit her natural richness in the most effective way, for the benefit of all countries badly in need of foodstuffs and raw materials." The other alternative was "continued open or disguised intervention on the present or on a still larger scale, which means prolongation of war, further embitterment of the Russian masses, intensification of internal strife, unexampled bloodshed." The choice has always been open and still remains open. So long, indeed, as the imperialist leaders are permitted the power to make any choice, these alternatives remain open to them: peace with Soviet Russia for the benefit of all peoples, or war. During the nineteen months that have elapsed since Litvinov stated the case, the imperialists have held their power and have made always the same choice. Under one pretext or another, by dint of every imaginable intrigue and conspiracy, they have managed to keep up the war. It was no easy task. They have had to lied to their own peoples, they have had to lie to one another, they have, we do not doubt it, even had to lie to themselves, in order that the zest for slaughter and destruction should not lag. The peoples sickened of carnage, and the need for foodstuffs and raw materials grew month by month. From Soviet Russia came repeated offers of peace, over and over again, to every nation, to every ruler, to all peoples. But the choice remained for war. While there was still a man to be conscripted or a puppet state to be thrust into the fire of nationalist ambitions, the leaders held to their course.

The truth is, of course, that they never seriously considered the alternative of peace; nor will these leaders ever voluntarily choose the way of peace while the power remains to them to make war. Soviet Russia again offers them the alternatives. But if there are still men who can be summoned or driven to fight against the Workers' Republic,

and if there are still other men who will make munitions and transport them to the battle, we know that the choice of capitalist rulers will be as before. The war will go on. But if at last the decision is for peace, we shall know what that means. We shall see these same leaders hiding their impotence and chagrin under a fine masquerade of statesmanship and diplomacy. But we shall know that they have made peace only because they no longer had the power to make war.

**T**HE ALLIES appear now to be still determined to fight Soviet Russia, but they are beginning to resort once more to their pretended readiness to conclude peace. France, the backbone of eraction in Europe at present, must refrain from any attempt to send a French army into Poland, in order to "defend" that country, and the sending of black colonial troops into Poland would probably be very unpopular: it has already been found impossible by the French to use such troops in western Germany. Black troops are as a matter of fact not any more savage than whites, but the characteristic experiences of colonial exploitation must reduce native Africans, or natives of any continent, to a point where they are ready to cut the throat of any white man—or woman—and as the only whites accessible to their weapons are subjects of defeated and associated powers, they refrain for the moment from attacking their real exploiters, their masters who have come victorious out of the Great War. Poland probably likes colored troops as little as she does French or English or German troops, and the Polish people would tolerate their presence only as long as they might be compelled to. Small nations who enjoy the "protection" of the great League are often in the unenviable position of being forced to carry out its mandates even to the point of courting destruction themselves. Their selfish governing classes accept the League's favors, as did the rulers of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—for a time—until they found that serving the Entente was a business that was ruinous not only to the proletariat of the small border states, but also to the bourgeoisie in those regions. Even Finland is now engaged in peace negotiations with the Soviet Government, at Dorpat, while Esthonia and Lithuania have already signed full treaties of peace with Soviet Russia. How long will Poland look to the West? Her real friend is in the East.

**W**HO WILL next bear the burden of carrying out the demands of the Entente? The answer is already before us, in the news reports of the daily press. Roumania and Hungary are preparing to raise armies to be placed at the disposal of the great powers. Fourteen-year old boys and fifteen-year old boys will be drilled to make cannon-fodder for French and English imperialism, and when the masters of Hungary and Roumania have exhausted the resources in man-power of those countries, their peoples will force them to make peace with Soviet Russia.

Germany seems disinclined to become a link in the *cordon sanitaire*, but it is possible her ruling classes may be forced by the Entente into the position of hangmen of the Russian Revolution, a position that some of them are no doubt ready to assume. Perhaps this will precipitate a proletarian revolution in Germany. To what extent preparations are already being made in Germany for intervention in Russia it would be difficult to say, beyond the fact that some of the reports of such preparations appear to represent empty gestures. Thus, German newspapers have recently had references to an army of trained volunteers that was being raised by Guchkov, of Provisional Government fame, in East Prussia. But great Soviet armies are passing along the southern and eastern border of that province, and Guchkov's forces have made no effort to attack their flank. And yet the reports in the German papers have been full of rumors of millions of rubles raised by Russian counter-revolutionaries in Sweden to pay the expenses of Guchkov's armaments, while the German Government has been described as facilitating this work in every way. All of which may be true or not—but Guchkov seems willing not to invite destruction at the hands of the Red Army.

\* \* \*

**N**EWSPAPER REPORTS state—on what authority we do not know—that the Soviet armies are to reestablish the border of 1914 between Poland and Germany. That is a rather peculiar way of saying that they may have been ordered to occupy all of what was Russian Poland, and not to invade German or Austrian Poland, although we have no knowledge of the nature of the instructions under which the Red Army is advancing. As long as the Entente has a square mile of Polish territory they will throw its unhappy population into war with Soviet Russia. Possibly it may be less necessary to occupy the Polish "corridor"; the Entente might encounter other than Polish opponents if it should attempt to raise armies anywhere in Prussian Poland.

\* \* \*

**S**EVERAL NATIONS have already practically made peace with Soviet Russia. The New York Times of August 7 reports that Soviet Russia is sending a representative to Rome, while Italy already has a representative at Moscow. Coming fast upon the news of the arrival in Vienna (reported in the London Daily Herald, July 24) of the Soviet Government's representative to Austria, on July 22, this opening of relations between Italy and Soviet Russia seems to be but a link in a long chain. Mieslav Bronsky is the name of the new Soviet representative in Vienna. It is not so long ago that the first representative, Kamenev, was sent away from that city. Thus one government after another is finding it necessary to recognize that if there are to be dealings with Russia, they must be with the government that really represents the people and the power in that country, namely, the Soviet Government.

## NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

**OMSK**, June 6.—The total results of nationalization of industry since the November Revolution show that during the past two years 5,000 large commercial establishments, constituting ninety per cent of the industry, have been nationalized. The government also nationalized 16,000 vessels and all the banks. At the same time ninety state trusts have been formed out of the enterprises which were nationalized. In the domain of rural economy 6,000 agricultural artel-communes have been organized. The smaller domestic industries, as well as the cooperative industries, not only were not nationalized, but were upheld by decrees. 3,000,000 workers found employment in the nationalized industries. During the two years of Soviet rule, the Department of State Construction began building up fifteen large enterprises, a number of which have already been completed.

## MILITARY REVIEW

(Continued from page 157)

Thenceforth Warsaw became the objective of aggressive attempts by Sweden, Russia, Brandenburg, and Austria. In 1655, Charles Gustavus, of Sweden, captured Warsaw, and in 1764 the Russians occupied it also. In 1773, the first partition of Poland took place, and in November, 1793, the Russian army captured Warsaw. In 1806, Napoleon entered the Polish capital, and in 1807, according to the peace of Tilsit, an independent Duchy of Warsaw was created, but the Austrians invaded it in 1809 and kept Warsaw until June 2. After having defeated Napoleon's army and annihilated the Polish forces at Berezina, the Russians entered Warsaw February 8, 1813.

In 1831, during the first insurrection of the Poles, Warsaw witnessed terrible bloodshed, and was captured by the Russian General Prince Paskevich. A new uprising of the Polish people against the autocratic Russian oppressors took place in 1863, and once more blood flowed in Warsaw, which was taken by the Russians.

During the Great War, the Germans, after having captured the capital of Poland, returned it to the Polish imperialistic *Shliakhta*, with the idea of transforming Poland into one of the provinces of the Kaiser, but the Russian Revolution saved the independence of Poland. Unfortunately, the country fell under the rule of the Polish capitalistic class, which became obedient servants of the imperialistic Entente, who finally hurled the Polish people into a criminal war with Soviet Russia.

Now the Polish autocracy is defeated by the Russian people, and Soviet Russian armies are approaching the gates of Warsaw, but the Russian Red armies will enter the Polish capital with no idea of conquering it, but with a sincere desire to take it from the usurpers who tried to subject the Polish people to the despotism of the capitalistic coalition of the world, after which Soviet Russia will return it, together with the rest of the country, to the Polish workers and peasants, thus freeing the Polish people from western slavery.

## The Economic Situation in Soviet Russia

(Continued from Vol. III, No. 5, of SOVIET RUSSIA)

Our steel and iron industry depends entirely on the working of the coal mines. The following figures will give an idea as to the decrease in the production of the former:

| Year       | Ore               |
|------------|-------------------|
| 1916 ..... | 350 million poods |
| 1917 ..... | 232 " "           |
| 1918 ..... | 22 " "            |

Therefore, the decrease in comparison with 1916 was ninety-four per cent. In the same manner smelting of cast iron has decreased, falling from 176 million poods in 1916 to 125 million poods in 1917 and to 17 million poods in 1918, a total decrease of ninety per cent.

The transportation of cast iron and all kinds of metals from the Donets Coal Basin has decreased in the same degree. The average produc-

factories, which always had had a unique significance for our industry, as well as for the rest of the country.

The second largest factory, which is just as important for our industry, is the Alexandrovsk-Briansk Works. This factory was closed in March, but it was intended to open it, giving it for the first two weeks about 70,000 poods of metal, and for this it was necessary to have 115,000 poods of fuel.

Those factories of the Donets Coal Basin which were occupied by the Soviet forces, could be working now if they were supplied with a satisfactory amount of fuel and ore. Under such conditions they would be in a position to give the following quantities of metal (in accordance with the data for 1916):

### Quantities in Million Poods

| Factories                     | Rolled Products | Consumption of hard material fuel | Consumption of ore | Production of cast iron | Mould pigs |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| Dnieprovsk .....              | 20.02           | 46.53                             | 42.92              | 24.09                   | 24.99      |
| Alexandrovsk ...              | 11.86           | 40.45                             | 35.44              | 20.25                   | 16.02      |
| Ekaterinoslavsk-Shoduar ..... | 2.52            | 14.10                             | 9.00               | 4.89                    | 7.62       |
| Nizhni-Dnieper .              | 7.02            | 5.28                              | ..                 | ..                      | ..         |
| Kramatorsk ....               | 3.62            | 15.47                             | 15.88              | 8.62                    | 4.49       |
| Druzhkovsk ....               | 8.04            | 21.64                             | 14.37              | 8.24                    | 9.44       |
| Donets-Urievsk .              | 8.72            | 26.43                             | 24.17              | 13.06                   | 11.32      |

tion is shown in the following figures:

|            |                   |
|------------|-------------------|
| 1916 ..... | 170 million poods |
| 1917 ..... | 109 " "           |
| 1918 ..... | 13 " "            |

and this makes a decrease of ninety-two per cent in 1918 in comparison with 1916.

Under such adverse circumstances, the position of the large steel and iron factories is very difficult, particularly in connection with the shortage of coal. In accordance with the investigation of the metallurgical industry, made by the Ukraine's Economic Council, the position of the industry can be pictured as follows:

The Dnieper Works in February were working only part time; the factory's normal yearly production has been 25 million poods of cast iron, and in addition the factory produced:

|                              |                 |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Railroad bandages .....      | 3 million poods |
| Railroad axles .....         | 1½ " "          |
| Sheet iron and iron plate... | 2 " "           |
| Rails and assorted iron..... | 10 " "          |
| Wire .....                   | 4 " "           |
| Metal products .....         | 4 " "           |

In February the above works had only two million poods of fuel, which comprises only a half month's normal supply. On account of such shortage, the factory was closed for an indefinite time on the 1st of April, and this deprived us of the opportunity to make use of the largest of our

From the above table it is evident that if these six mills were supplied with enough fuel, they could produce a great deal. But this was impossible on account of the shortage of coal which has paralyzed the entire production. Due to this shortage, the Dnieprovsk Works had to close, and the rest of the mills were greatly hindered in their work.

We cannot hope to resume the work of the above factories in the near future, due to the shortage of coal. When occupying these factories we could only use their stocks of metal. It was impossible to take stock of same as there was not enough time for this. But it was evident, that such stocks as accumulated in the factories during the German occupation and the former regime, were not carried away by the bourgeoisie, but remained intact in the factories.

According to the stock-taking of the 1st of May, in the factories and warehouses of the Ekaterinoslav district there were:

|                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| About 9,000,000 poods | cast iron (smelted).  |
| " 15,000,000          | " cast iron.          |
| " 250,000             | " ferro-manganese.    |
| " 80,000              | " ferro casts.        |
| " 2,000,000           | " pig-iron.           |
| " 45,000              | " sheet steel.        |
| " 5,000               | " instrumental steel. |
| " 50,000              | " all kinds of steel. |



|   |         |   |                     |
|---|---------|---|---------------------|
| " | 850,000 | " | assorted iron.      |
| " | 150,000 | " | sheet iron.         |
| " | 32,000  | " | fancy iron.         |
| " | 86,000  | " | sheet iron.         |
| " | 140,000 | " | beams and rails.    |
| " | 150,000 | " | all kinds of rails. |
| " | 180,000 | " | bandages.           |
| " | 35,000  | " | tin plate.          |
| " | 350,000 | " | wire.               |
| " | 45,000  | " | axles.              |
| " | 100,000 | " | nails.              |

A considerable quantity of all kinds of pipes and parts, screws, screw-nuts, pegs, etc.

In the factories and warehouses of the Donets Coal Basin, in the part occupied by the Soviet forces, there were:

- About 12 million poods cast iron.
- More than 1 million poods ferro-casts.
- About 4 million poods pig-iron.
- About 280,000 poods all kinds of steel.
- About 2,500,000 poods assorted and fancy iron.
- About 1,000,000 poods sheet iron.
- More than 1½ million poods beams, rails.
- About 460,000 poods wire.
- 300,000 poods gas and iron pipes.
- 200,000 poods nails.

Denikin, of course, will not be able to requisition all of the above stocks, as Denikin's forces will not have the necessary facilities to remove them.

Economic organs of the Soviets in the Donets Coal Basin have taken the right course in their activity. They have decided, first of all, to nationalize the largest factories of the metallurgical industry, to unite them in one unit, creating in this way, one administration, and thus realizing the syndication and trustification of the industry, which they are applying on a large scale in Soviet Russia.

In case we get back the Donets Coal Basin, the important question of resuming the work of the metallurgical factories will again arise. We will have to supply them with fuel, because their underproduction will affect the work of machine factories and repair shops in Soviet Russia.

To requisition such stocks as have accumulated in the Donets Coal Basin factories will not be difficult, inasmuch as the former organs of the Soviets in the Ukraine coped with this alone more or less satisfactorily. For instance, for the railroads about one and a half million poods of metal were removed during the two months' work of the Birozaga, and a number of nail factories of Central Russia were supplied with six months' normal supply of wire.

Our main problem, in case we succeed in occupying at least a part of the Donets Coal Basin, will be to supply as soon as possible the necessary metal for Central Russia, which is all important in this time of metal hunger which the country is undergoing.

The time, during which the Donets Coal Basin is occupied by Denikin's forces, we can use for our work in the Urals. It is true that the Ural region has been, for a very long time, under the

Kolchak forces, which have, to a large extent, hindered its work. The main obstacle for resuming the work in the Ural factories will be the inability of supplying its industry with the necessary lumber, which is the only fuel used there. For the production of one million poods of cast iron a year it requires about 91,000—98,000 feet of timber, which could be obtained by cutting down about 700-800 acres of timber.

There were 50 million poods of cast iron smelted in the Ural mills in 1913 against 175 million poods in the mills of the Donets Coal Basin. There are in the Ural district four and a half times more foundries than in the Donets Coal Basin, and about twice as many blast-furnaces as in the South. Smelting of cast iron in the Ural district foundries amounts to about 339 poods to one workingman, against 1,620 poods in the South, and 5,000 poods in America. The Ural region is immensely rich with ore; according to Professor Bogdanovich, there is twice as much ore in the Urals as in the Krivoli-Rog Basin, totaling about 25 milliard poods.

The fundamental question in regard to the development of the Ural industry is its unification with the Kouznetzki Basin in Siberia, rich with coke coal, so necessary for the development of the metallurgical industry in the Urals, and which would enable it to get along without the wood fuel. But, at the present time, the Kouznetzki Coal Basin is not under the Soviet power, and the work of requisition and development which the Soviets started, was interrupted by the Czecho-Slovak movement.

In this manner, the Ural district, at least temporarily, can depend only upon wood fuel, and the work here will be hindered due to the fact that wood fuel is usually prepared during the winter, but this winter the Ural district was under the power of the bourgeoisie, who only partially supplied the factories with the necessary fuel. On this account, it is hardly probable that the factories will be able to produce to the full extent, as is desirable and necessary for the country. To resume their work will be possible only after a considerable length of time, and only a small part of the factories will be able to resume their work in the near future; for instance, the Zlatoust Works have enough fuel and metal to resume their work, and the following are working:

Asha-Balashov, Ust-Kateav, Simsk District, and others. Temporarily, it will be necessary to use such stocks as can be found in the Urals. The metal is scattered in various parts of the district. Part of it can be found in the factories, part on the docks. To verify precisely the quantity of metal in possession of the Soviets will be very difficult. The mills are not provided with the necessary facilities to take up this question, and there are no labor organizations which can handle this matter.

*Pradmet*, which is interested in obtaining metal, has already started the transportation of the same from the Urals. Loading of ships has

commenced on the quays of Ufa, where there are about 275,000 poods of cast iron; there are all kinds of metal on the wharfs of Akteshevo on the White River, and 28,000 poods of cast iron on the wharf at Shaksha on the river Ufkima, where there are also considerable quantities of nails, wire and sheet iron (about 2,000,000 poods). According to the calculation of the commission, which was sent to the Ural district for metal, about 2,500,000 poods of metal could be transported from the Urals on ships.

At first, only transportation of metal from the Ural metal mines will be possible, and only later the resumption of the work of the factories at normal speed. In connection with this, it will be necessary to supply with fuel the factories of this industry, and this will require a large number of workmen for woodcutting.

In regard to fuel, Russia is not very secure in this respect. As was outlined above, temporarily we cannot depend on coal from the Donets Coal Basin. There only remains the Moscow Coal Basin, which can give only a small quantity of coal (maximum 50-60 million poods) and of a variety which cannot be used for transport and industry.

Coal of the above Basin can be used only right on the spot. Such small quantities of coal are obtained in the Undermoscow Coal Basin that this Basin has no significance for the country. Only about 40-50 million poods of coal can be obtained, which cannot improve the fuel situation at all.

Other fuel which plays an important part in our industry is turf. But this is found mostly in the Central Districts where the food situation is the worst. We cannot count upon development of turf culture. The situation as to liquid fuel is still worse. Soviet Russia is cut off from Baku and Grosnograd, and it is impossible to get any quantity of oil from there. The Baku District is over-saturated with liquid fuel. According to approximate calculation, there can be found about 150-200 million poods of liquid fuel, which cannot be transported either through Turkey or by way of the Black Sea. According to casual and contradictory information which we get from the Caucasus, the railroads there cannot accommodate even a small part of its transports. The famous Caucasian oil pipes are not working, as they were destroyed by the civil war. Only Soviet Russia is in a position to get oil from the Caucasus, but England prevents that, striving to prevent bartering between the Caucasus and Soviet Russia.

In spite of the above difficulties, the work of industrial enterprises in Soviet Russia is continuing, of course, with many hindrances and intervals, but is, nevertheless, working without interruption.

The foundation of the whole work is the grouping of factories of similar industry into one body. The economic policy of the Soviet Government is already giving certain results. It is based partly on the nationalization of industry and confiscation from private owners. This system was first applied after the October revolution, and since

then it has been infallibly put to practice by the Soviet Government. At first it was unsystematic and chaotic, and only with time it got to be an efficient system of economic measures, dictated by economic expediency and economic necessity. Nationalization of industry at present is accompanied by the organization of corresponding organs which guide and direct the given industry.

At the outset, these organs were only created for separate enterprise, but later on they were organized for groups of factories with one central administration, embracing a group of enterprises of similar industry. Along this line were organized central administrations for a group of machine factories, airplane, automobile, textile, chemical and other factories and mills.

Notwithstanding all difficulties which arose in the work of the above industrial enterprises, despite the shortage of raw material and fuel, they continued to work; but the above difficulties hindered the production of the factories. Production of the following factories: Sormovski, Kolomenski, Mietischincki, Kulebski, and Vikeunski in 1917 was about 62-68 per cent of the production in 1916. In 1918 it was 33-38 per cent of that in 1916, and in the Kolomenski factory it was only 14.3 per cent of that in 1916. Of course, shortage of fuel and raw materials played an important part in the decrease in production in these factories. For nine months of 1918, locomotive and car manufacturing factories (Nevski, Putilovski, Sormski, Kolomenski, Brianski, Botkinsiki, Khar-kovski, and Gartman, manufactured 38 passenger train locomotives, and 103 freight locomotives, and during this time, part of the above-mentioned factories were for some time occupied by enemy forces. The following car manufacturing factories: Putilovski, Petrogradski, Phoenix, Dvigatel, Moscovski, Soromovsky, Malisovski, Tverskoi, and Odesski, for nine months manufactured 175 passenger train cars, 3,578 freight cars, and 362 special cars, and part of these factories was also occupied at some time or other by the enemy.

In 1919, the work of the locomotive and car manufacturing factories was resumed. During five months the factories of Soviet Russia released 65 new locomotives; 6 locomotives in January, 12 in February, 13 in March, 16 in April, 18 in May. They also released cars as follows: 255 in January, 247 in February, 350 in March, 345 in April, and 243 in May, a total of 1,440 cars.

It must be remembered, that beginning with the last part of 1918 manufacturing of new locomotives and cars was stopped, and all attention was concentrated on repairing the rolling stock. For the first five months 154 locomotives and 1,440 cars were repaired.

Airplane and automobile factories comprise another group of industrial enterprises. In Soviet Russia there were seventy-eight such factories in May of this year. The average production of these factories for the first four months of this year—repairing of 480 automobiles, in a month, i.e., 0.058 for one workingman in a month, against

0.067 of the provincial factories, shows that the production of provincial factories is higher than that of Moscow (0.059).

In the first quarter of 1919 the Economic Council of the Northern District worked out a program of work which was more or less successfully achieved by the metal-working factories of the Northern District. For instance, they performed sixty-eight per cent of the work of preparing new locomotives, seventy-seven per cent of work outlined in the program of building new freight cars, other works, between thirty-three and fifty per cent. In regard to war supplies, the factories contended with this part of the work quite successfully. They produced ninety per cent of heavy guns of the program, 220 per cent of three-inch mountain guns, 150 per cent guns zenith, 230 per cent howitzer, 90 per cent trucks, 102 per cent artillery wheels, 25-75 per cent of the rest of the works outlined in the program.

The shipbuilding program was achieved to the extent of 66-83 per cent, and only in regard to barge repairing was it as low at 13 per cent.

From 60-90 per cent of the work for farming equipment was performed.

The program of machine manufacturing was performed to the extent of 12 per cent for engines of inside combustion, and from 38-60 per cent of various machines and lathes.

From 20-28 per cent of the program for automobile and motorcycle repairing was carried out.

The same policy of concentration was applied to the textile industry. The textile factories were nationalized and combined into separate units for joint work. Uniting of mills of similar character on a certain territory into one unit for joint work with one administration was the most popular form of concentration in this industry. Such units are called "Shrubs." In Central Russia the following units were created: *Presnenskoe*, consisting of four mill factories, with 2,090 spinning spindles, 7,180 weaving looms, thirty-two printing machines, *Moscowsko-Bladimorskoe*, consisting of four factories with 309,936 spinning spindles, 6,760 weaving looms, thirty-five printing machines, *Daniilovskoe*, consisting of seven factories with 189,824 spinning spindles, 5,845 weaving looms, thirty-four printing machines; *Serpouchovskoe*, eight factories, 28,454 spinning spindles, 7,858 weaving looms, thirty-nine printing machines; *Kovrovskoe*, twelve factories, 232,556 spinning spindles, 7,615 weaving looms, twenty-one printing machines; *Orechovolikinskoe*, eight factories, 521,356 spinning spindles, 11,490 weaving looms, eight printing machines; *Ivanovo-Vosnesenskoe*, four factories, 159,664 spindles, 9,460 looms; *Teikovskoe*, three factories, 93,994 spindles, 3,523 looms; *Tverskoe*, six factories, 456,608 spindles, 11,553 looms, twenty-four printing machines; *Saratovskoe*, four factories, 58,040 spindles, 128 looms; *Bogorodskoe*, four factories, 298,772 spindles, 7,870 looms, four printing machines; *Kineshemskoe*, four factories, 223,190 spindles, 5,444 looms. Thus, the above thirteen units cover about seventy to eighty

per cent of the normal production of the textile industry, and include seventy-two factories with 324,974 spindles, 90,115 looms, 221 printing machines.\*

Due to a shortage of coal and an inadequate supply of cotton, part of the above mills could not continue their work, and in April and May of this year only four-four per cent of the mills were working, with fifty-three per cent of the spindles, forty-six per cent of the looms, and seventy-two per cent of the printing machines. On account of the shortage of coal 86,000 workmen were dismissed, and at the rest of the mills part time work only was going on. In accordance with the information of the Centrotexile in March and April of this year only 523,000 poods of cotton were to be found on the territory of Soviet Russia. In Turkestan there were about five million poods of cotton fibre, and ten million poods of raw cotton. Nevertheless, these supplies were only of potential importance, and could not be delivered to Russia in the immediate future.

The way to Turkestan, which was for a long time cut off from the rest of Russia by counter-revolutionist armies, is open now, but to obtain there cotton and cotton fibre immediately, is impossible. We must wait for the restoration of the transport system, which suffered most from the war activities. Thus, the improvement of the position of our textile industry is still a thing of the future, although not such a distant future at that. But, notwithstanding all the difficulties of the present situation, the textile industry continued its work. According to the report of the Centrotexile, 158 of the operating mills for three months (January-March, 1919), produced 28,953,481 yards of various piece goods, and 44,015 poods of yarn.

With the impoverished condition of our textile industry even such production counts and is useful.

The position of the textile mills of the Petrograd District was the same, and their supplies of cotton were of a more or less casual character.

It was supposed that according to the program the following quantities of yarn would be manufactured: By the *Sampsonievski mills*, 5,740 poods; by the *New-Paper mills*, 9,500 poods; by *Vibourgskoi*, 7,500 poods; by *Petrovsko-Spasskoi*, 10,650 poods. But in reality there were produced: by *Sampsonievski*, 4,042 poods; *New Paper mills*, 7,640 poods; by *Vibourgskoi*, 1,782 poods, and by *Petrovsko-Spasskoi*, 5,781 poods of yarn. On the whole only fifty to sixty per cent of the work outlined in the program was achieved by the Petrograd District. The chief evil and hindrance in the production of these mills is the shortage of fuel and raw materials. Comparatively better is the position of the woolen industry. According to information of the 1st of July, nationalization of this industry was almost complete.

\* One unit seems to have been omitted which accounts for the discrepancies in the totals.

Two factories of the Petrograd Unit were nationalized and twenty-eight factories of the Moscow Unit. Petrograd mills of fine woolen goods are provided with raw materials and fuel for a considerable length of time, but the Moscow mills are worse off, as part of the factories are provided with fuel for only two to three months, and some even less than that. The administration of the textile industry has decided to reopen only eight of the largest mills, and to close down the rest temporarily.

The position of the mills manufacturing heavy woolen goods is still worse, due to a shortage of raw material, gordolent, and fuel. According to information from the Tombov District, it can be expected that about fifty per cent of the mills will be closed on account of the shortage of the above-mentioned materials. Only fifteen and a half per cent of the 46,242 spindles of the Moscow textile mills are working. The provincial mills are somewhat better off, as they would be in a position to work if they were supplied with some of the surrogates. In the warehouses of the Centrotextile there are about 150,000 poods of coarse wool, which will be enough to keep them going for two and a half months, and 110,000 poods of fine wool, enough to keep them going for four to five months.

The general position of our industry is very insecure and we must admit this frankly. It is explained by the fact, that our most important industrial centers, which are the foundation of our industry, are absolutely cut off from us.

Our metallurgical industry was hindered in its development and is in very poor condition, as the Ural metal mines and the Donets Coal Basin were cut off for a long time and only now is there a possibility of using to a certain extent the work of the Ural metal mines.

The work of the Donets Coal Basin which is the foundation of our industry, is badly injured, and it is problematical whether it can be revived in the near future. The only way out of this difficulty is to seize such districts as were taken away from us. Without contact with Soviet Russia these districts cannot exist and develop, notwithstanding their natural riches. As for instance, Turkestan cotton cannot be gathered and used in case there are no direct transportation facilities with Soviet Russia, which provides Turkestan with bread. Unable to obtain the grain, imports of which from Russia fell off in 1917, the natives of Turkestan have cut down the area of cotton plantations from seventy to eighty per cent, and thus have almost eliminated this very important branch of industry. If Turkestan will not be provided with bread this year, the area of cotton plantations will be cut down again, and thus finally it will lead to complete disorganization and confusion in this industry. In the same manner, the Donets Coal Basin cannot be looked upon as an independent unit; for its work it requires building and binding materials, dynamite, all kinds of drills and machines from Soviet Russia.

The Caucasus oil industry is in the same posi-

tion. It requires all kinds of metals for drilling and binding the oil wells, building timber of large sizes, steel ropes, and other materials. Without these materials this industry is disintegrating. And further, without an outlet to Soviet Russia, there is no way of exporting its riches.

The Soviet Government has to solve the following problems of economic construction. First of all it is necessary to unite with those districts which are our source of raw materials and fuel, as without contact with them the existence of Soviet Russia will not be possible. Relations with foreign countries will undoubtedly be resumed in the near future, as they cannot get along without Russia's raw materials. Their own supplies of raw materials are exhausted to the limit, and naturally, they will have to apply to Russia to furnish them with Russian timber, flax, etc. Business relations with Western Europe will be gradually resumed, even if Russia retains the Soviet form of government, and Europe the present form of capitalistic government.

These relations will be concentrated in the hands of the Soviet Government and will be conducted in accordance with existing plans of the Soviet Government. The blockade, which Russia is undergoing at present, cannot last much longer, and when it is lifted, and normal relations with Europe are resumed, we shall furnish them with raw materials which they are in need of, and will get in exchange manufactured products and materials, necessary for the strengthening and restoration of our industry and our industrial activities.

The fundamental principles which were in the past proclaimed by the Soviet Government are being realized and practiced in the interior of the country.

Nationalization of industry on a large scale, and the transfer of same into the hands of the working masses, was the basis of our politics.

The nationalization of industry has gone through many different stages in its development—from a disorderly, purely anarchistic—to a harmonious, systematic nationalization of whole branches of industry as well as separate enterprises, and organization of councils for the purpose of administrating this nationalized industry.

The next step in this direction would be to put in order and to systemize all that which has been previously done by the Soviets.

The main point of our economic reconstruction activities of recent days is the organization of such administrating units as could cope with the difficulties of managing the newly nationalized industry and which could regulate the activities of various branches of our industry.

Judging by the recent facts, we are solving this problem to a certain extent, successfully, and in our work we have to depend a great deal on labor organizations—trade unions—which are at the head of our industrial and economic life.

The general situation of Soviet Russia is such, that the work of realizing our plans is being met

with great difficulties, but nevertheless, the creative work in every line of our economic life is being continued in spite of all.

The necessary basis for our work is the lifting of the blockade against Soviet Russia, and the restoration of connections with our sources of

fuel and raw materials. This can only be achieved as a result of a vigorous fight of proletarian Russia with her enemies on all fronts. Every step forward in this direction will give us a stronger foothold and will determine our success which means life or death for Soviet Russia.

## Through Latvia and Esthonia to Russia

By JAKOB FRIIS

**R**EVAL is an extremely old city. It is still very medieval in its character, and reminds one of various German towns, particularly Nurnberg. The old wall around the inner part of the city has survived the ravages of time, almost unimpaired. If one climbs up on this wall, in the evening, or enters one of the old round towers, it is very easy to dream of former times when each town lived its own separate life, in constant fear of foreign conquerors. From this wall one has a view of the low land toward the sea. The enemy who would make an attack upon Reval must be prepared to lose many men while storming the castle gates.

Reval has ancient associations with Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. Its Esthonian name is "Talinin" which means "the Danish city." It was founded by the Danish king, Valdemar, in 1219, and the three Danish leaves are still extant in its emblem. The population, however, even in those early times, consisted largely of Low Germans, and the city became during the 14th and 15th centuries, one of the most important towns of the Hanseatic league. One of its oldest churches, dating from the 13th century, is called St. Olaus Church, in honor of the Norwegian king, Saint Olaf. In 1561 the city came under Swedish rule and was entirely Swedish until 1719, when it became Russian. There are many reminders of the Swedish rule everywhere. It was with great apparent pride that Comrade Grimlund (who in spite of his Socialism is not without reverence for "glorious memories") called my attention to the many Swedish names upon the old noblehouses at the "Cathedral," that upper part of Reval which is located upon the cliffs, behind the castle wall.

At Reval we had our passports vised by the Russian representative, Gukovski, but in order to cross the frontier we had also to obtain permission from both the Esthonian Foreign Department and the General Staff, as well as a doctor's certificate to prove that we were not suffering from either typhus or cholera. At the Foreign Department there was not much haste shown. Day after day we were detained, always with promises, and when we at last obtained our permission and reached Narva we were also held there. Again permission had to be obtained from the commandant of the border town here, and we were compelled to remain in Narva, though we were eager to get on. We had experienced a view of typhus at close range, earlier in our journey, but it was not until

we reached Narva that we could realize what a plague-infected city meant. The hospitals here were crowded with typhus patients, mostly soldiers from the army of Yudenich. At the hotel, an unclean, unsanitary, place, we met two men from the American Red Cross. They told us of their fight against typhus. Tightly enclosed in rubber coats they had washed house after house with carbolic acid and creosote, and had thereby decreased the death rate in the city to about five per cent, as I remember it. We sent a detailed telegram about their work, from Narva, but unfortunately kept no copy of it. It has not arrived. The Narva authorities probably found it compromising for Esthonia. (In the imagination of western Europe, it is not in Esthonia, but in Russia, that typhus rages.)

My impressions of Narva will never desert me. It was diabolical, that city. The plague was felt and seen everywhere, but upon the streets there walked the elegant ladies, the "light guard" of the Yudenich army, nonchalantly, with soldiers and officers. It seemed that the thought of the nearness of death brought the "joy of living" to a hectic flush upon their cheeks.

As is well known, Narva is famous for its conquest by Charles the XII, in 1700. It is a war town from top to bottom. The great castle walls stand as relics of the time when war was the order of the day,—as indeed it still seems to be. Upon the wide fields outside the city, armies have met many a time and oft. Narva, the typical border town, the town where one lives on the border between life and death.

### THE PROTECTION OF LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By S. KAPLUN  
of the Commissariat of Labor

This pamphlet, reprinted for the first time from an English translation that appeared in Petrograd this year, is an authoritative study of the actual operation of the Code of Labor Laws, which has already been reprinted by us in pamphlet form.

Price Ten Cents

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 West 40th Street

New York, N. Y.

## Press Cuttings

### THE NINTH CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA

Concerning the ninth party-convention of the Communist Party of Russia, which ended on April 5 of this year, the *Pravda* of April 6 writes as follows:

The ninth party-convention of the Communist Party of Russia came to an end on April 5 of this year. The work of this convention differs sharply from that of the other congresses of the revolutionary party. It is sufficient to compare the decisions made at the former conventions of the party with the practical measures passed at the ninth party-convention, instead of resolutions, in order to realize the vast difference between our past and our present.

Until the seventh party-convention our party was one that was still striving for the power with which to destroy the old regime. The seventh party-convention concerned itself almost exclusively with questions of foreign policy. The eighth party-convention had to decide upon the right course of action for the working class in relation to the peasants and to determine in its program the lines of future activity. The ninth party-convention, which convened on the boundary of two epochs—that of war and that of peace (so far as we can, at this time, speak of peace at all)—proceeded under the motto: *work*.

Not until now has it been possible for the Soviet Republic to devote all its energy to work, and it is therefore no wonder that the governing party of the proletariat in its congress treated as a cardinal question the organization of work in the new society. It was a *congress of real builders of the future*.

Before the party-convention of the Communist Party of Russia there existed some differences within the party. These resulted from the limited experience of different groups of members, groups that were active in various fields. It is only quite natural that the activity in the army, in the workers' unions, the politico-economic councils, and the party, so far as those concerned are active exclusively within a special domain and limit themselves to it, should impart a particular stamp to their thoughts and feelings. For that reason just such a party-convention is needed to sum up and unify these individual experiences, to consider different phases of the work and, on the basis of such checking-up, to find a fixed and precise line of action in the matter of party-policy.

The party, as a whole, has of course before this party-convention recognized the need of intensive work. Some there were, to be sure, who were undecided concerning both the question of militarizing the work and the question of methods of management. The convention declared by an overwhelming majority that the highest degree of reality, feeling of responsibility, conscientiousness, and discipline is necessary. It put aside petty illusions and proclaimed the necessity of undertaking a rigid organization of the work throughout the working class itself.

*Self-organization.*—Constantly the need of a still closer contact with the masses was emphasized. From this it followed that the convention, after it had rejected all talk about independence of the unions, talk revealing a syndicalist-menshevik spirit, emphasized at the same time with all possible clearness that the role of the unions in the domain of organization of production must continually grow in importance. The convention condemned, in unmistakable terms, the attempt of some comrade to minimize this role. More than that, the convention supported unequivocally the view represented by Lenin that the most important problem of the day, without the solution of which we would not be able to avert the threatening situation which has arisen through economic disorganization, is the

actual complete unification of party and union tactics. The question of organization was likewise one of the purely practical questions which were also treated in a purely practical way. To these purely practical questions belonged also the militia question.

There was nothing clamorous or sensational. On the contrary, the debates at the convention might even seem prosaic. This is, however, an indication of our gigantic growth! We no longer discourse in general terms on what will perhaps be; we consult about what is to take place immediately.

The party emerges from the ninth party-convention just as firmly united as before. Undivided and heroic, radiant with joy in work and combat, it prepares for a new campaign—the most difficult one—the campaign against decay, and with it marches the living embodiment of its unity, of its iron will, Lenin, the man who on the threshold of the sixth decade of his life leads and guides the Russian proletarians who have rebelled.—*Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna, June 9, 1920.

### THE LABOR SITUATION IN MALIGNED RUSSIA

Since the newspaper press of the world has spread misleading and false reports about conditions in Soviet Russia, the telegraph bureau *Rosta* is now using every opportunity to obtain the most exact information possible from the foremost representative of the trade unions in Russia, the former Minister of Labor, Alexander Schlapnikov, who kindly gave us an interview shortly before his departure from Stockholm last Saturday.

One of the most frequently repeated lies which has obtained wide circulation is the assertion that a twelve-hour working day has been enforced upon the workers of Soviet Russia. Although *Rosta* has received daily reports direct from Moscow to the effect that in various parts of Russia, in factories, mills, and other workshops, the workers themselves have voluntarily decided to extend the working day, yet even when these reports have been printed the newspapers have given them misleading headlines in order to create false impressions about notices which have been correctly printed. (For instance *Svenska Dagbladet*, April 16.)

Our first inquiry directed to Mr. Schlapnikov was, therefore: "What are the real facts in connection with the length of the working day in Soviet Russia?" He gave us the following answer: "The question as to the length of the working day is in every case solved by the trades unions of that particular trade and with the approval of the workers in that particular industry. As a general rule the question of the lengthening of the working day beyond eight hours has come up very rarely. The attempt to increase labor productivity by lengthening working hours is not at all the last word in the labor policy of Russia. On the contrary we strive to use every expedient which will increase production by utilizing labor power and technical means, such as machinery, within the eight-hour working day and seven hours of night work. The increase of labor productivity by increasing the number of working hours per day was used principally in the sphere of strictly war industry, and all time over the eight-hour day was paid for at the rate of one and one-half the normal rate, and in addition special prizes were given for the increased production resulting therefrom. The workers could not be compelled, naturally, to work beyond that standard set by the decree of the eight-hour day, but class instincts and the desire to defend the republic against its enemies and against economic ruin spurred the workers to a voluntary increase of their working intensity by every means at their disposal."

Our second question was: "What is the truth in regard to the conflicts between the workers and the

Soviet powers, which certain papers have called 'hair raising?'"

"As far as statements about bloody conflicts between the workers and the Soviet power are concerned, and about any repressive influence or authority of the Soviet power, these statements are simply lies. During the civil war the working class was, to a large extent, deprived of its best developed members who either joined voluntarily or were mobilized into the ranks of the Red Army to fight on the fronts. This naturally decreased the level of the conscious intelligence of the workers of the factories and mills, as well as their numbers. The working class, like every other large aggregation of human beings, is not without its 'black sheep' and even among us there were a few counter-revolutionists, as well as provocateurs left from the old Czarist times, especially among the former officers, and the bourgeoisie, who took positions at factories and elsewhere merely to conduct counter-revolutionary activities. On account of the lack of food and the activities of these provocateurs, there have been strikes at Moscow and at Petrograd and attempts have even been made to destroy industrial establishments, such as the water supply of Petrograd, in the spring of 1919. But all these conflicts were solved by the forces and means of the labor organizations, the Soviets, the trade unions, and the factory committees. All these strikes were of short-lived character, and nowhere was the interference of the military power necessary. Just here I may remind you that the guarding of the factories of the war industry has been in every instance entrusted to the labor administration of the workers, all of whom have realized the responsibility of defending the property of the republic against the attempts of the counter-revolutionists to destroy it.

"Those who assert that the labor administration in industrial enterprises in Soviet Russia have 'gone bankrupt' are wrong," Schlapnikov continued. "The facts are the contrary. The labor administration has saved industry from ruin, that ruin which impends wherever capitalist sabotage and speculation lead. The labor administration has obtained great importance and the sphere of its influence widens daily. The labor organizations have now many thousands of active administrators at their disposal. The intelligentsia takes, in the form of technical and administrative direction, a most active part in industry and in the work of the trade unions. The engineers within the metal industry have amalgamated themselves into a special section, and work in the most intimate connection with the metal organizations of all Russia.

"The unity principle in its literal meaning does not exist with us. All the larger industries are conducted by responsible labor administrators who are elected by the labor organizations. All industrial enterprises of a complicated kind are conducted by councils, but subordinate branches, or factories and mills of a simpler nature and for less complicated production, are occasionally conducted by individuals in connection with responsible administrators appointed by the trades unions. As a rule, I might say, that where important decisions in regard to the administration of mills must be made, a council assists, but at those mills which have only to execute the decisions of the head administrators even individuals, or directors, or administrators, may be personally responsible for the accomplishment of the program of production. Laborers may act as directors."

Our last question concerned the transportation system in Russia.

"We have, during the past year," Schlapnikov said, "taken prompt measures as to our rolling stock, and particularly engines. For the present we have succeeded in stopping the continuing increase of disabled engines. The railroad factories are now reorganized according to new factory principles. Up to recent times they have been in the hands of the specific railroad bureaucracy well-known for its routine and hostility to everything that does not bear the seal of the head office. Nowadays we employ our best qualified labor and admini-

strative forces for the transportation department, and with the announce of liquid fire from Grosny and Baku transportation is greatly improving and the results of our activity will make a better showing still, within the next few months. The first and greatest improvement will occur when we are able to renew our entire rolling-stock, and especially engines, of which twenty-five per cent are between twenty and fifty years old. A great number of engines are ready in America for our railroads, and the Americans have been compelled to build special storehouses for them. They cannot use them there themselves on account of the difference in the rail width of the roads.—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, April 22, 1920.

### THE TRAGEDY OF NIKOLAIEVSK

The Japanese rescue army discovered on its arrival at the harbor that the entire Japanese army and civilian population, with the exception of a few women (fourteen in number) who had married Russians and Chinese, had been massacred. Some Japanese had survived the first battle as prisoners. But with the approach of the rescue army in the harbor, it is reported that the so-called Partisans left the city killing these prisoners. We are deeply sorry for those unfortunates who met with disaster. At the same time we cannot but deplore the thoughtless policy toward Russia which finally caused this tragedy. Had we speedily withdrawn our army from Siberia, such a terrible event would never have happened! At any rate the stationing of a small army in a distant place like Nikolaievsk with the detention of our countrymen there was the root of a mistake. Look! It seems that at Nikolaievsk there were not only Japanese, but also other foreigners. Yet they did not suffer at all. Moreover, is it not the case that the Chinese joined the Partisans and attacked our countrymen? What does this mean? It means nothing but that the Japanese are a target of hatred for all the people in the Far East. What are our people to do about this state of affairs? Although the cruelty of the Partisans is detestable, at the same time our people must seriously think of their own position.—From the *Oriental Economist*, June 12, 1920.

### THE OCCUPATION OF NIKOLAIEVSK IS WRONG!

Moreover, we cannot but question the policy of the government in its action in regard to the present situation at Nikolaievsk, by dispatching the reserve army there. As far as we can understand, it seems that our government has deliberately dispatched an army there, without consulting with any of the Russian governments. It is even reported that the Japanese military authorities compelled the Investigating Committee sent by the Vladivostok Provisional Government to return from Alexandrovsk. Moreover the Partisans, being nothing but a group of people, there is no responsible body against whom the Japanese can enter a protest. Thereupon, according to a street rumor, it is repeatedly reported that the Japanese army occupying Nikolaievsk and surrounding strategic points, will not readily give them back to the Russians. We think such a thing impossible, but from the very beginning the government has assumed an attitude of not recognizing any of the Russian governments and so it despatched the army without consulting any Russian government. This street rumor is the natural result. But we say in advance that the Japanese are now a target of hatred for the Russians. Although Japan may temporarily seize Nikolaievsk and other points, as long as this thought is not erased from the mind of the Russians, Japan can never safely keep them. Nay more, if Japan should manifest her territorial ambition, her already difficult position in Siberia, in the Far East, and in the world will grow worse. There is no reason for our government—though it be foolish—to do such a thing.—From the *Oriental Economist*, June 12, 1920.

# Documents

## PEACE OFFER TO JAPAN

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tokio.

February 24.

Immediately upon its formation, the Russian Soviet Government proclaimed the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, a principal which became the basis of the peace decree of the Soviet Government. Beginning with the month of December, 1917, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs entered into pourparlers with M. Uyeda on the subject of revision of all relations between Russia and Japan, and proposed the conclusion of a new commercial and economic agreement, as well as a convention on the situation in the Far East and on the Pacific littoral. The proposals of the Russian Soviet Government were received by the Japanese Ambassador for communication to his government. However, no reply was received from the latter. Similar proposals were again made by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in the spring of 1918 through the offices of the Japanese Consul, Marimoa Vologda. This time again our proposals were received for transmission to Tokio, but there was no result. In his report to the Fifth Congress of the Soviets, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs expressed once again the desire of the Soviet Government to find a peaceful solution to all the questions pending between itself and Japan. The peace proposals which were repeatedly presented by the Soviet Government to the governments of the Entente were always addressed to them jointly and individually and each time aimed at negotiations of peace with the Japanese Government. At the present time, when all the attempts made to crush by arms the power of the workers and peasants of Russia have proved their absolute inanity, when the Entente governments have withdrawn their expeditionary forces from Russia, and when various governments have already entered into pourparlers with the Russian Soviet Government, we address once more to the Japanese Government the proposal to engage in peace negotiations. The peoples of Russia cherish no aggressive designs against Japan. The Soviet Government has no intention of meddling in the internal affairs of the Japanese people. It fully recognizes the special economic and commercial interests of Japan in the Far East, interests surpassing in several respects those of other countries. It is equally interested in concluding an agreement on this subject which will be useful and of benefit to both parties. The Russian Soviet Government wishes to establish a *modus vivendi* guaranteeing peace between Russia and Japan, and the reciprocal advantages resulting for both countries from the relations to be established between them. Taking into consideration the numerous voices which reach our ears, even from Japan, demanding the security of the needs of the Japanese people by the conclusion of an agreement with the Soviet Gov-

ernment, the Russian Government expresses the certainty that these needs will be satisfied in effect by the agreement which it intends to conclude with Japan. It does not doubt at all that in view of the deplorable state of affairs resulting from the Japanese expedition in Siberia, and of the growing opposition in Japan even among the powerful political parties against this expedition, it will soon be withdrawn. The People's Commissariat therefore proposes to the Japanese Government to engage in negotiations of peace with the purpose of guaranteeing to the two peoples a peaceful existence of friendship and the mutual satisfaction of their reciprocal interests.

*Peoples' Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*  
CHICHERIN.

## DECLARATION OF INTELLECTUAL WORKERS OF MOSCOW

*[The declaration which is printed below was published by a group of intellectuals in Soviet Russia who organized a "Union of Intellectual Workers." Among the founders of this union were many eminent scientists, professors and academicians, such as V. Bekhterev, S. Oldenburg; industrial entrepreneurs and bankers—V. Tarnovsky (formerly an owner of steamers and mills), A. Brofman (formerly Director of the Petrograd Credit Corporation), Zhelvatk (ex-President of the Council of the Ural industrial mines); lawyers, engineers, writers, etc., as, for instance: V. Planson, Margolis, P. Voronov (former General of the General Staff, and Director of the magazine "Russkaya Starina"); former officials of the old regime: A. Babnevsky, S. Korf (an ex-Senator), N. Yalachin, and others.]*

### THE DECLARATION

We, the undersigned—members of the "Group of Russian Intellectual Workers", adherents of various trends of political and socialist thought—having witnessed all the events occurring in Russia during the last few years, have united for the purpose of applying our energy and our knowledge to restore the productive ability of our country, and to save the balance of culture which was left by the war and the revolution. We also appeal to the public opinion of Europe and America and to our fellow countrymen abroad to point out the only way which could restore as speedily as possible the economic might of the nation and would lead to the resumption of commercial relations between western Europe and Russia.

The revolution in process over two years has entirely destroyed the foundation of the old regime and is persistently forging new forms of the political and social structure. These changes are inevitably accompanied by certain excesses. This movement is reflected in all countries, which, after this unprecedented war, are in need of peace and of the essential means of a cultural life during the



restoration of order and the establishment of a new system in Russia. These, it seems to us, are the causes which prompt the ruling spheres of other countries to attempt to establish a strong political and economic regime in Russia.

As foreign aid is necessary for the economic and productive life of Russia—and this question affects the interests of all countries—just so is foreign intervention and particularly military intervention a danger to the internal policy of the population, constituting 150 millions. In Russia the people are themselves—at the price of suffering and struggle—organizing their new life, their future. For there is no doubt that the ways of violence will bring no positive results, but, on the contrary, will serve as a source of new suffering for the revolutionary people and will lead to the disappearance of the last traces of civilization.

In view of all this, our Russian emigrants must revise their opinions and convictions, which, in their present form, do not conform to the real needs of the country nor to the sentiments and convictions of the popular masses and, particularly, of the numerous groups of intellectuals, whose opinions underwent a radical transformation during these last months in the course of which days and hours seemed like years.

One may, of course, deprecate the excesses which took place in Russia and which merit condemnation, but it is necessary that the Russian intellectuals should not charge these negative actions of a passing nature to the whole Russian people, whose suffering should be mitigated by concessions and individual sacrifices.

The political and economic situation of Russia is obviously severe. Russia is in need of a new jurisprudence, without which civil life is impossible; she is in need of economic reforms and of conditions which would facilitate production and the development of her forces.

But as to the direction which the revolutionary process will take in the future, as to the directing ideas which will ultimately triumph and which will determine the change in the psychology of the people,—all this cannot be foreseen. At any rate, for weighty reasons this change cannot be acted upon by means of violence.

The sole viewpoint on the Russian question is the following: To continue to keep this colossal country isolated from the whole world until she will have solved her economic and social problems is an impossibility.

The interests of Russia and of other countries do not permit this, and the present state of affairs demands:

1. The cessation of any armed intervention in the internal affairs of Russia.

2. The resumption of spiritual and business relations with Russia, irrespective of the regime existing in this country.

3. That extensive aid be furnished the Russian people for the restoration of its economic, material and spiritual forces.

Profoundly convinced that Russia will overcome all difficulties and will reconstruct a new civilized life, we are confident that the ruling spheres of the public opinion of Europe will regard our hopes with sympathy, will respond to our appeal, and will help the Russian people in its efforts to find the road to peaceful toil.

### RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Moscow, June 8.

In order to aid the campaign of the laboring masses of Karelia for their social enfranchisement, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has decided: First, to establish in the localities inhabited by Karelians in the province of Olonets and Archangel, in accordance with article eleven of the Constitution, a distinct regional unity, the Karelian Commune. Second, to charge the Karelian Committee, composed of Comrades Clying, Jaques Miakki and Vassili Kondjiev, to prepare without delay the assembly of the Soviet Congresses of the Karelian Commune, which assembly will determine the organization of power in this commune.

*President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee,*

KALININ.

*Secretary, JENUKILSE.*

### TEXT OF THE TREATY BETWEEN SEMIONOV AND JAPAN

The *Peking and Tien-Tzin Times* of May 27 contains the complete text of the treaty which was concluded between General Semionov, the "lawful successor" to Admiral Kolchak, and Japan, and which was signed by Semionov's representative Nuritov on September 28, 1919. The contents of this treaty are as follows:

1. All governments formed by the Bolsheviki or any political party after the fall of the Kolchak government shall not be recognized by Japan and she must fight them by force.

2. In the recruiting of volunteers for Semionov's army Japan must continuously support Semionov financially, under the control of Japanese officials.

3. Japan must drive out all the Bolsheviki from Siberia.

4. Without regard for the opinion of the Allies, Japan must convince Kolchak of the necessity to transfer all his power to General Semionov.

5. After the fall of the so-called Omsk Government of Kolchak, Japan must immediately recognize General Semionov as the Supreme Ruler of all Siberia.

6. Japan must reorganize the Russian monetary system, in recompense for which she will receive the following:

a. Russia must turn over to Japan as security certain real properties.

b. Japan obtains special leasing rights in the Amur and Primorsk provinces.

c. If the Japanese forces should reach the Ural, Japan gets full ownership rights in the Ural mines. —*Krasnoye Znamya*, Vladivostok, June 8, 1920.

## Appeal

*Of the First All-Russian Congress of the Agricultural Communes and Artels to the Toiling Peasants*

To you, comrades, peasants, the first All-Russian Congress of Agricultural Communes and Artels addresses an ardent appeal to join in the construction of a new, socialist economy. The severe economic distress which the Soviet Republic is living through demands of all of us extraordinary efforts for the reconstruction of our economy, destroyed by the imperialistic war. Only we, the many-millioned peasantry, can and must supply bread to the workers, who will intensify the work in the factories and workshops to manufacture for us the necessary articles of consumption, and agricultural implements. The speediest rehabilitation of railway transport also depends on us. At the same time we must always remember our comrades at the front, who are thrashing the White Guard bands. For them, first of all, we must assure bread and provisions. In addition, we must vanquish another enemy—the cold; we must take upon ourselves the gathering and delivery of wood for the cities and railways. In order to conquer our foes, the enemy at the front and the cold in the rear, we must be organized in communes and in toiling artels. With strict conscious comradeship discipline and with universal revolutionary energy, we will emerge victorious.

The first All-Russian Congress of Communes and Artels has already decided upon a number of measures to furnish every kind of aid to the toiling peasantry and to the families of the Red soldiers, such as:

For the organization and improvement of agriculture, in the artisan industry, by the opening of various shops to repair agricultural implements, to pare hides, to make felt boots, to do tailoring, carpentering and other work. To open loan stations and to establish electric stations to serve the communes and artels as well as the neighboring population. To develop large and small breeding cattle, fowl breeding, and rearing of bees; to organize dairies; to establish seed-plots for gardening; to organize Sundayings to help the families of the Red soldiers and the poorest peasants; to open people's houses, reading rooms, libraries, kindergartens; and to furnish all kinds of aid to the toiling peasantry, and by advice and explanations to settle arising conflicts.

Comrades peasants, organize and unite into a single toiling communal family, for our strength is in union.

The Soviet power, the powers of the workers and peasants, has furnished and will furnish all kinds of aid to the toiling peasantry, and organized into communes and toiling artels, we will overcome all the obstacles on our path and will emerge victorious from the struggle.

Long live a world Commune and the Toiling Peasantry!

Long live the brotherhood of all toilers!

Long live the world leaders of Communism!—*Izvestia*, December 25, 1919.

### BLACK SEA MUTINEERS

The following appeal has been issued by the committee appointed to defend the heroes of the Black Sea Mutiny among the French sailors stationed in that region and is taken by us from a recent issue of a French newspaper:

"For having refused to be the accomplices of a government which, in direct violation of all constitutional law, has been guilty of one of the greatest crimes in history—the treacherous attack upon the Soviet Republic—the crews of the Black Sea Fleet are in captivity.

"And their crime? They have refused to starve into submission a great people heroically struggling for freedom; they have refused to bombard undefended towns; they have refused to massacre women and children, and old men who received them as brothers; they have trusted to the word of honor of their officers, and in the justice of their country.

"Their self-sacrifice, their faith in the ideal of human solidarity will ever stand out as an example to all who fight for the emancipation of the world.

"Their idealism and fidelity to principle has won for them the fervent admiration of lovers of freedom the world over; and the oppressed of all lands can take courage from the thought that in one country at least there are men willing to dare all rather than slaughter their fellow-men at the bidding of the bloodhounds that rule over them.

"Citizens of town and country, workers of all trades, and of all creeds! to the rescue!

"Remembering the grandeur of their deeds and of the motives which prompted them, surely the heart and conscience of every one of you must revolt against the sufferings your sailor comrades are called upon to endure. Come, then, to our aid and help to wring from their persecutors the amnesty they have so long delayed."

### TRANSPORT ON THE VOLGA

The Moscow paper *Pravda*, of June 15, gives the following information with reference to the work of the water transport:

Up to June 1 by the river Volga there were transported:

|                            | Thousands<br>of poods*<br>in 1919 | Thousands<br>of poods<br>in 1920 |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Bread .....                | 1,375                             | 7,189                            |
| Salt .....                 | 2,526                             | 3,381                            |
| Wood .....                 | 5,494                             | 3,943                            |
| Timber .....               | 381                               | 15,885                           |
| Petroleum .....            | 2,085                             | 8,444                            |
|                            | 11,861                            | 44,842                           |
| By the Maryinsky waterway: |                                   |                                  |
|                            | In 1919                           | In 1920                          |
| Bread .....                | 50                                | 263                              |
| Salt .....                 | 2                                 | 61                               |
| Wood .....                 | 4,119                             | 9,457                            |
| Timber .....               | 245                               | 1,395                            |
| Petroleum .....            | 187                               | 283                              |
|                            | 4,603                             | 11,459                           |

It is necessary to point out that the reports referring to the year 1919 (covered in the above figures) are complete, whereas reports for 1920 from some parts are delayed, thus the total number of poods transported in 1920 (when the report is complete) will be greatly increased.

These figures indicate that the work of Russian transport in 1920 has improved in comparison with 1919.

\* A pood equals about 36 pounds avoirdupois.

# Official Communications of the Soviet Government

## ECONOMIC AND OTHER ITEMS

May 24, 1920.

### THE FIRST OF MAY

The workers of the March factory at Moscow had refused to work on the First of May and to perform their three hours of work supplementary to the week of the front. A general conference of the workers of the quarter voted disapproval of them. Since the day following the reproach eight hundred workers of the March factory enrolled with the factory committee for work on the first of May. The following day the general assembly of the March factory unanimously withdrew the first resolution adopted against working and decided that in the future the March factory would not limit itself to giving an example itself, but would watch over the good conduct of all other factories on the laboring front.

The journals continue their reports of the First of May. Sosnovski relates how the work went on in the Kremlin, where everybody worked, even Lenin, who was seen with a group of eight workers carrying enormous logs. There were present also the members of the Executive Committee, several commissaries of the people, the members of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. The rest of the day Lenin delivered several speeches; one was at the inauguration of the monument to liberated labor, replacing the old monument of Alexander the Third. "The capitalist," said Lenin, "called it free labor when the workers and the peasants were obliged to sell them their labor or die of hunger. We call this work slavery. We know it is difficult suitably to organize free labor, especially in the period of transition. The voluntary labor on this holiday is the first step on this road, and, in continuing on the same way, we shall really create free labor." Lenin presided also at the inauguration of the monument to Marx. He inaugurated the Zagorski Workers' Palace in the Lefort quarter and recalled the devoted life of this old secretary of the Bolshevik group of Geneva. Lenin spoke also at the meetings in several quarters and in the factories. The President of the Central Executive Committee, Kalinin, and the Secretary, Lutovinov, worked all day as weighers in the Mikelson factory. In the same factory an oak was planted on the scene of the attempt upon Lenin's life in 1918.

### IN THE CAUCASUS

Smilga, commanding the Caucasus front, has declared that the army of the Caucasus had taken every measure to restore the economic life of the country and especially to insure the cultivation of the fields. To this end the soldiers originally drawn from the Kuban have been sent home. The Caucasus labor army has already sent from Grosny by railroad one million five hundred thousand poods of naphtha, and is now repairing the Grosny-Petrovsk oil conduit.

1466. May 6, 1920.

### AGRICULTURE

The Central Executive Committee has urged all the executive committees and agricultural sections of the provinces to use every resource in their power to insure the cultivation of the land of peasants who do not own horses.

### PROTECTION OF LABOR

The Commissariat of Labor has elaborated a code of laws for social insurance, presenting in detail the rights of citizens and of their families in all cases of permanent or temporary loss of ability to work. This code will be published shortly by the Council of People's Commissars.

### SOLIDARITY OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR

There has just arrived from Petrograd a group of Swedish and Norwegian metallurgical workers who have been placed in the factories for the repair of rolling stock.

### FOOD RELIEF

At Petrograd, all citizens, in addition to the basic food ration, receive a varying supplementary ration, according to the kind of work done by them. This ration, called the labor ration, is of three kinds, first, for the manual workers who expend more energy; third, for the employes of Soviet institutions. By a recent decision the engineers taking direct part in production are included among the workers of the first class. The whole teaching staff is included among the workers of the second class. This supplementary ration is supplied only for the days of effective labor or legal rest.

### INDUSTRIAL RENEWAL

At Petrograd the Salonin factory produced daily four hundred poods of soap powder as against fifty in January. The workers have taken as their motto: "Death to the economic crisis."

The nationalized paper-mills produced in the week of April 17-23, sixteen thousand five hundred and twenty-six poods of print paper for journals, an increase of about five thousand poods over the average of the preceding weeks.

During May there will be resumed at Petrograd the operation of the Phoenix and Lesner Junior factories, the Franco-Russian factory and the factory of Russian motors, previously shut down owing to lack of fuel. *Economic Life* already announces the resumption of work in the Lesner factory. The Phoenix factory will manufacture tools for the repair of rolling stock. The Franco-Russian factory will make copper tubes.

The national manufacture of porcelains at Petrograd is now proceeding on a larger scale than before the revolution. Whereas in December the average production of each worker reached one hundred and sixty pieces per month, it now attains

four hundred and fifty. The factory is making isolators for high-tension currents. The optical section is the fourth in the world. The manufacture of pyroscopes for the measurement of high temperatures is the second in the world, and has produced this year one hundred and forty-six thousand pieces as against the one hundred and twenty thousand expected. The factory has produced for the year seventeen thousand china pieces. The manufactory depending upon the Section of Beaux Arts of the Commissariat of Public Instruction has created a whole series of establishments, schools of ceramics and glass-works, professional courses, a library, and a museum, with a series of lectures for the workers.

#### EXPORTS

Soviet Russia possesses a stock of about two hundred fifty thousand standards of wood and seven hundred seventy-three railroad ties ready for export. In 1919 seventy per cent of the saw mills on Soviet territory were in operation. New large saw-mills are under construction in the north.

#### RAILROADS

*Economic Life* publishes a bulletin of information of the Commissariat of Ways of Communication, showing that the fuel situation on most of the railway systems is perfectly satisfactory. Several lines have used coal, peat, and naphtha instead of wood.

The shops of Kharkov have increased their repairing capacity to enable them to repair eight locomotives per day.

The Second Labor Army has repaired numerous special trains for the transport of naphtha from Grozny. Beginning with May 10, five trains will be sent out every day. In addition, necessary vessels are ready for the transport of naphtha by the Volga. At the same time, the Second Labor Army is continuing the construction of the Saratov railway. On the Uralsk-Iletsk sector the rails and ties are ready for placing. The work is proceeding simultaneously on the whole line.

#### VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTION

Supplementary courses are being instituted in the Agricultural Academy of Petrovsko-Razumovskoie to obtain earlier promotion of agriculturists.

#### IN SIBERIA

The productivity of work on the Tomsk line has increased about three hundred per cent. During the last three months two hundred and forty-eight locomotives have been repaired.

#### THE KAZAN LINE

The official figures for the operation of the Kazan line since the month of January show a constant improvement. The total number of cars daily loaded or received has increased from 940 to 1,303 in April. The average number of locomotives daily employed has grown from 57 to 82. The commercial speed has increased. The duration of stoppage of material has diminished as well as the number of cars awaiting unload-

ing, which has been reduced from 6,000 to 2,500. The number of arrivals of grain at Moscow, at the Kazan station, has grown from 1,037 in January to 2,820 in April. In addition, a comparison of the figures shows that the fixed programs have been almost entirely carried out.

#### LABOR PROPAGANDA

The *Krasnaye Gazeta* of Petrograd has announced on the 25th of April that the average idleness of empty trains in the first week of April at Moscow was about three and a half days, while at Petrograd it was about six and a half. The journal asked the trainmen of Petrograd the reason for this fact, and invited them to reply. On the 5th of May the journal printed the following response from the station Moscow Vindava Rybinsk, at Petrograd: "The average idleness of merchandise trains was in our station about thirty-six hours on the 18th, that is, a day and a half." The journal continues that the station Moscow Vindava Rybinsk is not a case in point, since the trains at that station are two times less than at Moscow. Who then is to blame, where are the trains, where is the weak point which hinders the work of all the stations of Petrograd? Workers on the railways, reply! Thus the propaganda goes on with fact and emulation.

#### INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL

At Petrograd three new factories have resumed work, the "Beyond the Glue Seas" factory, the factory for re-inforced cement, and the sixth brick plant, all nationalized enterprises.

#### THE FIRST OF MAY IN SIBERIA

At Irkutsk there were counted at the fete of the First of May twelve thousand voluntary workers, not including the garrison, the railway men and the women who worked in sewing shops and hospitals. Numerous peasants came to offer themselves in repairing the road. At Yenissei six thousand persons took part in the grand celebration which followed the work.

#### FUEL

*Economic Life* publishes a study showing the immense significance in the transport crisis, of the necessity in which Russia was placed of using wood fuel for all machines. At present wood transport still occupies more than half of the loaded trains on all the lines, while every day only ninety-eight trains are loaded with coal. Every new train of coal from the Donets frees three trains of wood, that is, furnishes two trains more for the transport of other articles. In other words, the loss of coal from the Donets and of naphtha from Baku was equivalent to the suppression of two-thirds of its transport capacity for the railway system of Russia.

#### ORGANIZATION OF TRANSPORTS

*Economic Life* states that the campaign undertaken for the improvement of the ways of communication has resulted in perfect co-ordination between the Supreme Council of National Economy

and the Commissariat of Ways of Communication. There has been created a mixed commission of transports, composed of the representatives of those two organs, which examines all questions of rolling stock, repair, production of changeable parts, manufacture of new material. In particular this commission is now studying the operation of the privileged group of factories designed for the construction and repair of rolling stock. This commission, furthermore, has great value in principle in that it coordinates the activity of the supreme organ of production and that of the transport services. The admitted program looks to the progressive reduction of the number of locomotives out of service until twenty per cent, the normal percentage, is reached January 1, 1923.

### EXPLOITATION OF RAILWAYS

The figures published by the service of the exploitation of railways indicated an increase from February to March of two million, seventy-two thousand, two hundred and twenty-three versts traveled. In the same way the figures show an improvement in the rational utilization of locomotives, the average daily amount traveled by each locomotive being about sixty-five versts in February and mounting to seventy-two in March.

From December to March the total number of trains not employed productively, either because of lack of unloading or delays en route or through employment for storage for a long time, has diminished by more than ten thousand.

### THE COMMUNIST SATURDAYS

*Pravda* writes on the subject of the first anniversary of the Communist Saturdays organized on the line Kazan-Moscow on the initiative of a workingman weaver. "One may say boldly that there does not now exist in all Soviet Russia a city where Communist Saturdays have not been organized. They are held even in the country. First the Communist workers were the only ones to take part in them, but soon the movement came to embrace both those without party affiliation and other classes than the workers. This immense extension of Communist Saturdays and their universal success, clearly indicate the extraordinary aptness which devised this form of organization of labor in the present period of transition, a form which has the more value in that it is the first realization of the collective and disinterested labor of the future."

*Izvestia* remarks that the internal organization of the Communist Saturdays during this year has made immense progress. Not only the quantity, but also the quality of the work is constantly increasing. More and more are the masses imbued with the idea of the necessity of an intensive, prolonged and disinterested labor. The proof of this is that the Saturdays have taken the form of weeks and months of intensive voluntary work.

### RUSSIA AND FINLAND

1487. May 8, 1920.

*Of the last attempts to conclude an armistice, at a meeting which took place at Rajajoki between Soviet Russia and Finland, Suhl, delegate of the Soviet Government, writes in "Izvestia":*

"The pacific declarations of the Soviet Government have been reflected in the armistice conditions proposed by her. Far from claiming an inch of Finnish territory, the Soviet power was ready to admit the provisional neutralization of two contested parishes of the province of Olonets, leaving to the peace conference the definitive decision. In order to avoid every pretext of hostility in the interval, it proposed, also, all along the Russian-Finnish territory of 1914 a line of demarcation, or neutral zone, on both sides of this frontier. On the other hand, the Finnish Government immediately expressed the intention of occupying the northwest part of the province of Archangel, recently liberated from the Whites, together with Petchenga and an outlet on the sea, as well as the whole western part of the province of Olonets or Karelia. It next attempted to impose armistice conditions placing Russia in the most disadvantageous position in case of the resumption of hostilities. The Finnish delegation proposed a zone of protection, so-called, traced almost altogether upon Soviet territory and extending as far as the Murman line, embracing even the suburbs of Petrograd. From this zone Russia would have to retire its troops in favor of the troops of Mannerheim, said to be charged with the protection of the interests of the Finnish Government on wholly Soviet territory. Only in the southern zone was there admitted the presence of thirty to forty men of the Red Army per kilometre of frontier, and this to the very doors of Petrograd. The armistice conditions with regard to the sea, in their original form, would have forbidden all navigation with Petrograd and Kronstadt. Only towards the end the Finns allowed a free passage. The diplomacy of the Finnish military command was sewn with white thread. As soon as the question of Russo-Finnish pourparlers was decided in principle the Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs left for London and Paris, taking with him Baron Enkel, Chief of the General Staff. The Finns, in thus developing their maximum program, declared with an altogether military frankness that this was not yet the last word of their government. Immediately following upon the arrival of Holsti and Enkel at London the pourparlers visibly dragged, the delegation retarding at pleasure the communication of new propositions announced, and prolonged sterile debates upon historic questions. In the meantime, Holsti and Enkel are at Paris, breakfast with the president, receive and confer decorations. The international barometer settles, Lord Curzon takes a firmer tone in his humanitarian propositions. The weather changes also in Finland and the tone of the declarations becomes a little provoking. The Russian delegation thus found itself obliged to reply that the

Finnish demands surpassed all that one could expect at the beginning of the pourparlers, it had provisionally to interrupt the negotiations and return to Moscow to report to the Revolutionary Military Council of the republic. Now the Polish invasion shows clearly the internal connection existing between the failure of the peace pourparlers with Poland and Finland. They are the threads of a single web, held somewhere, and some idea of which is given in the tone of Lord Curzon's radios. The people of Finland desire no war, they are resolutely opposed to it. If in spite of the desire of the enormous majority of the nation, the bourgeois government of Finland allows itself to be drawn into the path of imperialist adventurers and expects to make of its people an instrument for foreign interests, that is its affair. Every bourgeois government is free to break its neck as it sees best."

#### RELATIONS WITH PERSIA

[*Copy of the radio sent by Chicherin to Prince Firouz-Mirza, Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs.*] June 27, 1920.

Information obtained on the subject of the recent incident at Astara has enabled us to form an exact idea of the nature of this incident.

The city of Astara, finding itself partly on Persian and partly on Russian territory,—a small stream separating the two States—the Persian part of the city was made the object of an attack by armed bandits who crossed the frontier and attacked Russian territory and troops. The latter, during the engagement with the bandits which was forced upon them, found it necessary to conduct the battle partly in the quarters of the city belonging to Persia, especially since the inhabitants of these quarters implored them to do so. The Persian territory was then evacuated immediately by the Russian troops, who are at present on no part of Persian territory. If the Persian authorities maintained sufficient order in the frontier regions to keep Russian property safe from attack, no incident such as that at Astara would have taken place.

We repeat once again that, faithful to its usual policy, the Russian Soviet Government in its policy with regard to Persia is guided by the principle of non-intervention, which ought, however, to be reciprocal and enforced to the same degree by both parties.

Desirous of seeing the strengthening of firm and enduring ties of friendship between the peoples of Russia and Persia, which the Russian people desire, the Soviet Government supports, and will continue to support, all that may tend to this end, regarding itself as the executor of the wishes of the working masses of Russia, who hold the Persian working masses to be their brothers, united to them by a strong solidarity. The Russian Soviet Republic can therefore consider itself, with reason, the only disinterested and faithful friend of the Persian people.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*  
CHICHERIN.

#### MESSAGE TO PRINCE MIRZA-FIROUZ, PERSIAN MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

July 10.

After the receipt of your wireless message dated June 23, received here July 4, we investigated in detail the questions raised by you, and I am now able to declare to you positively, on the basis of exact data in my possession, that there is now no longer any military or naval force of the Russian Republic in the territory or in the waters of Persia. Forces which according to your declarations are in the districts designated by you, have no relation whatever with our Government, nor was any consignment of arms sent by our authorities or under their protection. The attitude of the Russian Government toward the interior struggles proceeding in Persia is one of non-intervention, in spite of the similarity in ideas between the Government established at Resht and the Russian Government. Non-intervention is the principle not only professed but also carried out by us in Persia, and we apply this principle to both parties, being no more in a position to support the government established at Teheran against that at Resht, than to defend the latter against the former. It is consequently impossible for the Soviet authorities to undertake repressive measures against the government established at Resht, or against its adherents, as you would wish.

The Russian Government is convinced that the principle of non-intervention is the one best adapted to the feelings of friendship and fraternity animating the masses of the Russian people with regard to the Persian masses, and to the relations of neighborliness which it desires to see established between itself and the Government of Persia, for the affairs of the Persian people should be disposed of by the Persian people themselves. The Russian working masses warmly desire that the Persian masses may develop their well-being on the basis of disposing of their own fate in accordance with their own desires. We wish to see the best of relations established between Russia and Persia.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*  
CHICHERIN.

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## Book Reviewed

**THE ADVANCING HOUR**, By *Norman Hapgood*, Ex-Minister to Denmark. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1920.

**RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS**, March, 1917—March 1920. Documents and papers. Compiled by C. K. Cummings, Walter W. Pettit, etc., etc., at the request of the League of Free Nations Associations. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920.

**TWO YEARS OF FOREIGN POLICY**, by *George Chicherin*. The Relations of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic with Foreign Nations, from November 7, 1917, to November 7, 1919. New York: The Russian Soviet Government Bureau, 1920.

THE first of the above titles represents a book that is primarily concerned, not with Russia, but with the author's conviction that in combating radical thought it is important that conservative elements should use honorable methods in order not to defeat their own purposes. It is natural that in a discussion of this question Mr. Hapgood should have felt obliged to devote two of his chapters to a consideration of the problems the Russian people are facing, and to the manner in which their solutions of these problems are misrepresented abroad. The two chapters are Chapters V and VI, and their titles are respectively "Facing Bolshevism: Our Follies in Russia", and "Facing Bolshevism: The Future in Russia". The former, which opens with quotations from Prince Kropotkin's Letter to George Brandes, in which Kropotkin protests against Allied attempts to restore counter-revolution in Russia, is entirely taken up with a review and criticism of the stupid manner in which newspapers and even government authorities in foreign countries have persisted in misrepresenting to the outside world every step taken in the internal reconstruction of Russia by the Soviet Government. Mr. Hapgood forcibly and ably states the case against the agencies that have so assiduously been poisoning the public mind in all countries against the people of Russia and their government, and quotes in this connection a number of interesting examples similar to those which SOVIET RUSSIA for more than one year has had to present to its readers in its exposure of the campaign of vilification that has been so voluminously waged from so many quarters. Particularly interesting are these examples when they come in the form of documents issued by powerful governments which some persons may have considered superior to petty forms of misrepresentation. Thus, Mr. Hapgood gives us (pp. 109-111) a document issued by the General Staff of the British War Office, entitled: "Notes for Personnel Volunteering for Service With the British Military Mission in South Russia," and dated August, 1919, in which the old tale of the "nationalization of women" is rehearsed in respectable form, that is, its "horrors" are

not emphasized, and are even modestly reduced to application over a small part of the country, instead of being represented as nationwide in their baleful operation. The pretty little paragraph in question is here reprinted (as it appears in Mr. Hapgood's book) from the circular issued to the persons volunteering for this service:

6. The well-known decree for the nationalization of women did not come from the Central Bolshevik Government, but it has been put into force in several towns. By this decree all women were forced to report at a "commissariat of free love", where they might be selected by any man, and had no right to refuse.

Needless to say, Mr. Hapgood points out the absurdity of this invention, and also shows that he considers it mean to cling to such a vestige of the old story when the tale as a whole has been exploded. Perhaps the time-honored "British" quality of self-restraint is beginning to reassert itself, and the indignation against an outrage that never took place is gradually being reduced to more moderate form, finally to disappear altogether. In his Chapter VI, "The Future of Russia," Mr. Hapgood pays somewhat too much attention to the cooperatives as distinct from the Soviet power, being probably under the impression that the cooperatives and the Soviets in Soviet Russia are still functioning as rival organizations, and not as two phases of the same authority. Particularly misleading is the statement appearing at the head of a table at the end of Chapter V: "Much of the solidest information about what is really happening in Russia can be obtained in New York from the agents of the cooperatives," as well as his exaggerated opinion of the disinterested political impartiality of Mr. Alexander Berkenheim, who is, after all, so far out of sympathy with the Soviet Government as to have been involved in machinations against that government in May of this year.

The 400 pages of "Russian-American Relations" present a splendid and authoritative collection of official documents passing not only between the United States Government and the Soviet Government, but between representatives of the United States Government themselves, while they were in Russia studying Russian conditions. Particularly interesting are the communications passing between United States Ambassador Francis and Colonel Raymond Robins. President Wilson's speech to Congress, January 8, 1918, in which the famous fourteen points were first publicly proclaimed, is also printed in full (pp. 68-74), as it contained much that was evidently suggested by the Russian situation, and was later widely circulated in Russia by the United States Committee of Public Information. Other documents are included which make only casual references to the United States, as, for example, the Soviet note to Italy, of February 14, 1919, which is reprinted (pp. 306-317) for the quotation it contains from the letter of Rene Marchand, in which the latter mentions the

attendance of Mr. Poole, "former Consul General of the United States," at a counter-revolutionary gathering of foreign diplomats. But the collection is by no means one-sided: it prints all the available documents concerning the relations between the two countries, not only in the period following the establishment of the Soviet Government, but from the first announcement of the First Provisional Government that succeeded the monarchy. No student of Russian affairs should fail to acquaint himself with the contents of this book, which also has a good introduction in which an attempt is made to place the various documents in their proper setting historically. And in studying these documents, the reader could not supplement them with a better and more readable account of the diplomacy of the period than the splendid report, by People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, George Chicherin, entitled: "Two Years of Foreign Policy," which has much good interpretation in its thirty-six pages. It covers the relations of the Soviet Government, not only with the United States, but with other nations as well, and should preferably be read before undertaking the larger book on "Russian-American Relations."

#### LATVIA AND SOVIET RUSSIA

COPENHAGEN, June 29—According to a telegram from Helsingfors, Finnish troops have been pressed back from East Karelia into Finland by Bolshevik troops.

#### CHICHERIN TO GERMANY

HAGUE, June 21.—From a Moscow radio we learn that Chicherin has sent a telegram to the German Government in which he repudiates the malicious, prejudiced reports that Russia takes a hostile attitude to Germany.

#### NEWSPAPERS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

On May 16, the first All-Russian Congress of the workers of the "Rosta" (telegraph bureau of the Russian Soviet Government) was opened in the press headquarters in Moscow, with 109 participants, mostly Communists. The first resolution passed by the Congress was a greeting to Lenin as the leader of the proletariat, as a revolutionary journalist, and as the founder of the Communist press.

The chief of "Rosta", Karschentsev, reported on the work of the past years. Formerly there were only five branches, but at present Russia is cornered with a network of branches. There are sixty-eight provincial branch offices and fifty district branch offices. The task today is the organization of the press and educational work. "Rosta" has established schools of journalism and has assigned literary talents to the various parts of the country.

The Congress took up also: the universal working norms for the provincial sections, the unification of the workers, the financing of the press, and the propaganda among the workers for the creation of their own local organs.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

of

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. WOMEN IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by *Helen Blonina*.
2. THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE, by *G. Zinoviev*.
3. TRANSPORTING NAPHTHA FROM THE CAUCASUS, by *U. Larin*.
4. TRAVEL IN RUSSIA IN THE SPRING OF 1920, by a *Swedish Newspaper Correspondent*.
5. NEW PROBLEMS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA, by *N. Lenin*.
6. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by *Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek*.

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## The American Policy

THE NOTE recently delivered by the American Secretary of State to the Italian Ambassador, contains little which is of interest or direct application to the Russian people. The most important significance of this document lies not in the mere reiteration of the hostile attitude of the American Government towards the Soviet Republic, an attitude already repeatedly expressed in word and deed, but rather in the expression of the purpose of the United States to break with its recent associates in European and Asiatic affairs. The note places the United States, on one ground or another, in direct opposition to England, Italy, and Japan. This is a matter which will be of interest to the peoples and governments of the latter countries, but which does not concern the Russian Government, except insofar as it serves to confirm our repeated contention that there can be no unity of policy or action among the Allies in matters involving their economic rivalries, and that the gross misunderstanding and mishandling of the Russian situation by all the associated nations of the Entente have been the chief cause of the present political and economic chaos of Europe.

However, although Soviet Russia is not directly affected by an academic restatement of the already well-known views of the American Government, we nevertheless share in the profound disappointment which will be felt by the workers everywhere that the official representatives of the American nation have so irrevocably placed themselves in opposition to the aspirations of the toilers of the world, who seek only peace and freedom from oppression. This disappointment will be the more sharp inasmuch as this declaration of the Government of the United States has come at the very

moment when the governments of Europe, yielding to the demands of the workers, have shown a tendency, to revise their previous misjudgments of Russia, and to adopt a policy of adjustment. The Government of Italy has already taken steps to resume active relations with Soviet Russia. Great Britain has expressed its desire to reach an understanding with the Soviet Government. The British Government has invited the Soviet Republic to send representatives to a general conference of nations which should have as its main object the restoration of peace in Europe, by repairing the damage done at the conference of Versailles, where it was attempted to arrange the affairs of Europe without consulting the Russian people.

Against all these steps towards pacification and the restoration of normal economic intercourse in Europe, the Government of the United States has maintained an attitude of irreconcilable opposition. If the policy of the American Government, reaffirmed in this recent note, should prevail as the policy of the Allies, there would be no hope of peace in Europe. Fortunately, however, much as we regret the position in which the American people have thus been placed before the world, we are confident that the hopes and purposes of the European workers, striving for peace and successfully prevailing upon their governments to adopt courses of moderation, will not be frustrated by any official declaration from any source. The European masses will make peace, in spite of the insatiable imperialistic ambitions of their own rulers, and in spite of any interference from the American Government. This utterance of the American Government may give temporary encouragement to the most reactionary elements in

Europe; it may even prolong the bloodshed and destruction a little longer, but it will not swerve the European workers from their determination to achieve peace and freedom. Much less, of course, will it move the people and Government of Russia from their determination to defend the Revolution against all assaults. The naive hope, expressed in some quarters, that this note may affect the purposes and actions of the Russian people, can only arise from ignorance of the facts and is too ridiculous for serious consideration.

Those portions of the note which refer to the internal affairs of the Russian Republic do not merit extended comment. The domestic affairs of the Russian people are no concern of the Government of the United States, and we do not desire to enter into any controversy with American officials upon matters concerning which they are so lamentably ill-informed. Moreover, for us to point out the manifest inaccuracies contained in this note, or to defend the Soviet Government against such grossly unwarranted misrepresentations, would be to appear to accept a principle in international dealings which we must specifically repudiate; namely, the principle put forward in this note that the recognition of a foreign state is determined by considerations of the social structure or political principles of that state. No government has ever based its foreign relations upon this principle, and if the American Government now assumes to do so, we repeat that this is a principle which the Soviet Government emphatically repudiates. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has repeatedly offered to establish friendly economic and political relations with foreign governments with whose principles and internal structure the Soviet Government has no sympathy. In resuming relations with capitalist states, which the Soviet Government has already done in several instances, and is ready to do in general, we should never for one moment wish to be understood as approving or countenancing the social structure or the political ideals of those states. We do not ask them to approve our institutions, nor can they expect us to approve theirs. The principle advanced in the American note, if generally acted upon, would be destructive of all international relations. We know, of course, that this principle does not actually determine the attitude of the American Government and that the real motive for its hostility to the Soviet Republic lies elsewhere. We particularly regret the position assumed by the American Government in this respect because of the unfortunate effect which it will have upon the sentiments of the Russian people. Having only recently escaped from the tyranny of the Russian Czar, and suffering at this very moment from wanton invasion and spoliation by the troops of the Japanese Mikado, and remembering that the American Government held no aversion to intimate and friendly relations with the autocratic governments of the Czar and the Mikado, the people of Russia will not comprehend by what standards the American Government

judges the beneficence and virtue of those governments to which it extends recognition. As for the alarm of the American Government that the diplomatic service of the Soviet Government might become a "channel of intrigue," against which the American people could not defend their cherished institutions, we cannot repress a smile of amazement at such an expression from anyone who is in the least familiar with the traditional and general practices of the diplomatic agents of capitalistic and imperialistic nations. The Soviet Government had its experience with foreign diplomatic services employed as "channels of intrigue" and was able to take adequate steps in its own protection. We should imagine that the American Government, familiar with such matters, might assume that it had the ability to protect itself from any dangers arising from this source.

As for the solicitude of the American Government for the "integrity" of the Russian Empire, we can only explain this by the continued and favored presence in Washington of certain reactionary Russian elements who still hope for the restoration of the old Czaristic regime with all its unbridled tyranny over the peoples formerly held in subjection along the borders of Russia. We are amazed that the influence of these discarded representatives of Russian Imperialism should have moved the American Government to abandon the principle of "self-determination of peoples." However this change may have been brought about, and whatever the American Government may seek to gain by supporting the restoration of Russian Imperialism, we must emphatically deny the claim of the American Government to determine the present or future status of any of the component parts of the former Russian Empire. This is a matter for decision between the peoples inhabiting those regions and Soviet Russia, and it is not for the Government of the United States to decide which of the aspirations of these people are "legitimate". The Government of Russia has freely recognized the independence of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, and other border states, and so long as the peoples of these states desire to maintain their independence, their sovereignty will be respected by the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government, moreover, will defend by every available means the right of these peoples to self-determination against the pretensions of any foreign power. The peoples of these states, freed at last from the long tyranny of Russian Imperialism, will view with amazement and alarm this declaration of an intention on the part of the American Government to restore them to their former bondage.

The hope which the Soviet Government has maintained, against all appearances to the contrary, for the early resumption of friendly intercourse and profitable economic relations between the peoples of Russia and America is now definitely destroyed by this official declaration. The Rus-

sian Government cannot urge and will not permit the resumption of commercial relations between Russia and America so long as the attitude and policy of the American Government remains that expressed in this document. It has become plain that the present administrators of the foreign

policy of the United States are irrevocably hostile to the Russian Government. This fact, however, does not shake our confidence that there is no conflict, but only sympathy and identity of interest, between the broad masses of the American people and their fellow toilers in Russia.

## New Problems for Russia

By N. LENIN

*(An address delivered at the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, held at Moscow about the end of March.)*

**WE MUST** give our best thought to the question as to what should be the basis of our agitation and propaganda, to the analysis and interpretation of the reasons for our victories, why our sacrifices in the civil war paid a hundred-fold, and how to profit from this experience and organize our work so as to insure a victorious outcome in a different war, in the war on the bloodless front, in the war which is different only in form but is waged against us with more fury and determination by all the old representatives, the servants and leaders of the old capitalist world.

Our revolution has, more than any other revolution, confirmed the law that the resistance of the bourgeoisie is intensified in proportion to the force of the revolution, the force of the attack, the energy, determination, and triumph of victory. The more we, proletarians, are victorious, the more we destroy the capitalist exploitation,—the more the capitalist exploiters learn to unite and pass to a more determined attack.

All of you well remember—it is but a short while ago if you think of it in terms of time, but so far back when compared with the present events—how Bolshevism was looked upon as a joke at the beginning of the October revolution. And though in Russia this view had to be discarded very soon, it was held for quite a long time in Western Europe. During the last year we have lived to see this view, which was a sign of the isolation and weakness of the proletarian revolution, discarded also in Western Europe. Bolshevism has become a world phenomenon. The workers' revolution has raised its head. The Soviet system, in the creation of which, since the end of October, we followed in the footsteps of 1905, developing our own experience,—this Soviet system has become a phenomenon of universal historical significance. And now the whole world, without any exaggeration, has divided into two camps consciously facing each other. It should be noted that during this year they have lined up against each other for a final and decisive struggle, and just at present, while we are meeting in congress, we are living through what is perhaps one of the greatest, sharpest, as yet unfinished transition moments from war to peace.

You all know how the leaders of the imperialistic Entente powers, who shouted to the whole world

that they “will never give up the war against the usurpers, bandits, the enemies of democracy—the Bolsheviki,” were forced to lift the blockade, how they failed in their attempt to ally the small nations, because we not only won over to our side the workers of all countries, but also succeeded in winning the bourgeoisie of the small countries, for the imperialists oppress not only the workers of their countries but also the bourgeoisie of the small nations. You know how we won over the wavering middle class within the advanced countries. And now the time has come when the Entente is breaking her solemn promises, is violating the agreements into which she entered with the various Russian counter-revolutionary groups, and the latter are left in despair with these worthless agreements. The Entente has thrown away hundreds of millions on these agreements and had to give up this policy. Now, after lifting the blockade, they have actually started peace negotiations with Soviet Russia, and these negotiations have not been completed, because the small powers have lost faith in them and in their power.

We see that the position of the Entente cannot be defined from the standpoint of the ordinary conceptions of jurisprudence. They are neither at war nor at peace with the Bolsheviki. We are recognized and not recognized by them.

This absolute disintegration of our adversaries who were sure of their power, shows that they are but a handful of capitalist beasts at odds among themselves and absolutely powerless to fight us. And now the situation is such that Latvia has made an official peace proposal to us, Finland has sent a communication which officially speaks of the line of demarcation but which really marks a transition to a peace policy, and, finally, Poland—the Poland whose representatives have displayed and are still displaying a particularly belligerent attitude, the Poland which more than any other country has been getting, and is still getting, trains with war supplies, and has been promised every kind of aid if she would only continue to fight Russia,—even this Poland, whose tottering government would consent to any war adventure, has sent us an invitation to open peace negotiations.

We must be extremely cautious. Our policy demands most of all carefulness. It is very hard to determine the proper course, for there are no

lines pointing the way. The foe himself does not know what will be his next step. The gentlemen directing the French policy, who more than anybody else are inciting the leaders of the Polish landed proprietors and bourgeoisie, do not know what will come next, do not know what they want. today they are pleading with the Germans: "Gentlemen, give us a few trains with cannon, several hundred millions, and we will be ready to fight the Bolsheviki." They are suppressing the news of strikes spreading in Poland, they are clamping down the censorship lid to conceal the truth. And the revolutionary movement there is growing. At the same time the revolution in Germany grows into a new phase, into a new stage. In the wake of the German "Kornilovism," the German workers, according to the latest despatches, are creating a Red Army. And the Polish workers are getting more and more inflamed. Into the consciousness of the representatives of the bourgeois-landowners' Poland is stealing the thought—is it not too late? Will not a Soviet republic in Poland come earlier than the execution of a national act for peace or war? They do not know what to do. They do not know what the next day will bring.

We, however, know that each month brings a gigantic increase of our forces. For this reason our international situation is now particularly firm, firmer than ever. But with regard to the international crisis we must be extremely watchful and must be ready to face any surprises. We have a formal peace offer from Poland made at a time when these gentlemen are in a desperate situation, like that which tempted their counterparts, the German monarchists,—who are better trained, with greater experience and more political knowledge—to embark on a similar adventure; and this is even more likely from the Polish bourgeoisie. We know that our adversary, who does not know what to do and what he will do tomorrow, is in a desperately difficult situation and we must firmly tell ourselves that though a peace offer has been made, a war is possible.

Their future conduct cannot be foreseen. We have watched these men, we know these Kerenskys, these Mensheviki and Socialist Revolutionaries. We have seen during these two years how they extolled Kolchak one day, were almost with the Bolsheviki on the next day, then went to Denikin. We have seen how all this was covered up with phrases of liberty and democracy. We know these gentlemen. For this reason we grasp the peace offer with both hands and are willing to make the maximum concessions, being confident that peace with the small powers will advance our cause infinitely better than war. By means of the war the imperialists deceived the toiling masses, they suppressed the truth about Soviet Russia, and any peace will clear the road for our influence which has already become great during these years. The Third Communist International won unheard of victories. But we know at the same time that war may be imposed on us any day.

#### *Questions of Economic Reconstruction*

Important considerations of principle forced us resolutely to direct the toiling masses to make use of the army for the solution of the immediate basic problems of economic construction. Let us take up these considerations of principle, which are of tremendous significance.

The old source of discipline, capital, has been undermined; the old source of unification has disappeared. We must create a new source of discipline and unification. Any compulsion arouses indignation and protests, shouting and wailing among the bourgeois democracy, which extols the words "liberty and equality" failing to understand that freedom for capital is a crime against the workers, that equality of those who have plenty and those who are starving is a crime against the toilers. In the name of the struggle against falsehood we are enforcing obligatory labor and the union of the toilers, having no fear of compulsion. For never has a revolution been carried out without compulsion if it showed ability to lead this class to sacrifices. The revolution has a right to use compulsion if it is necessary for the realization of its aims.

In the controversy as to the historical factor of the domination of the bourgeoisie, the compromisers, the German Independents, the Austrian Independents, and the French Longuetists, always forget such factors as revolutionary determination, firmness, and inflexibility of the proletariat. And this inflexibility and hardihood of the proletariat of our country who said to themselves and to others and have proven it by deeds, that we would rather all perish than surrender our territory, than surrender our principle of discipline and firm policy, to which we must sacrifice everything,—that is a fact. This is the historic fact, at the moment of the integration of the capitalist countries and the capitalist class, at the moment of their despairing crisis, this is the decisive political fact which makes ineffective the phrases of majority and minority, of democracy and freedom, notwithstanding the pleas of the heroes of the past historical period. The decisive factor in this case is the class-consciousness and firmness of the working class. If the worker is ready to sacrifice himself, if he proves himself able to exert all his energy,—this solves the problem. Everything must be sacrificed to the solution of this problem. The determination of the working class, its inflexibility in carrying out its slogan "Rather death than surrender!"

We are now facing the task of solving the problems of economic construction, of the rehabilitation of ruined production, and how to direct toward this end every force that the proletariat can bring into play, how to make use of their absolute unity. We must have an iron discipline, an iron order, without which we would not have lasted not only over two years, but not eventwo months. We must know how to make use of our victory. On the other hand, we must understand that this transition requires many sacrifices, and the country has

already made many sacrifices heretofore. From the standpoint of principle the activity of the Central Committee was clear. All our activity was subordinated to this policy, was directed in this spirit. Take, for instance, the question—which seems but incidental, which taken by itself, not in connection with the whole situation, could not be claimed to have any importance as far as the basic principles are concerned—the question of collegiate or individual management. It is imperative to consider this from the angle of our fundamental gains in knowledge, in experience, in revolutionary practice during the past stages.

### *The Expression of Class Domination*

Comrades, allow me to bring some theory into this question—how does a class rule, in what does the domination of a class manifest itself? We surely are not inexperienced in this respect, and we differ from former revolutions by the fact that there is no utopianism in our revolution. If the old class has been replaced by a new class, the latter can maintain its power only in a furious struggle with the old class. And not unless it is able to destroy the old class, will the new class be completely victorious. This is the way in which the question is determined by the gigantic and complex class struggle. Or else you will sink in the swamp of confusion.

In what is the domination of a class revealed? In what was revealed the domination of the bourgeoisie over the feudal class? The constitution said: "In freedom, inequality." What a lie! As long as there are toilers, the capitalists can, and as capitalists they are even forced to, speculate. We say that there is no equality, that the satiated is not equal to the hungry, or the speculator to the toiler. In what then is the domination of a class revealed? The domination of the proletariat is revealed in the expropriation of the property of the landed proprietors and capitalists. While the spirit and the fundamental content of all former constitutions—including the most democratic—was based in the last analysis only on property. Our constitution has won the right of historical existence. The victorious proletariat has definitely abolished and destroyed property—this reveals the domination of this class. First of all—in the question of property. The domination of a class was secured by the decision on the question of property. The constitution then recorded what life had already decided—"capitalist and land-owners' property is no more," and added: "the working class, according to the constitution, has more rights than the peasantry, and the exploiters have no rights at all." This recorded everything by means of which we established the domination of our class, by means of which we linked ourselves with the toilers of all sections, of all small groups. The petty bourgeois property owners are divided. Those who had large property are enemies of those who had less property, and abolishing property, the proletariat declared open war against them.

There are still many who are unenlightened, who are in the dark and who will support any kind of free trade. But in the struggle, when they see the discipline, the self-sacrifice, in the victory over the exploiters, they cannot fight. They are not for us, but they are powerless to act against us. The domination of a class is determined only by its attitude toward property, and this determines also the constitution. And our constitution has correctly recorded our attitude towards property and the question as to which should be the upper class. Those who connect the question as to how the domination of a class is expressed with questions of democratic centralism, cause such confusion that any successful work on this ground becomes impossible. The clearness of propaganda and agitation is the fundamental condition of work.

If our opponents admit that we accomplished wonders in the development of agitation and propaganda, it should not be understood superficially, in the sense that we used much paper and many agitators, but rather as referring to the content of the agitation, that the truth contained in this agitation forced its way into the minds of everybody. And we must not deviate from this truth. When classes replaced one another they altered the attitude toward property. Replacing the feudal class, the bourgeoisie changed the attitude toward property. The constitution of the bourgeoisie says: those who have property are not equal to those who are poor. This was the freedom of the bourgeoisie. This "equality" gave the domination in the state to the capitalist class.

And what are you doing? When the bourgeoisie replaced feudalism did they confuse the state with management (administration)? No, they were not such fools. They said that in order to manage, they must have people who know how to manage; for this purpose we will take the feudal administrators and will change them. And this is the way they acted. Well, was this a mistake? No, comrades. The ability to manage does not come from nowhere, nor is it of divine origin. And because an advanced class is an advanced class, it does not at once become capable of managing. When the bourgeoisie came into power it took men from the feudal class for administration. And, comrades, any other way is impossible. We must judge things realistically. The bourgeoisie made use of the preceding class, and now we are confronted with a similar problem—how to take advantage of and subject their knowledge, their technical training, how to make use of all this to insure the victory of the working class. We have said that the victorious class must be mature, but maturity is not attested by a certificate; it is proven by experience, by practice. The bourgeoisie conquered before they knew how to manage, and they insured their victory by promulgating a new constitution, then recruited administrators from their own class and began to learn, took administrators from the preceding class and began to teach and train their own, the

new administrators, to the work of administration, using for this purpose the whole state apparatus, sequestering the feudal institutions, placing the schools at the disposal of the rich. Thus, after many years and decades, they trained administrators of their own class. And now in a state which is built in the image of a dominant class we must do as was done in all states. If we do not want to take the position of pure utopianism and inane phrases, we must say that we ought to learn from the experience of the past, that we must secure the constitution conquered by the revolution. But for administration, for national construction we must have men who know the technique of administration, who have had experience in state and economic affairs. And such men can be gotten nowhere else, except among the preceding class.

#### *Concerning Collective Management*

Quite frequently the arguments on collective management are imbued with the spirit of the worst ignorance, the spirit of opposition on specialists. With such a spirit we cannot win. In order to win we must comprehend the complex historical environment, we must remember that we are building Communism out of the ruins of the old bourgeois world, and in order to build this Communism we must take hold of technical knowledge and science, and make them accessible to wider circles. And we cannot get this, save from the bourgeoisie. This fundamental question must be clearly presented and must be made the basis of economic construction.

We must direct both the affairs of the state and the work of reconstruction with the aid of men of the class that we have overthrown; men who are imbued with the bias and prejudice of their class we must re-educate. Then we must select administrators from the ranks of our class. We must use the whole state apparatus so that the schools, extra-mural education and practical training,—that all this should serve the proletarians, the workers, the toiling peasants, under the direction of communists. This is the sole way in which we can organize our endeavors.

After our experience of two years we cannot argue as if we were for the first time undertaking Socialist construction. Thank heaven, it is not true. We committed enough foolish acts both in the period of Smolny and in the following period. There is nothing shameful in this. Where were we to get sense if we were for the first time undertaking a new endeavor? We tried one way, and tried another way. We followed the line of least resistance, because we could not separate the sound from the unsound—this requires time. Now the recent past from which we have emerged, this past when chaos and enthusiasm reigned, is gone. Documents are left of this period. The Brest peace is a historical document, more than that—it is a historical period. The Brest peace was forced upon us because we were powerless in every domain. What was this period? It was a period of impotence from which we emerged the victors. It

was a period of collegiums everywhere. This historical fact cannot be evaded.

When we are told that the collegiums are a management training school, I reply: comrades, we cannot forever stay in the lower grades! This will not work. We have grown up, and we will be spanked, and spanked in every domain, if we will act as school boys. We must move forward.

#### *On the Trades Unions*

We must climb upward with energy and with a single will. The trade unions are carrying gigantic burdens. We must see to it that they learn the task in the spirit of the party and in the spirit of the struggle against the false democratism and the cries about appointees. All this old harmful rubbish, which can be tolerated only in resolutions and conversations, should be swept out. Otherwise we cannot win. If we have not learned this lesson in two years, we are laggards, and laggards do not win.

This is an extremely difficult task. Our trade unions have given gigantic aid in the construction of the proletarian state. They were the link which connected the party with the millions of the unenlightened mass. Let us be frank. The trade unions have borne on their shoulders the whole task of the struggle with the economic chaos. When they had to assist the state in the work of provisioning, was it not one of the greatest tasks?

The proletariat continued to make sacrifices. There is talk of violence, but the proletariat by making the greatest sacrifices proved that this violence was justified and right. The majority of the peasant population of the fertile provinces of our famished, devastated Russia had for the first time better food than they had had for centuries in czarist and capitalist Russia. It was necessary that the vanguard of the working class should make this sacrifice. It was a school of struggle. Having graduated from this school, the worker must go further. Now it is imperative to make this step.

The trade unions have their history and past. In this past they were organs of resistance against the oppression of labor, organs of defense against Capitalism. But when the working class became the class controlling the state power, and when it had to make more sacrifices and give more lives to the struggle than before and had to starve more, the situation was changed. Not everybody comprehends and appreciates this change. And here the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries come to our aid, unconsciously demanding that individual management be replaced by collective management. No, comrades, this will not pass. We are through with this stage.

#### *A Different Front*

We are confronted by a very complex task: having conquered on the bloody front—to conquer on the bloodless front. This is a more difficult war. This front is more severe. We say this frankly to all conscious workers. After the war which we won at the front, we have to face a bloodless war.

We are confronted with the following situation: the more we conquered the more we had to deal with such regions as Siberia, Ukraine, and Kuban. There the peasants are rich. We know that there the peasant who has a parcel of land says: "to hell wit the Government; I will set the price for my produce as I will see fit, and I should worry about those who starve." We have to rule with the aid of the class which has spent its energy and which must exert itself again. The speculator peasant, who after coming in contact with Denikin swayed toward our side, will now be aided by the Entente. The war has changed its front and forms. Now we are being fought by commerce, by swindling. They want to make swindling international. They want to transform peaceable economic construction into peaceable disintegration of the Soviet power. We regret disappointing you, gentlemen imperialists, but we are on guard. We say: "We had war, and we therefore still insist on this fundamental slogan—to maintain unabated and to transfer to the domain of toil the

principles of firmness and unity of the proletariat. The old prejudices, the old habits, we must discard."

(At this point Lenin mentioned a pamphlet by Gusev, which was written for the congress and in which the author formulated a plan for industrial reconstruction.) Lenin then continued:

With the aid of specialists we can elaborate in greater detail this basic economic plan. We must bear in mind that this plan counts on an effort which will last many years. We do not promise at once to deliver the country from famine. We say that the struggle will be more severe than at the battle front, but it is of greater interest to us, because it is a closer approach to our really fundamental tasks. It will require a maximum exertion and that unity of will which we manifested before and which we must manifest now. If we will solve this problem, we will be just as victorious on the bloodless front as on the front of the civil war.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

August 16, 1920.

**WARSAW** is situated on both banks of the Vistula. The western part of the town, on the left bank of the river, is connected by railway with Berlin and Vienna; the northeastern part of it, known as Praga, is situated on the right bank of the Vistula. Both parts of the town are connected by the Alexander Bridge, 1,666 feet long, which was built in 1865. There is also another bridge, besides the railway bridge, across the river.

Fort Sliwicki, situated at the northwestern extremity of Praga, defends these bridges and, together with the Alexander Citadel, on the western bank of the Vistula, almost directly opposite this fort, these fortifications were left by the Russians when Warsaw was disarmed by order of General Sukhomlinov, late War Minister of the Czar's regime. Fort Sliwicki and the citadel were left intact only for inner-political purposes. The old Russian Government, ready for the coming insurrection of Poland, kept these forts fully armed, with the idea of destroying Warsaw by their artillery in case a revolution should break out in the Polish capital.

It must be noted that all the heavy guns of these forts were directed towards Warsaw.

Praga is connected with Petrograd, Moscow, and the Baltic republics, as well as with Ukraine, by four main railway lines of great strategical importance, because they are protected by the Vistula, Bug and Narev defence lines.

About twenty miles northwest of Warsaw, where the Vistula and the Bug meet, is the former fortress of Novo-Georgievsk, or the Modlin forts. This fortress was built in order to protect Warsaw from German invasion, but was considered useless from

a strategical standpoint and dismantled entirely soon after the Russo-Japanese war. I do not mention the other fortified places west of Warsaw, which have no importance at the present moment, when Warsaw is the objective of the Russian Red Army. Practically, Warsaw has no technical defense at all, from a purely military point of view, and is protected only by the natural barriers of the Vistula, Bug, and Narev, on the north, and the Vistula and Bug on the east, while its eastern portion, Praga, is open to the invaders once the Bug has been forced.



WARSAW AND ITS ENVIRONS

(New York papers of August 17 report a Moscow wireless of the same date, announcing the fall of Warsaw. If the press report is true, it proves that Col. Bek was correct in his prophecy that Warsaw would fall within "the next few days.")

"There is no river that cannot be crossed," Napoleon often repeated, and the history of warfare has proved this to be true. Only in June, 1920, I noticed the statements of the French and Polish military experts that the Soviet army would be unable to cross the Dnieper, Berezina, and Dvina, because of the strong defence of the Polish army, which had prepared in advance the most up-to-date positions for *passive defense*, on their western banks. Nevertheless, the Russian cavalry crossed these rivers with extraordinary ease and penetrated in the rear of its enemy, thus producing a panic amongst the fighting body of the Poles, and facilitated the crossing of these rivers by the Red infantry. Finally, all the natural obstacles, namely, the Dvina, Berezina, Dnieper, Narev, and Bug, were forced by the Soviet army, which now is already on the eastern banks of the Vistula, and I do not see any reason why it should not cross this river also, which is easier to cross than, for instance, the Dvina or Berezina.

There were two possible methods for the Russian command to capture Warsaw, either by means of a general assault, or to force it to surrender by an encircling movement. The former certainly would have been accomplished more swiftly, taking into consideration that the Red Army has already overpowered the most serious natural and technical lines of defence of the Polish capital. But, in moving its masses on Warsaw, the Russian Soviet Army would have been obliged to prepare such an attack by most intensive artillery fire, which would mean the destruction of the city, with heavy casualties among the civilian population, which is far from the intentions of the Russian General Staff.

To say that the Russian Red Army is short of siege artillery suitable for the purpose, is simply a miscalculation on the part of the military critics of the Allied press, who have forgotten that only a month ago they declared that the Red artillery was very active, and was using big guns "captured from Kolchak and Denikin," against the Poles. It is therefore incredible that they should have been left somewhere in the rear, unless they were captured by the "victorious" Wrangel during his latest "great victories."

It is sufficient to look at the map to understand that the Red Army, about twenty to twelve miles from Warsaw, at the very outskirts of Praga, and bombarding Fort Sliwicki, could easily bombard Warsaw. The fact that our airmen, as newspapers tell us, are flying over the city unmolested and dropping propaganda, shows that the Russian command does not intend any unnecessary destructive action.

Therefore the Russian General Staff decided to undertake a gigantic encircling movement which has been called "dangerous" by Vidou, an eminent military writer: "The Bolshevik generals are carrying out an extraordinarily daring manoeuvre on the fronts north and east of Warsaw," he said, and further explains a matter which I think the Red General Staff knows something about and

naturally had counted on, namely, the fact that "the terrain northeast of Warsaw is particularly difficult, being covered by the Narev and Vistula rivers," and that the fortress of Modlin is an especially formidable obstacle.

"The Soviet forces," he continues, "are trying to move further westward, probably toward Plock, so as to take Warsaw in the rear, but in so doing they are lengthening their whole front from the Vistula to the Prussian frontier." Further, Professor Vidou declares, "this movement exposes the Bolshevik line to a counter-offensive, which might easily pierce it, even if not delivered in great force."

Theoretically, the supposition of this French strategist seems sound, and I should share his opinion if the Polish field army were intact, and Warsaw were a fortress prepared for the defence from eastern invaders. But in reality Warsaw is not a fortress, and the Polish field army is beaten, and there are no reserves at the disposition of the Polish command for properly accomplishing the suggested counter offensive, except those which the Allies were supposed to send for the Polish relief through the famous corridor, now partly in the hands of the Red Army.

Already on August 13, I stated to the *Philadelphia Press* representative that "in my opinion, the Polish army is completely routed. The Russian General Staff hasn't decreed the capture of Warsaw, because they are busy surrounding the Polish army and cutting off entirely the communication of the Polish force with Danzig, from where the Poles can only expect war materials and money from the Allies. The Russians are also directing their *cavalry army* toward Plock, with the objective of cutting off communication along the Vistula river and afterwards threatening the Warsaw-Bromberg railway, and thus practically rendering it impossible for the Allies to communicate with the Polish Army through the famous corridor. This has all been much more strategic than the immediate capture of Warsaw, but I predict Warsaw will be captured by the Bolsheviks in the next few days." (*The Philadelphia Press*, Saturday, August 14, 1920.)

The Russian-Polish battle line is divided now in two fronts: the Western front (250 miles in length), which begins at the East Prussian frontier and now very probably ends at Lublin. This front, under the command of the twenty-seven year-old leader, Comrade Tukhachevsky, a former lieutenant in the old Russian army, is operating against Warsaw. Comrade Tukhachevsky is an experienced officer, who distinguished himself as an army commander, first against Kolchak, then against Denikin, later again against Kolchak, after which he once more returned to the southwestern front to fight Denikin's hordes. Comrade Yegorov, former Lieutenant-Colonel of the old army, is commander-in-chief of the so-called southwestern front (100 miles in length), which extends approximately from the Lublin district up to Kamenetz-Podoisk, and is in occupation of



northeastern Galicia, operating with Lemberg as its objective. This front includes also the armies which are guarding the Rumanian frontier along the Dniester river to the Black Sea (300 miles in length). The general command over all the Soviet armies is in the hands of the well-known leader, S. S. Kamenev, a militarily well-trained former general of the old army, who is aided by Comrade Lebedev as his chief of staff. All these leaders are Communists who joined the party in the early days of the Revolution.

The general military command over all the military organizations in Russia is with the Supreme Revolutionary Military Council, the executive member of which is also the Commissar of Military Affairs, or War Minister, Trotsky. Therefore, the earlier information so often and so persistently repeated by the Associated Press, that General Brussilov is in the command of the armies operating against the Poles, is incorrect; it has also been officially denied by Moscow. General Brussilov, however, is with the Red General Staff, and holds an advisory position, like many of the Russian generals and officers of the late Russian army. The greater part of the commanding element of the Red Army are recently trained and fully experienced officers of the working class of Soviet Russia. One of them is the former corporal of the Czar's army, Comrade Budenny, who is now heading the so-called Red cavalry army, a unit which does not exist in any capitalistic military organization. An independent cavalry army naturally can be created only in such a country like Russia, which has 43,000,000 horses, and once cavalry is organized on the principles of a mounted infantry, and supported by horse artillery and special machine gun units, and represents not an auxiliary body to an army corps, but a quite independent tactical unit, such a cavalry army cannot have any rivals except in the form of an identical organization, inspired by the same spirit and method of tactics; but such a rival army cannot be found either in Poland or in all Europe. Therefore, the Soviet General Staff is enabled to undertake even such "dangerous" manoeuvres as theoreticians consider even impossible, and I am absolutely sure that the Red Army will carry it out to a victorious end.

We have often read in the American newspapers during the last two years that the Red Army would be unable to carry out this or that one of its strategical problems, and yet, it is getting stronger and stronger, together with the present Russian regime, although the former American ambassador to Russia, David R. Francis, for more than two years has been predicting "that the Soviet Government at Moscow will go to pieces in six months."

According to the special telegram to the New York Times from Washington, of August 13 (N. Y. Times, August 14), Mr. Francis has stated this once more, "made the prediction with confidence . . ." He said that "when the Russian people understood, through the medium of Secretary Colby's note of last Tuesday, that there was

no intention on the part of the United States Government to interfere with Russia's conduct of her own affairs, and that it favored a united Russia, the effect would be detrimental to Bolshevik rule." In view of the fact that it was openly and officially declared that Secretary Colby's note would be widely distributed among the Russians by Wrangel and in other ways, and that this would take place—while Russia is at war with Poland and France, this action of the United States Government may be considered as military propaganda and should therefore be discussed by a military expert.

Therefore I am taking the liberty to state, after having studied the note, that it would be very desirable that it should be distributed among the Russian people, especially amongst the soldiers of the Red Army, and I believe it will be so distributed, but not by Wrangel or by any other agency than by the Soviet Government itself, because this note is of a kind that will certainly produce an effect on the Russian masses such as the Bolsheviks are anxiously looking for.

Secretary Colby could not send out better moral help for the beaten Poles and I suppose they hardly expected assistance of this kind.

In spite of all the repeated accounts of Wrangel's alleged victories north of Crimea, I firmly stated in the *Philadelphia Press*, of August 14, that the army of this Russian usurper is already "surrounded by Soviet forces north of Crimea, is completely routed, and will be destroyed before any military assistance from the Allies can reach it." The recognition by France of this German baron is the greatest blunder, much more senseless than was the support of Denikin and Kolchak.

France is too late with her recognition, as is also Secretary Colby's note, for any distribution in Soviet Russia with the aid of Baron Wrangel.

The resolution of the organized workers of England and the decision of Italy have already reached the Russian people, and the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia hence know that they are far from alone in their efforts. Russian strategy was supported at the decisive moment by the powerful veto of the British workers, addressed to their imperialistic government. Such help from the outside is a great aid to the Russian Red Army, now supporting the newborn diplomacy of the Soviet Republic.

### THE PROTECTION OF LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By S. KAPLUN  
of the Commissariat of Labor

This pamphlet, reprinted for the first time from an English translation that appeared in Petrograd this year, is an authoritative study of the actual operation of the Code of Labor Laws, which has already been reprinted by us in pamphlet form.

Price Ten Cents

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 W. 40th St. Room 304 New York, N. Y.

## Concerning a Disappointed Traveler

By B. J.

**T**HIS thing that we brag about—this vaunted progress in the means of communication and globe-trotting so that everyone knows exactly what everybody else in the most distant parts of the world is doing—all this is a lie and a delusion. It will and must remain so, as long as it is to the interest of one class to withhold or bar any information whatsoever from another class. Meanwhile we must try to nourish our hungry curiosity about the mystic wonders of the East with such stuff as the "Voyage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville," or, if that resists digestion because of its antiquity, with Bertrand Russell's "Soviet Russia—1920."\*

Let there be no mistake about it: Bertrand Russell is one of the greatest men of our time, a profound philosopher, a brilliant metaphysician, and an uncompromising revolutionist in higher mathematics. Nor is he content with being a great high-priest in academic temples, for when Europe was writhing in the travail of the war he came forth bravely and pronounced a stinging anathema against the social system which breeds such horrors. Then did those doughty champions of freedom, who proclaimed that, if necessary, they would die for the sacred principle of liberty, take his liberty from him and cast him into prison for speaking freely and courageously the truth as he saw it.

Concede his greatness and his valor, but do not be dazzled by it into blindness. Even the sun has spots. Bertrand Russell's trenchant criticism of Soviet Russia based on a sojourn of five weeks and a day in that tremendously vast country, of whose life and language he confesses he knew nothing, is a distinct blemish on his career as a political observer and commentator. This is not the first instance of such a blemish, for in his chapter on International Relations in "(Proposed) Roads to Freedom" he fails to consider the origin and nature of nationalism without which it is impossible to discuss satisfactorily the amelioration of international relations; after showing how the capitalistic system inveigles the working classes into becoming accessories to the crimes of imperialism he predicts with a queer inconsistency that owing to the psychology of competition, power, and envy, the participation of the workers in the capitalistic system will still cause war even after the revolution has destroyed the capitalistic system and all participation therein; and finally, dubbing himself a "sober idealist" he condones the exploitation of the subject peoples of Africa by the Europeans, he calls the discontinuance of this banditry Quixotic, and proceeds to offer some white-man's-burden buncombe for public consumption. Bertrand Russell does sometimes write on matters with which he is very scantily familiar.

\* *The Nation*, (N. P.), July 31, 1920; pp. 121-126.

We are not therefore so terribly shocked when we find this great man fumbling about Soviet Russia with his competence as a diagnostician impaired not only by negative handicaps (ignorance of language, of conditions in Eastern Europe, etc.) but by an unaccountable positive prejudice. "Friends of Russia here think of the dictatorship of the proletariat as *merely a new form of representative government*, in which only working men and women have votes and the constituencies are partly occupational, not geographical." Later on he repeats, "Before I went to Russia I *imagined* that I was going to see an interesting experiment in a new form of representative government." It is too bad that he was disappointed, but it would be hardly fair to call the Bolsheviki to task because Mr. Russell confused the quiet speculations of the National Guildsmen in England with the actual struggles of the Bolsheviki in Russia. He imagined he was going to see a fascinating model laboratory for trying out new schemes of representative government, and it pained his gentle nature to discover instead the class struggle unmasked, brought out into the open in its naked ferocity. His conversation with Lenin leads one to conjecture that little love was lost between the two gentlemen, for the latter probably suspected that the grandson of Lord John Russell was looking for a proletarian revolution to suit his own very fastidious palate.

He apparently did not know that the Communists regard all improved brands of bourgeois democracy as so much improved camouflage for concealing the relentlessly brutal economic exploitation of the workers. In the words of Lenin, "But we shall never admit equality for the speculating peasant, just as we do not admit 'equality' of the exploiter and the exploited, of the well-fed and hungry, or the 'liberty' of the first to plunder the second."\*\* The Bolsheviki maintain that "the state is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonism,"\*\* and they are not interested in perfecting this product. "Socialism is the suppression of classes,"\*\* and with that accomplished, the state as we know it is automatically abolished. All this Mr. Russell might easily have learned without troubling himself with a long and strenuous journey from jolly old England. But since he did so gallantly undertake the trip, his intelligence should have told him that Soviet Russia is not a finished product, but in the turbulent flux of a transition stage. "The class struggle does not disappear with the dictatorship of the proletariat; it only assumes new forms."\*\* "This period of

\* *Economics of a Transition Period*, by N. Lenin; *SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. III, No. 5, pp. 105-109, July 31, 1920.

\*\* "The State and the Revolution," by N. Lenin; p. 12 (published by The British Socialist Party and The Socialist Press, London, 1919).

transition cannot but be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and growing Communism, or, in other words, between Capitalism already defeated but not yet destroyed, and Communism, already born, but still extremely weak."\* Mr. Russell's splendid passion for intellectual honesty should have cautioned him to hold his judgment of Communism in abeyance.

Mr. Russell has a very harrowing tale to tell about the Extraordinary Commission, and he ascribes incredible atrocities to it: "It has shot thousands without trial, etc." He does not, however, describe a single outrage that he has personally witnessed. We can only accept such evidence as hearsay of an indeterminate degree. A much more substantial statement of the status and conduct of the Extraordinary Commission is that made by D. J. Kursky, People's Commissar for Justice, who in his report to the Congress of Soviets, dated December 4, 1919,\*\* rejects as false the theory of bourgeois law about the superclass nature of courts, frankly admitting that the Revolutionary Tribunals and the Extraordinary Commission are instruments of the proletariat in the war against the bourgeoisie. Kursky then describes how by a decree of the Russian Central Executive Committee the Extraordinary Commission was deprived of its right to give extra-judicial verdicts. The Revolutionary Tribunals are privileged to revise judicial enquiries carried out by the Extraordinary Commission, and to visit prisons and free inmates illegally imprisoned. "The fierce character of the civil war under which we are living has prevented the complete realization of these humane principles." It may very well be that both friends and foes of the Bolsheviks "deal only in superlatives," but this cannot be said of the Bolsheviks themselves, who have a too realistic problem before them and who know how to face the truth even when it is adverse.

Much credit is due to Mr. Russell for reporting this fact of fundamental importance: that when the incentive of amassing wealth is removed, men of ability will still give their services to the community either out of patriotism or because they enjoy the opportunity of developing their ideas freely without the obstacle of tradition institutions.

If Russian art is only holding its own under the stress of very unpropitious circumstances, it is a wonderful achievement of the Bolsheviks. Peace and the re-establishment of normal relations with the rest of the world is necessary for the continued development of Russian Communism and Russian art. As for the future let our disappointed traveler take new hope in the words of his contemporary, G. B. S., "Art rises when men rise, and grovels when men grovel." Art will rise very high in Russia—and elsewhere.

\* "Economics of a Transition Period," by N. Lenin; *SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. III, No. 5, pp. 105-109, July 31, 1920.

\*\* *Contemporary Review*; Vol. CXVII, pp. 861-878, June, 1920.

### BATTLING FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

With what earnestness the Italian comrades regard their task of preventing arms and war material from being sent for use against Russia is made clear by the following report:

On the 18th of June representatives of the Italian proletariat from Trieste arrived in Prague. They were authorized by political and Social Democratic organizations to obtain from the leaders of the Czecho-Slovakian Social-Democracy guarantees that the transports of Czech legionaries, which were being sent by way of Trieste, would in no case be sent against Soviet Russia. The last transports had encountered difficulties as the workers refused to unload them and demanded the disarming of the soldiers. The Czech Consul in Trieste tried to persuade the workers that their fears were groundless, but the Social-Democratic organization of Trieste had thought it advisable to apply directly for information and guarantees to the leaders of the Czech Social-Democracy.

The Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party therefore held a meeting at which the Italian representatives were present, and at which the declaration was made, that no one in the Republic thought of taking any military action against Russia, and that the fears of the Italian comrades were groundless. The Italians informed the meeting that one of the resolutions adopted in Milan was that no transports for use against Soviet Russia were to be allowed to pass through Italy. After a prolonged discussion, the Italian representatives were given a written declaration in the name of all the Czechic workers that no hostile steps against Soviet Russia would be tolerated. Every attempt of that kind would meet with the retaliatory action of the proletariat. And finally, the Italians were given the assurance that the Czechic legionaries who had just come home were declaring that they would never fight against Soviet Russia. Thereupon the Italians announced that they would from that time forth allow the transports to go through Italy unmolested and fully armed. (*From a recent issue of a German newspaper.*)

### HELP THE RUSSIAN CHILDREN

On our editorial pages, the reader will find a presentation of the plight of the 780 Russian children who will reach New York about September 1st.

They need clothing and blankets for their journey across the Atlantic and through the Baltic Sea to their homes in Petrograd. They need food and clothing and medicaments, in addition to the expenses of their entertainment in New York before their steamer sails for Europe.

Our readers should send contributions for this purpose to the address below, in addition to encouraging their friends to do likewise.

RUSSIAN SOVIET BUREAU, Dept. A  
Room 304

110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the  
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU  
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**T**HE TRAGEDY of the Menshevik is that the position of begging the question which is characteristic of his philosophy is not only not acceptable to both of the contending parties between whom he is trying to act as moderator, but that, to complete his misfortune, the most reactionary of the reactionaries are the first to attempt to make common cause with him.

Mr. Bertrand Russell went to Russia under the impression that he was a Communist. He found, after observing Communism in actual operation, that he had been mistaken—that the ways of Communists in power were not sympathetic to him. In a series of interesting articles which Mr. Russell contributed to the *London Nation* (they were later reprinted in the *New York Nation*) he has advanced a number of objections to the Soviet Government and to the party dominant in that government, concerned chiefly with the alleged absence of “democracy” in the technique of elections and in certain other phases of the administration of the country.\* Mr. Russell has no doubt experienced a number of unpleasant shocks as a result of the frequent and gleeful reprinting of his comparatively mild strictures by the counter-revolutionary press in his own country as well as abroad. But he probably was less disappointed by any of these peculiar “allies” than by his new associate, who is no less a person than Premier David Lloyd George. “I trust the members of the House and the country will read the remarkable articles of Bertrand Russell,” said Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on August 10, in his long speech on the Russo-Polish situation. And then the Premier pointed out statistically (using Mr. Russell’s figures) that Soviet rule in England would mean the rule of a small class of only 200,000 persons (Mr. Lloyd George appears to imply that the class at present ruling in Great Britain is a somewhat more numerous body); that the parliamentary system is more “tolerant” and “humane” than that of the Soviets (Mr. Russell used similar words: “kindliness and tolerance”); that elections are not “democratic” in Russia, and numerous other things.

Not dissimilar was the plight of the Menshevik

\* Some of these objections are considered in the last issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*.

during the early days of the Russian Revolution. Seriously wishing, as most of the Mensheviks did, that the capitalist system in Russia might be overthrown, he yet was so firmly convinced of the impossibility of achieving this object in a country so undeveloped industrially as was Russia, as to be willing to resist even by force of arms the accomplishment of the overthrow of capitalism. What this meant to the Menshevik in the way of entangling alliances with other counter-revolutionary elements it is painful to rehearse. Every force working for the destruction of the government set up by the Russian people quoted the Mensheviks in the prosecution of its counter-revolutionary policy, printed their articles in its papers, afforded their spokesman an opportunity to speak in its organizations. Many an honest Menshevik has no doubt felt pangs of remorse on seeing his articles reprinted in *Struggling Russia*, the former organ of Mr. A. J. Sack and his very provisional government. How far this resistance went is well-known. In spite of frequent efforts, on the part of the Soviet Government, to give the Mensheviks an opportunity to retain their freedom of the press and their other channels for self-expression, it was found necessary on each of these occasions to withdraw their privilege of association and to close the offices of their newspapers, for their determination to place all their efforts at the disposal of counter-revolutionary forces was so persistent as to make it impossible to grant to them the right that was given as a matter of course to *bona fide* supporters of the Soviet Government—to the really working-class elements of Russia’s population.

After all their alliances with foreign and domestic counter-revolutionists had proved to be failures, the Mensheviks finally began to support the Soviet Government, a course to which they were impelled chiefly by the horrors of the Allied policy of intervention. These men were poor Socialists, but they were Russians who loved their country, and hatred of the foreign invader moved their spirits to do what their economic convictions had failed to make them accomplish. In this respect, also, as we shall later observe, they were not unlike Mr. Bertrand Russell.

Mr. Lloyd George tells us he would not like to see established in England the working-class government that now rules Russia, and in describing its “tyrannies” he bases his statement on—Bertrand Russell. And we are sure that Mr. Russell has already bitterly regretted having given one of reaction’s most able champions the weapons with which to fight his class opponents.

But we know that Mr. Russell’s data are in themselves by no means as damaging as Mr. Russell himself seems to believe. Hardly any of the things he urges against the Communists are serious defects: it is rather in the manner of his presentation that Mr. Russell has injured the hearts of the friends of Soviet Russia abroad. Mr. Russell’s claim to be a friend of the Communists, to have been disappointed by their methods, to have tried hard to be “fair” with them—these painful

and over-conscientious observations of a lugubriously pedantic "objectivity" are the weapons by which he had made himself acceptable for quotation in the reactionary newspapers of all the world.

We must close—it seems to be the fate of the radical untrained in economics that he is brought into a most unholy and self-destructive alliance with the forces of reaction. We cannot refrain from repeating that it is sad to find Mr. Russell consorting with Mr. Lloyd-George: it is a sadness not dissimilar to that which is felt on witnessing the spectacle of a young and unspoiled maiden in dangerous intimacy with a lady of entirely different age and moral character. And, as the past suddenly flashes upon us, we recall the Welsh miner, Lloyd-George, of a few years ago, one of England's greatest "radicals", who has himself more than completed since then the transformation which, in the case of Mr. Bertrand Russell, has barely begun.

\* \* \*

**B**UT even the relatively innocent Mr. Russell already displays a cloven hoof. We had thought of him as of some ethereal person, far removed from life's vulgar struggles, entirely apart from such mob-psychologies as that of crude nationalism and insular imperialism. But, on reading the second one of the reprints of his articles (*The Nation*, New York, August 7), we observe things that had not at first revealed their true nature to us; for instance, this paragraph:

But if we continue to refuse peace and trade, I do not think the Bolsheviki will go under. Russia will endure great hardship in the years to come as before. But the Russians are inured to misery as no western nation is; they can live and work under conditions which we should find intolerable. The government will be driven more and more, from mere self-preservation, into a policy of imperialism. The Entente has been doing everything to expose Germany to a Russian invasion of arms and leaflets, by allowing Poland to engage in a disastrous war and compelling Germany to disarm. All Asia lies open to Bolshevik ambitions. Almost the whole of the former Russian Empire in Asia is quite firmly in their grasp. Trains are running at a reasonable speed to Turkestan, and I saw cotton from there being loaded on to Volga steamers. In Persia and Turkey powerful revolts are taking place with Bolshevik support. It is only a question of a few years before India will be in touch with the Red Army. If we continue to antagonize the Bolsheviki, I do not see what force exists that can prevent them from acquiring the whole of Asia within ten years.

There is no doubt that there are strong elements of Bolshevism in the uprisings now taking place in Persia and Turkey, but Soviet Russia is not invading those countries, and, even if it were, that would be no cause for alarm to the pacifist "internationalist", Mr. Bertrand Russell. A true pacifist or internationalist would not express undue concern over the national institutions which the Persian or Turkish people—perhaps, he suggests, with the aid of the Russian people—are about to establish in their own countries. Can it be that Mr. Bertrand Russell is really a British nationalist after all, a man in whom the "judicious attitude", the "reserved judgment", the "kindliness and toler-

ance", are only the modes in which an ingrained desire for the continuance of British world empire expresses itself? Does Mr. Russell not display somewhat too much solicitude for "the whole of Asia"? It is not impossible that the political doctrine of Bolshevism, which is the philosophy of the dominant factors in the Soviet Government, may also animate such governments as may be established in that continent in the near future, but why should this fill Mr. Russell with concern?

If we continue to antagonize the Bolsheviki, I do not see what force exists that can prevent them from acquiring the whole of Asia within ten years.

The acquisition of the whole of Asia by Bolshevik Governments—or does Mr. Russell imagine that the Soviet Government could conquer all these countries against the will of their populations and put up a single government over all of them?—no doubt involves discomforts to certain classes of persons. Perhaps Mr. Russell is solicitous for the Japanese imperialists, who are helping themselves in Eastern Siberia; perhaps he is desirous that the United States shall continue to hold the Philippine Islands, or France to govern Annam and Cochin-China;—or perhaps he fears that British world-empire may be deprived of India, Hongkong, Burmah, and Mesopotamia? It is the British Government which he is warning to refrain from antagonizing the Bolsheviki, and the reason he assigns is that the Bolsheviki may otherwise become powerful and aggressive, and therefore, may deprive England of some of the colonies from which her wealth is drawn.

Now, what is Mr. Russell's position, anyway? Does he think Bolshevism is so poor in merit that it must be held together by a common antagonism against foreign aggression? And does he think that a defective political system, tyrannized by a small minority of 600,000, and unpopular with the rest of the people, could have maintained itself against *all the rest of the world, exercising against it all the pressure of their military and economic organization*. Is this logic, or mathematics, or ideologic folly?

\* \* \*

**A**SIA is an interesting continent. It is frequently spoken of as a land of mystery and of breathless possibilities. A dignified magazine printed in New York devotes its pages to Asiatic material only—to studies of the peculiarities of Asia's (to us) strange peoples. But let us be human. Let us assume that Asians are like us in their normal reactions. If Asiatic populations are in any danger of allying themselves with the Soviet Government, or of adopting Bolshevik rule, can it be because they will not be able to resist Bolshevik aggression? At the bottom of his heart, Mr. Russell knows that if Asia leans to the Russian side, it is because the Russian Soviet Government looks good to it; it is because the Soviet Government has no aggressive designs on it; and because anyone with half an eye can see that the Soviet Government in Russia is a success. Who is drawing Asia

and the Soviet Government together? Does the Soviet Government carry its doctrine by force into Asia. Have China, Persia, India, Afghanistan, Japan, been sufferers from any aggression on the part of the Soviet Government? *Have any of these countries suffered from English aggression?* Would they turn naturally to England or to the Soviet Government for an alliance in the common pursuit of peaceful aims? or—let us say—for protection against foreign aggression or exploitation?

Mr. Russell is all wrong. The Soviet Government can do nothing that will in any way accelerate the eagerness of Asiatic populations to clasp its hands in friendship—for they have only to look at the Soviet Government to see how magnificently it compares, as a neighbor, with any other country. But then, perhaps Mr. Russell is not wrong after all. We also see nothing that can prevent Asia from accepting Soviet Russia's outstretched hand of friendship.

\* \* \*

**S**EVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY children whose homes are in Petrograd will arrive in this city in a few days on their way back home. They are worn out and tired with traveling and the following account of their travels in Russia will explain why they are tired and worn out:

In the summer of 1918 some three thousand children were sent to the Ural region from Petrograd in order that they might be among surroundings that assured them the possibility of securing plenty of food and care, conditions that were then, as now, decidedly lacking in Petrograd. They had hardly begun to enjoy the advantages of their new location, than the Czecho-Slovaks began their treacherous internal attack on the new republic, and seized the city of Kazan, cutting off railroad connections with Petrograd. The children were thus compelled to live in counter-revolutionary territory during the winter of 1918-19, and when Kolchak began his famous retreat, in May, 1919, he moved these unhappy youngsters with him at each stage of his retirement, thus pushing them eastward over the whole breadth of Siberia. In their temporary camps illness and privations so often decimated their number, that over 2,000 died before the present remnant left Vladivostok. A Japanese steamer, the *Yomei Maru*, brought them to San Francisco, and they are now, the 780 who remain, making the journey through the Panama Canal on the same steamer, which will take them to Europe from New York. Our readers may contribute to the expenses of entertaining these children in New York and providing them with toys and books and clothing to take back to Petrograd, by sending checks, currency, or money-orders to our publication office, drawn in favor of "The Russian Soviet Bureau." It is a cause to which all should contribute to the best of their ability.

In remitting money, readers should indicate the purpose of remittance by using the words: "For the Children from Siberia." All such contributions must reach our office on or before August 30.

### MURDER OF DEPORTEES

The White Guards serving in the Latvian Army themselves disclosed the cruel act whereby they were compelled by their officers to shoot three deportees from England together with two other captives. Ten of these guards have written the letter which follows to the Social Democratic Faction of the Constitutional Assembly of Latvia.

"We cannot be silent! We, the soldiers of the 8th Army Corps of Dvinsk, 6th Division, have been today, May 27, 1920, surprised by a mysterious and exciting event which we cannot pass over in silence. Two soldiers brought to us at 8.30 P. M. five civil persons who had been sent by unknown superiors. The Chief Sergeant of our Division explained to us that we should permit these five persons (two men and three women) to pass through our front to Soviet Russia. Then we (ten soldiers) received orders to take light machine guns and lead them through.

"Our suspicions were first aroused by this: Why should the government send captives and communists to this place for an exchange of prisoners with the Soviet Government? For that purpose we have an official prisoners' exchange station: Rosenovskaya, and prisoners are sent in large batches several score at a time, convoyed by specially appointed Government officers. Further, the prisoners explained that three of their number (two men and one woman) had been sent from London through Libau and Latvia to Soviet Russia and they were already many weeks in Latvia as a result of different commandatures (government establishments in charge of local government dictators). These three persons had spent twenty-eight years in London and were now deported as foreigners (they were born in Dvinsk). The others, the two women, they explained, had come across the front at Rosenovskaya, bought salt, and on their way back to Soviet Russia, were arrested by our soldiers, sent to Rezhitz's commandature, and from thence here. Together with the prisoners we went about a verst and a half from our front line into the neutral zone. Then we were all commanded to go down from the road to a forest some hundred paces to one side. On reaching the forest, we (soldiers) were ordered to shoot down the five persons we were convoying through the front. The order was finally carried out, after serious discussion among the soldiers who were all greatly excited by this unexpected and unforeseen order.

"Comrades, we cannot describe to you this terrible deed, nor our own commotion. Comrades! Up till now know that our government has given various orders of this nature—as in the shooting down of school boys in Wolmar, etc. . . . Now, when the back lines of the front expect the abolition of capital punishment, men are sent from the back lines to the front for murder!" . . .

The ten shooters concluded the letter to their comrades "of the Social Democratic faction of the Constituent Assembly of Latvia," by asking for an official investigation of the terrible deed!

## A Russian Journey in the Spring of 1920

*A Visit to the Center of the Communist Party. An Easter Feast at Moscow.*

By Z. HÖGLUND

Friday, April 9.

It probably appears incomprehensible to many how the Bolsheviki, this party which had such a small beginning, and which was still small in 1917, has been able to take the lead in the Russian domain of hundreds of millions, and to retain this lead. There have been several reasons, of course, but the real one and the most important, is that the historical development of Communism was and is the only power which can hold humanity together and prevent its disintegration. To a very great extent their success is due to the fact that the Bolsheviki were never a soft, weak party of seventy-five per cent paper-members as were most of the other Socialist parties, but have always been a fully organized and exemplary revolutionary organization, ready for battle. To belong to the party of Lenin and Trotsky is not to belong to a party of parliamentary lobbyists, and to stand before ministerial chairs, nor does it mean the leading of the class struggle from a safe tower of poetry; it is to put quiet living behind one, to renounce all personal interests, and to risk one's life daily. And yet, or rather therefore, this party exercises at the present time in Russia, and over the world, an enormous power of attraction. One understands the mass psychology that is making Russia win over a world of enemies, when one remembers that during a week of agitation when Denikin was dangerously close to Moscow last year, the party enrolled 17,000 new members, in spite of the fact that their becoming members was equivalent to joining the Red Army, and that every enrolment in the party was a candidature for death.

Today I had an opportunity to observe closely the organization of this party and its way of working. The Communist Party has its secretariat in a big building on Moskovskaya Street, opposite the main entrance to the Kremlin. About 120 people are directly employed here, in offices for agitation, registration, distribution, organization, instruction, statistics, rural and women's agitation, chancery, finance, etc., etc. The leader is a woman named Yelyena Stasova, an elderly woman, descended from an aristocratic bourgeois family, who held the same position some twenty years ago when neither the party nor the central committee existed, as such, when there was only the committee of St. Petersburg. She has been four times in jail, was deported in 1913 to the government of Yenissei, in Siberia, obtained permission to visit her old parents for six months in 1916,—and did not return, for March, 1917, intervened.

The number of memberships in the Communist party was 611,000 at the last Congress, Stasova informed us. The walls of several of the rooms in the secretariat are covered with statistical tables. They are very particular about the keeping of statistics, so that it is possible at any moment to put

one's finger on the exact situation in any part of the country. Among other things I learned that the class grouping at the last congress, among the representatives, was as follows: 271 workers (fifty-one per cent); 129 intellectuals (twenty-three per cent); employers (in the Soviet service) 65 (twelve per cent); forty-four artisans (nine per cent); twenty-four peasants (five per cent). As to the age of memberships of the party the following figures were given: representatives who were in the movement before 1903, thirty-three (six per cent); 1903-07, 136 (thirteen per cent); 1908-11, thirty-four (six per cent); 1912-16, seventy-three (twenty-four per cent). The city is divided into thirteen districts and the party has 680 groups, in factories, etc., and 300 lecturers work here constantly, and there are thousands of smaller local meetings.

The guide for the day was Nyeovski, first assistant to Kalinin in the Department of Peasant Propaganda. (Kalinin is President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.) Nyeovski is a little man, forty-three years of age, formerly a private teacher of mathematics in Petrograd, a revolutionist and organizer since 1895, and has spent altogether eight years in jail. I learned from another person that he had been a teacher. His own reply to a question as to his occupation was that he was a revolutionist.

During the six months of concentrated work in rural agitation, Kalinin and Nyeovski have had a wide and comprehensive experience, not the least of which has been the receiving of peasants and peasant deputies. More than 3,000 peasants have visited them to discuss the food question, and there have been half as many for other agricultural problems. Out in the country districts the peasants have been visited in large meetings, according to districts; the situation of the republic has been explained to them; and those who understand and sympathize with the movement are brought into it. Nyeovski read a few reports from those agitators who had been sent out to the rural districts. One reported that complaints were made of injustice in the requisition of horses. The agitator in question had advised them to form a party organization in this district and obtain justice through this organization.

As a result of the agitation work within the Red Army, there has been developed a more conscious revolutionary spirit, and an almost incredible self-discipline. For instance, after the Yudenich victory, the soldiers, realizing the immense difficulties of transportation, readily consented to not being sent home at once, and remained at work in and near their immediate stations. During the time between April 1, 1919, and March 1, 1920, 11,656 party members were sent to the fronts for political agitation, most of them last fall, against Denikin and Yudenich. They were

taken largely from the political and administrative party groups, and they have contributed largely to the increase in the fighting ability of the army. Political courses are given throughout the Red Army. The best pupils are picked out and sent back to the workers' high school at Moscow for further education. More than 300 talented soldiers have been sent from the fronts to Moscow, in this way. Among the troops there are in addition 2,348 non-political educational schools, 3,088 libraries, 1,315 soldier-clubs, also of an educational character and with educational aims, 472 theatres, and 220 moving picture establishments. All this organization has been created within the past eleven months. 9,600,000 kilograms of literature have been sent to the army, at a cost of 16,000,000 rubles.

Easter Sunday, April 11.

Nothing human may be strange to one who is out on an exploring expedition, and the Russian Easter has always been so typical to the westerner that Friis and the undersigned—Grimlund is more ungodly—decided to study it at close hand, by sacrificing a whole night's sleep.

Moscow is a city of churches, according to a popular saying, and actually it is. On almost every street corner there is a church or a chapel, and there is probably no country in the world with the possible exception of the United States, that can compare in number with the edifices erected for church purposes. Ivan the Terrible was a great builder of churches. It is said that every time he perpetrated a new crime his conscience made him build a new church to bribe heaven. And his successors to the throne have also had a great deal to atone for, and have atoned in the same way.

At half past twelve this morning, according to the summer reckoning of the Bolsheviki, we arrived at the home of Klinger, the treasurer of the Third International, one of the most lovable of our Russian comrades. He lives in the quarters occupied by the same Third International, formerly the German legation, where Count Mirbach was murdered. The stairs are dimly lighted, and add fuel to our already active imaginations. Klinger, who is worn out from work and who suffers from digestive trouble, has slept a little, and, waiting while he dresses, we obtain from his writing desk some idea of the workings of his active mind. There lie to be read presently, the German edition of Faust, Frank's splendidly written war-book, "Man Is Good"; Brandes' "Das Junge Deutschland", and the "Afflictionbuch" by Pfemfert.

We have still plenty of time, Klinger informs us. The priests are sabotaging the summer time reckoning of the Bolsheviki, and consequently it is still a couple of hours before their midnight, when the Easter celebration begins. According to our watches, which keep Bolshevik time, this will be half past two. Soon we start out upon the streets of Moscow.

The city is crowded with people, veritable migrations, on their way to the many churches, particu-

larly the largest ones. Rockets throw a variegated rain of stars over the city, and shots are being fired, among shouts of joy and festivity. Who does the firing? The priests, the priests. People walk with candles in their hands, which they try to keep burning as long as possible.

The great Tsar bell of the Kremlin is now sounding. We arrive at our destination, the Church of the Deliverance, the largest in all Moscow, 102 meters high, built in 1837-83, located south of the Kremlin, by the river bank. The wide enormous stairs are crowded with people, and there are so many people inside that we can only find our way in by following one of the small energetic currents of people moving in and out through the crowd. It is more like a crowd seeking sensation than a religious crowd. Men and women, soldiers, old women, boys and girls—there is hardly room to cross one's self. Some of the audience can scarcely hold their candles, and there are long streaks of wax on many a garment; toes are trodden upon, and cries appealing to "tovarishch" resound.

Just as we had succeeded in getting half way into the shining, and, in its way, beautiful church, with its quantities of candles, and the small lamps in front of beautiful pictures, a procession meets us and the crowd parts to make way for it. There are two banners at the head, one with a golden cross upon a green field, the other with a picture of Christ, and following these banners a procession of choir boys with candles, then a group of long haired popes, some in red garments with round caps and big candles, and various gay ornaments held aloft. The procession marches out and goes around the church singing, and enters again. Wherever it passes the chant goes up, "Christ is risen," and the people answer, rather faintly however, "Yes, He is truly risen."

Our friend Friis has been separated from us, in the midst of the crowd, and is fighting desperately to rejoin us. This is the less surprising as he has landed beside a homely old lady and is undoubtedly thinking of the obligatory Easter kissing attack, which may begin when least expected. Klinger and I have had the luck (and taste) to remain near three very sweet-looking girls. Friis fights madly for happier hunting grounds, and is finally by our side again.

The procession has again reached its place by the altar, where order is called and singing begins, now solo, now alternative song, then polyphonous. They bow, swing gorgeous censers, light candles, and perform other picturesque ceremonies. In the midst of our interest in this we find that our three pretty girls have disappeared. Instead we find beside us a beautiful woman, of a Madonna-like beauty, where she stands illuminated by a wax candle. Yet there is nothing religious, in a literal sense, about her. The odor of perfume brings quite different associations of thoughts and feelings.

Klinger, who stands looking like a strayed Mephisto, with his long beard, and I, are suddenly interrupted in our scrutiny of the Madonna by Friis,



who pathetically exclaims, "They have stolen my money." Quite right,—in the midst of the crowd he has had to give an unwilling contribution of from six to seven thousand rubles (according to the present rate of exchange only fifteen to sixteen crowns). He becomes less interested, and more and more impatient. "We have already stood here for two hours,—we cannot stand all night," he insists. We finally persuade him to remain a little longer.

The priests continue. They walk about, bow to each other and to the Icons, swing their censors, lift the crucifix, light candles, mumble prayers, and sing. And this has gone on for thousands of years. What an ocean of unproductive work! I think of Columbus, Newton, Voltaire, Darwin, Marx, and Edison. The song, however, is beautiful, although the main bass has recently been arrested as a counter-revolutionist.

Few faces among the audience show genuine devotion. They cross themselves mechanically and are thinking of various things. Remembering the possibilities of acquiring vermin, we are cheered by hearing a voice at our side utter: "It is a good thing that there has just been a week of baths."

The pontiff, an extremely neat and elderly gray-beard, gives his blessing, and delivers a short sermon. Two others hold candles beside him, kiss his hands, and bestow blessings. Then he places himself upon a chair opposite the altar, reads a long litany, kisses a big golden cross, and hands it on to be kissed by the others. All the priests kiss the altar, which is beautifully decorated with flowers, and the big Bible which lies there. There is a new procession among the crowds.

It is past five o'clock in the morning. Feet are beginning to get sore, and legs to weaken. A young man is asleep, standing beside us. Now Friis becomes too impatient, and when we learn, from a bystander, that this will continue for at least another hour, we decide to leave. Klinger remains, following everything with wonderful devotion. Later on I heard that he had studied for the priesthood in his youth. It is interesting to think that the treasurer of the Communist International might have been, under other circumstances, a Russian pope.

Thus we do not see the end and cannot ascertain for ourselves whether they still observe the traditional kissing. We are told, later, that it is very rare, however. When we come out in the early morning, the bells are sounding everywhere, and the stars shine in the cool spring sky.

Except for the ringing of the bells, which continues for a whole week, one beginning when another leaves off, the Easter begins beautifully. The one week of spring has already made great progress here in Moscow. During the past few days the river has risen higher and higher, and great chunks of ice dance merrily down upon it. People stand on the bridges with pussy willows in their hands, gazing at the sight. Now the river is going down again, several meters each day. Today, Easter Sunday, everyone looks neat and quite

well-dressed. The women have evidently consulted their mirrors. Many of them walk about in fine white shoes. The bourgeois press should see this!

Small girls are selling violets in the sunshine, on the stone stairs. Boys play upon the streets, with copper kopecs. In front of the Metropol a dozen boys are practising the building of a barricade by placing a stone pile against a trolley pole, undisturbed by the police. Little girls are playing jackstones on the sidewalks by the river. Their toys are prettily decorated, and are not unlike those used by Swedish children. People sit quietly in the parks, the children play in the sand, and along the river an occasional fisherman hauls in a small fish. Dogs lie drowsily upon the asphalt, the buds on the trees are swelling visibly, the air shimmers as in summer, and the gold and tinsel shine on the many cupolas.

At the Red Square, along the wall of the Kremlin, there is a long, long grave, where are buried many of the fallen heroes of the two Russian revolutions. In the middle of the wall there is an allegoric painting, surrounded by the rays of the rising sun. Upon a red banner, slightly faded by the storms of winter, can be read: "All honor to the Socialist fighters," and on the other side: "All honor to the vanguard of the proletarian revolution." Wreaths are scattered at two places, one where the twelve victims of the attempt of September 23, last year, are resting, and the other upon the grave of General Nikolayev. He was at first a Czarist general, who later on went over to the side of the people and the Soviet. He fought bravely and with great honor against Yudenich, was taken prisoner by him, was hanged, and had a red star cut upon the flesh of his chest. When the Reds recaptured Yamburg, they found his mutilated body and buried him with great honor here among the heroes of the revolution. His picture occupies a leading place in the office of the International.\*

Except for this there is no distinction made in this grave. All those who fell in the revolution are buried here, with the same lack of discrimination that is shown in caring for the children of the Whites and the Reds alike, all being cherished with the same loving care.

Monday, April 12.

The Commissars and other Russian Communist leaders have not abused their possibilities for power nor applied it to high living. Instead they have paid for their positions with a fearful strain upon their nerves and energy. But there is one man in the Kremlin who still seems to be well off, as though nothing had affected his life in either the war or the revolution. He is Demyan Byedny, the Beranger of Bolshevism, the poet laureate, as he may perhaps be called. That he is well off does not depend upon the fact that he is specially paid by the government, but upon his enormous

\* See SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. II, No. 2 (January 10, 1920).

popularity among the people, who send food and beverages to his little flat in the Kremlin,—Russian peasants who are extremely fond of his funny satirical fables, and soldiers who are enraptured by his revolutionary songs.

In company with a woman comrade, Eugenie Ditrikul, from *Pravda*, I visited the illustrious poet this afternoon and had a very pleasant discussion about the poetry of the time, etc. However, as an account of this visit would take too long, I shall only briefly characterize the poet himself.

He is a strong, broad-shouldered man of thirty-seven years of age, quick of wit, and with a deep bass voice. He is very jovial, full of laughter, reminding one of a kindly giant among children. He has a wife, the ideal sort for a poet, one who keeps the house and sees to it that he is able to keep his poetic temperament unimpaired by small worries. In the nursery, which is full of toys of all kinds, there are two small human poems of flesh and blood, enjoying a worldly paradise.

Demyan Byedny was born in 1883, in a peasant family at Kherson, studied languages at the University of Petrograd, beginning with plans for becoming a professor, but found himself in the revolutionary movement during the reaction after 1905. It was his writing of political fables that attracted Lenin's attention to him. He is a modern Aesop, and has, as a matter of fact, translated into Russian the works of the great poet of fables. He participated in the world war for the period of one year, but thereafter kept himself in retirement in Finland, from whence he came to take his position as a revolutionary poet with *Pravda*, as soon as that paper published its first number in March, 1917.

He is the most popular poet of the revolution, if not also its most literary one. He has written twenty-eight poems, some of which have been printed to the number of from 200,000 to 400,000 copies, generally in small illustrated satirical pamphlets. He showed me the proof of a new poem of this same kind, which is soon to be published, and in which he describes the march of the children of Israel out of Egypt and to Canaan as a parable of the liberation of the proletariat from the capitalists. Lenin and Trotsky are Moses and Aaron, and the pictures show among other things the marching of the Israelites under a banner with the inscription: "Workers of the world, unite." He has also written a few poems in heroic style, and a varied selection of prose.

The day becomes a literary one. In the afternoon I meet the young French poet, Henri Guilbeaux, also well known to Swedish Socialists as the publisher of the excellent magazine, *Demain*, in Switzerland, which was later on suppressed by the faint hearted Swiss Government upon an order from the French chauvinists, in connection with the deportation of Guilbeaux. He went to Soviet Russia and cannot for the present return to his so-called fatherland, because he is there under sentence of death as an ally of the Bolsheviks.

Guilbeaux is a small, thin man, thirty-four years of age, with blond hair, who might easily be taken for a German. He first studied engineering, and participated in the French social democracy, but left it very soon and has not belonged to the party for the last ten years, but has associated with syndicalist and anarchist spheres. He has now been for several years a real Communist. He is very glad that the Strassburg Congress, which was held recently, led the French party so much to the left, but thinks that the Lorient Group should leave the party. He maintains that the intellectuals in France are for us, to a great extent, but is very doubtful whether they will remain so in case of a revolutionary situation in their native land. As far as his old friend Romain Rolland is concerned, he too, is a Communist, but Guilbeaux is certain that he will remain faithful to his radical point of view, since he is honest and sincere.

The development of Romain Rolland in regard to Bolshevism is very interesting, and Guilbeaux has shown me several letters which show that the great French poet, who was strongly against the Bolsheviks in the beginning, is now directing his energies where they are most needed and will be most effective, namely, against the Entente imperialism, and has decidedly taken his stand with Soviet Russia. Among other remarkable letters from the time of the world war, the former editor of *Demain* has one from the great German-Austrian poet, Rilke, written November 13, 1916, and proving how even then that great personage, musical and artistic, without interest in politics and people, was already suffering from the war. As a document illustrating the reactions of the intellectual world a few lines may be reproduced here.

"You can imagine what I have suffered since life has become so dreadful. The terrible death of Verhaeren (the Belgian poet who was killed in a train accident), has plunged me into impenetrable grief. This great heart, this heroic friend, will be of no further help in restoring and enriching life. And when shall the work of recovery begin?"

Guilbeaux is at the present time busy with the preparation of a book on proletarian ethics and revolution, and is at the same time editing a continuation of the magazine, *Demain*, which is, unfortunately, rarely published on account of the scarcity of paper. He also works on the French edition of the great magazine of the Third International. He has learned the Russian language very well since arriving here.

The writer of these lines has been ashamed of his ignorance of this language, during his sojourn here, and has been constantly conscious of the opportunities he is missing, because of this lack of knowledge. Not least did I realize it this evening when I, in company of intellectuals and proletarians, attended a recital of the drama by Lunacharsky, "The Chancellor and the Iron Worker", conducted by the author himself.

The recital was held in the press building, in a small room which had been furnished with a simple stage and about 200 chairs, ideal for an intimate

social theater. The walls were decorated with posters, with satirical cartoons of the bourgeoisie, and the labor press. The audience was an interesting mixture of intellectuals, school children, splendid looking laborers, and a general gathering of Russian people, like the party Congress the other day. Balabanova enjoys the performance in the company of three Italians who have recently arrived, and is overjoyed at meeting these representatives from her former country. With me there are two young boys, looking like college boys, but of a laborer type. One produces a paper and shows it to the other. It is a poem. Both of them read and discuss it. For a moment I feel something of the sentiment of my own college days, twenty years ago, when one waited eagerly and impatiently to see one's first rhymes printed.

Lunacharsky will be here within an hour. It is a Russian custom to give the full four quarters to each hour, so this cannot be blamed upon Bolshevism. He places himself upon a little stage beside a table, produces his typewritten manuscript, and begins his recital. He has a wonderful voice, which he varies in superb fashion in different roles,

and such is its magic and his mimicry that one scarcely misses scenery.

The play is, strictly speaking, a whole dramatic cycle, centering about the war and the revolution, a chronicle of humanity during the past few years. It begins with the chancellor of the north land declaring a war. The proletariat are being sold through the acceptance of a position of Minister of Labor by a Social Democrat, the iron worker. After the war is ended this man intends to work on the Social revolution. This he explains to his father, the laborer, who being ill wishes for a bourgeois peace. After the war a government is thus established, which is later overthrown by a Kornilov-Kapp *coup*, and is later succeeded by a Communist government.

After the recital a short debate and discussion of the play took place, during which the comment was made that it has been built too loosely and that the end was not in harmony with the beginning. The general opinion, however, was to the effect that the play contained many valuable points. It will be given in Moscow next fall.—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, June 23, 1920.

## Working Women in Soviet Russia

By HELEN BLONINA

**U**NDER capitalism the proletarian and peasant womenfolk were completely estranged from social and political life—both by the conditions of bourgeois family tradition and by their political subjection. Thanks to this, when power passed into the hands of the Soviets, when before the working class there arose the complex and difficult task of control and reconstruction, the working woman in the mass proved to be still more inexperienced than the working man. In order successfully to engage the working women in the common task, it was necessary, first and foremost, to help them to learn how to work, and to make clear where and how they could best apply their energies.

It was necessary to work out new methods of propaganda, new methods of approach, adapted to the psychological peculiarities of the working and peasant women and to the new problems awaiting them. And in this connection especial importance has to be attached to propaganda by deed, i.e., to propaganda by means of the direct attraction of the working and peasant women to one form or another of Soviet or similar work.

Women's Delegate Conferences were organized, which have rendered great services in this sense. These delegate conferences are composed of representatives from all the factories and works of the given ward or town, elected at general meetings of the undertakings. They play the part of institutions by means of which working women learn in practice how to carry on Soviet work, how to apply their forces and revolutionary energy to the common proletarian struggle and work of recon-

struction. From another point of view, they constitute an excellent link between the Soviet institution and the masses of working women.

The delegates break up into groups, working in one or another Soviet institution (mainly, hitherto, in the following sections: social welfare, labor, education, and health), and there assist in the creation, investigation, and control of creches, homes, children's parks, elementary and other schools, public dining halls and kitchens; in the elimination from these organizations of abuses or disorder; in supervising the distribution of boots and clothing in the schools; in collecting evidence for and assisting the inspectors of labor; in insuring the exact fulfilment of the regulations governing female and child labor. They are entrusted with the organization of ambulances and hospitals, the care of the wounded and the sick, the inspection and control of barracks; they participate in the militia (police); they supervise the payment of separation allowances; they assist in the engaging of women workers in all forms of direction and control of production, and so on.

On their part, the sections acquaint the delegates with their activity, and enroll them in schools or courses of instruction in one branch or another of Soviet work opened by them (courses in social welfare, pre-school education, Red Sisters and sanitary workers). At the same time the delegates, continuing to work in their factory or their workshops, make periodical reports to their electors concerning their activity and that of the sections in which they work, and organize vigilance committees in the workshops to receive complaints,

requests, and suggestions from the women workers.

The delegates take an active part in all the campaigns initiated by the Soviets or the Party (fuel campaign, sanitary detachments, food detachments, help for the wounded, fight with epidemics, expeditions for agitation into the country, etc.) The delegate conferences assemble two to four times a month. Lately, in Moscow and in some other towns, the basis of representation has been lowered, and delegates are now elected one for every twenty working women. In this way, through the medium of the delegate conferences, it becomes possible to reach the widest possible masses of women workers, and more and more they begin to constitute reserves, from which the Party and the Soviets can draw new forces. This was strikingly illustrated by the Party "weeks." In Moscow, for example, where during the Party "week" about 15,000 new members were enrolled, amongst them some thousands of women, a large percentage of the new membership was given by these very delegate conferences.

Great possibilities for agitation are contained in the non-party conferences of women workers, which in separate towns, provinces and counties are convoked approximately every three to four months.

Oral and printed propaganda and agitation are also carried on. In almost every party organ there is a "Working Woman's Page."

We can say, without exaggeration, that, whatever the faults and deficiencies in our work, the results achieved during the past year have surpassed our expectations.

A year ago there existed only a tiny group of class-conscious women workers, while the mass of the remainder, though revolutionary in temperament, was still lacking in consciousness and in organization. Today there is a strong body of intelligent workers, members of the Communist Party, and all with experience of one form or other of Soviet or Party work, gained during the past year. Not a few brilliant agitators have made their appearance, and now women journalists are also rising from the working-class ranks.

The women workers' movement already embraces the widest possible masses, and is becoming a considerable political force. Work has gone best in Petrograd, Moscow, the Moscow province, and the province of Ivanovo-Voznessensk. Undoubtedly the women workers are best organized and most class-conscious in Petrograd. Work has also begun in other provinces, and in some places fairly promisingly. At the All-Russian Conference of Party organizers of women workers there were present representatives of twenty-eight provinces; in addition to which comrades from the Ural, from Ufa, Orenburg, Astrakhan, amongst other places, were unable to be present, although work is going on there. The working women's movement thus covers today the whole of Russia.

The women workers have displayed splendid capacity both for organization and for labor. In

spite of unprecedented difficulties, they have already succeeded in helping the Soviet sections (sub-committees) to organize not a few creches, children's parks, schools, public dining halls, etc. And, while the working man has to go to the front in the ranks of the Red Army, to defend the Soviet power from the attacks of the Denikins, Yudeniches, Entente imperialists—the working woman in the rear is replacing him, not only in the factory and the workshop, but also in the Soviets, the trade unions, the militia, etc. Many women workers, also, expressed a wish to fight at the front against the White Guards, side by side with the working men.

### REPATRIATION OF RUSSIAN WAR PRISONERS

Moscow, July 26.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs has called the attention of the French Foreign Minister, in the matter of the repatriation of the Russian war prisoners by way of Odessa, to the fact that all ships without exception must make known their arrival twenty-five nautical miles before Odessa by wireless to Odessa or Nikolayev, and then take aboard a pilot. The Italian warship "Rucchia", which disregarded this order, sank in a mine field.

*The text of the Port Regulations governing the arrival of foreign ships in Soviet Russian harbors was printed in full in SOVIET RUSSIA for August 7, 1920.*

### VACANCIES IN UNIVERSITIES

HELSINGFORS.—The Soviet press regularly carries reports to the effect that professors are needed for universities and colleges. The *Izvestia* of June 4 contains an announcement of competitive examinations for the chairs of geology and mineralogy in the Institute of Forestry and for the chairs of pathology and therapy in the Medical Institute. It is expected that Dr. Rubel and Professor Grinchikov will be appointed to these chairs.

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## Official Communications of the Soviet Government

### DECLARATION OF THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE RIGHT ON THE POLISH QUESTION

1485. May 8. 1920.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of the right, which has remained perhaps the worst enemy of the Soviet power, has communicated to the Moscow Soviet a declaration which symbolizes better than anything else the union of all Russian society about the Soviet power against the Polish aggression, for in the midst of the usual unfounded recrimination of this party against the Soviet policy, is found approval of the policy towards Poland and an appeal for the support of the Red Army. The Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of the Right recognizes in particular that the Polish aggression is the work of renegades of the revolution, adventurers of the type of Savinkov, Burtsev, and Petlura, who, as is known, are at the same time the proteges and the hirelings of the Entente. The declaration follows:

The phantom of a new bloody and devastating war lies over Russia. This time the danger for the integrity and independence, for the freedom of the internal development of Russia, comes from the young Polish Republic. The imperialism of the Polish bourgeoisie, tempted by the alleged weakness of Soviet Russia, and excited by the imperialist elements of the Anglo-French bourgeoisie, has presented to the Russian people insensate and criminal demands, hostile to the vital foundations of the Russian state, and threatening to seize from Russia several territories whose population is entirely Great Russian or Ukrainian. Instead of solving all territorial questions in litigation by means of an inquiry and under circumstances guaranteeing the full voting freedom of the population, the Polish bourgeoisie have drawn the sword and with criminal thoughtlessness kindled the flame of a new fratricidal war. Led into error by the gossip of the renegades of the revolution, and insensate adventurers of the type of Savinkov, Burtsev, Petlura, and others, the Polish Government expected to have in its campaign against Soviet Russia the sympathy and support of the Russian democracy always insulted and crucified by the Bolsheviki authorities. In the name of the fraction of the socialist democracy which has always carried on and is now carrying on the most implacable war of ideas against the dictatorship of the Bolsheviki party, the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party declares loudly that, while remaining as before faithful to the ideal of socialism and democracy, it deems it to be its duty to wage all the working peasant class and the laboring class to fight with all their energy to repulse the conquering pretensions of Polish imperialism. In the war imposed upon the Russian people for their national good, the socialist democracy will perform its duty to the end. The

salvation of Russia from the danger which menaces her demands imperiously that the war become a national cause. Devoted ardor, acceptance of all sacrifices, revolutionary enthusiasm, firm internal discipline, these the Russian people should oppose to the Polish imperialism armed with French cannon and English gold. But the national ardor cannot develop its force and attain all its aims unless at the head is found a governmental power working in perfect harmony with it. All the popular enthusiasm would disappear if the power thought to replace the aims of legitimate defence, comprehensible and clear to every revolutionary worker's conscience with other foreign aims. The words of advice which we address to the power which the will of destiny has in the present period of trial placed in a position to lead the Russian people to battle are in no way dictated by a sentiment of revolutionary partisanship, of party hate or factional rivalry. They are born solely of the warm desire to save Russia from the new danger of national dismemberment which threatens, and to settle as quickly as possible under circumstances acceptable to both sides a war which weighs heavily upon an economic situation already unfavorable. The peasant revolts which have been widespread in the South and the East, and which have destroyed the political fortresses of Kolchak and Denikin, have manifested the will of the people to defend the revolution against every menace of reaction or restoration. They bear witness also to the antipathy of the population for the anti-democratic policy, the cause of insurrections. We believe firmly that the Red Army which guards the western limits of revolutionary Russia and defends its interests in the most difficult conditions, will be equal to the great national and human task which has been imposed upon it by history, and for the accomplishment of which the hearts of the whole Russian nation beat in unison with those of the Red Army. We now urge all citizens to support with every force the Red Army which is defending the interests of the nation.

(Signed)

*The Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.*

### PEACE POURPARLERS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LITHUANIA

1489. May 8, 1920.

(First Meeting May 7)

The president of the Russian peace delegation, Yoffe, declares the conference open and greets the representatives of the Lithuanian Republic. Lithuania, having never been in a state of war with Soviet Russia, the pourparlers will aim rather at the definition of the juridical relations which should exist for the good of the two republics between two nations which have always been so near to one another. The principles proclaimed by the Russian Revolution of the right of peoples

to self-determination, principles which Soviet Russia defends in all negotiations, furnish the guaranty that in the pourparlers with Lithuania no insurmountable difficulty can arise. At the moment when imperialist Poland, which, despite the will of the Lithuanian people, occupies a part of the territory of this people, tries to impose by force its domination upon the Russian and Ukrainian peoples, now more than ever the only possible basis for solving these conflicts is the liberty of the peoples to dispose of their destiny. On this ground agreement between Russia and Lithuania is certain and rapid. All the questions allied to the imperialist war should be set aside in order not to revive in the least the wounds of the past. Russia will raise against Lithuania no claims arising from the old subjection of this country to the former Russian empire. At the same time the Russian delegation is ready to consider with sympathy the unfortunate situation in which the imperialist war and the Polish aggression have placed the Republic of Lithuania.

The president of the Lithuanian delegation replies by expressing the desire of his government to establish amicable relations between the two peoples. He declares himself convinced in advance that Soviet Russia will above all repair the historic injustice of the Czarist government by renouncing formally the sovereign right of Russia over Lithuania. He expresses the hope that Russia will do all in its power to allay the suffering into which the imperialist war has plunged the Lithuanian people. The president of the Lithuanian delegation closes by declaring himself certain of the favorable issue of the negotiations.

### GORKY AND POLAND

The *Krasnaya Gazeta* of April 9, publishes the following statements of Maxim Gorky:

"The whole world sees and knows that it is not we who have plotted this war. I am the declared enemy of war, that most hideous phenomenon in all the world; but if I am seized by the throat I shall defend myself to the last drop of blood. Blows are inflicted upon your heads because you are trying to build a new life. You are hated not at all for some error or cruelty, but because you have broken the rusty chains of the political regime. When the workers of Soviet Russia wanted only to take up their peaceful work, a new enemy appeared before them and now wishes to crush them with blows. But that should not frighten us. On the day of the proletarian fete of the First of May you showed what fraternal solidarity in labor leads to, and that example, better than any words, testifies to the fact that our common efforts shall triumph over the enemy. Perhaps this blow coming from Poland is the last obstacle which separates us from the free road where we shall build our life in conformity with the new communist principles in such a way that all will see us and hasten to imitate us. That is my profound conviction. Greetings to you, Comrades."

### THE DEFENSE AGAINST THE POLES 1514. May 12, 1920.

On May 10 three Red aviators, flying over Zhlobin, engaged in combat an entire escadrille of Polish planes. A Polish plane was shot down, falling a verst and a half from Zhlobin. After having put to flight the enemy machines the Red aviators landed without damage within our lines. On May 9 one of these same aviators had already shot down an enemy balloon in the region of Bobruisk.

In *Pravda* Sokolnikov shows that the Allies and the Poles propose to make the Ukraine serve the same selfish aims as formerly Germany. But it is certain that the result will be the same and that the Entente will not get more from the Ukraine than it did from Germany.

Trotsky issues an order of the day to invite all the troops of the west and southwest front to regard as sacred in all circumstances the wounded or prisoner enemy. If the Polish White Guard torture, shoot and hang not only the communists, but all the Red soldiers fallen into their hands, Soviet Russia will hold responsible only the ruling classes and not the people of Poland. The only vengeance permitted against all the crimes of the Polish is to push as violently as possible the attack against the Polish White Guard.

The Central Executive Committee and the Council of Defense proclaim a state of siege in a number of provinces of the center and the west. Full power passes to the bureaus of the Executive Committees of the province.

The People's Commissariat of the Interior urges all the district and canton soviets to make known to the village population by means of reunions and meetings the causes of the war with Poland. There should not be in the republic a single citizen who does not know these causes perfectly.

The mobilization of the communists is proceeding. Certain committees such as that of Riazan furnish a larger number than that fixed by the Central Committee.

The number of volunteers is so great in Moscow that new bureaus had had to be installed. In addition in the units which have not been designated for the Polish front masses of soldiers have enrolled to leave for that front.

The Russian aviator, Rossinski, has just established a new record for Russia, two thousand versts in twelve hours, forty-two minutes, the course from Moscow to Nizhni, Kazan, Samara and return with a one hundred and twenty horsepower motor.

There were counted at Petrograd on May 1 eighty technical schools, thirteen of them superior schools, with about ten thousand students.

On June 1 there will be opened new workingmen's faculties at the superior technical school of Moscow, the institute of surveying, the academy of mines, the popular polytechnicum, the industrial and economic institute, and the Razumovskoye agricultural academy of Petrograd.

### POLISH TERROR

1518. May 13, 1920

In the territory occupied by the Poles the latter pillage and in every way maltreat the peaceful population. The Red prisoners are stripped of their clothing, beaten into unconsciousness, confined in camps, where they die of hunger when they are not shot.

In the Soviet provinces of Rybinsk, Kaluga, Viatka, Kurgan, Kostroma, Tula, whole populations assembled in meetings swore to destroy the Polish White Guards. The volunteers enroll by thousands. All classes wish to take part in the war. At Tula the representatives of the Mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries urge their supporters to reinforce the Red Army with every means at their disposal.

### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The agricultural campaign is proceeding with the greatest success in the governmental organization of sowing and the creation of local shops for the repair of tools. An increase is observed in the communal cultivation.

The line from Perm is improving every day. The number of trains in daily movement has grown from 560 to 900 since last January. The percentage of trains out of service has diminished from twelve to seven per cent, that of locomotives from sixty-four to forty-five per cent. The one hundred and seventy-nine bridges destroyed by the Whites are all rebuilt.

In *Pravda* Lomov compares the fuel situation on December 18 and now. Of wood in place of the thirty-five million steres there are today one hundred million. Of coal the Moscow basin in the three first months of this year has increased its production twenty per cent in comparison with last year. The mines of Cheliabinsk and Kizel in the Urals give every satisfaction. The basin of the Donets continues to improve. Of naphtha one hundred million poods at least will be brought from Baku on the Volga and at least twenty-five will be realized from the reserves of Grozny and Emba. The result is that a considerable part of the trains employed in the transport of fuel are liberated, coal and naphtha having a fuel value triple or quadruple that of wood. These trains can now be employed in food or industrial transport.

The Soviet power, not content with protecting the small industries which have always rendered enormous service to Russia, is occupied with organizing them into grand units and trusts. Thus four of these trusts exist in the region of Pavlovski Posad near Nizhni-Novgorod, embracing ten thousand artisans. In the region of Muron two trusts are organized and two others are in the process of organization, embracing seven thousand artisans. The movement is spreading in the other provinces.

### THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Russo-Lithuanian peace pourparlers. At the second meeting of the conference Yoffe proposed the following text proclaiming Lithuanian independence: "Conforming to the principle proclaimed by the Russian Soviet Republic of the right of the peoples freely to dispose of themselves and to separate themselves entirely from the state in which they may be, and repudiating consequently the imperialist policy of Czarism, the consequence of which was the annexation of Lithuania, Russia recognizes and confirms the independence and sovereignty of the Lithuanian state as well as all the resulting juridical consequences and voluntarily renounces for ever all the sovereign rights which the Russian Government had claimed over the people and the territory of Lithuania. The fact of the old subjection of Lithuania to Russia imposes upon the Lithuanian people and country no obligation towards Russia." The Lithuanian delegation accepted the proposed text and the next meeting is to be devoted to the question of frontiers.

### THE ENGLISH DELEGATION IN RUSSIA

The delegation of English workingmen's organizations has been received at the Russian frontier by Melnichanski, president of the Moscow Council of trade unions. At Petrograd the chief of the delegation, Ben Turner, bore witness in his discourse, to the solidarity of the English workers with the Russian revolution for the class war to the end. Purcell declared that the delegates came to Russia to learn from the Russian workers to follow their example. Williams expressed his conviction that the members of the delegation would learn much as the guests of the Russian Communist Party.

### ECONOMIC SITUATION

The mines of Kizel in the Urals in April yielded nearly one million seven hundred thousand poods of coal, that is, ten per cent more than in March. The nationalized paper mills of the region of Petrograd will furnish in May sixty-two thousand poods of paper in place of forty-nine thousand in April.

Measures taken by the direction of professional instruction to obtain an anticipated promotion of engineers have produced considerable results. Thus the superior technical school of Moscow will supply more than five hundred engineers, that is, more than all the superior technical establishments of Moscow and Petrograd in all of last year.

### IN UKRAINE

The Independent Social Democratic Party of Ukraine, having at its head the old ministers of the Rada, Tkachenko and Mazurenko, after having entered into tentative accord with Petlura has resumed the war against him and is defending the soviet idea.

### FOOD AND TRANSPORTATION

Moscow, June 24.—The People's Commissar for Food Supply, Sviderski, publishes the following statistical data dealing with the work accomplished by the Soviet Government in the domain of food supply and transportation. According to this data, it is the plan of the Soviet Government to raise annually from three to four hundred million poods of wheat for the Red Army and the industrial centers of the country, and also for those provinces of the country which are not able to supply themselves. During the past year, it has succeeded in preparing ninety-one per cent of this quantity. For the improvement of the transportation system, the Soviet Government is beginning to electrify some of the railways of the country, particularly those of the districts adjacent to Petrograd and Moscow.

### BREAKING THE BLOCKADE

Moscow, June 28.—A blockade runner has arrived in Esthonia with fifty wagon-loads of agricultural implements and thirty-seven wagon-loads of paper.

Moscow, June 16.—Latvia and Soviet Russia have reached an agreement regarding the exchange of fugitives. The carrying out of the agreement will begin immediately. Yoffe is authorized to act for Soviet Russia, and Vesman, Bergis and Kalnin for Latvia.

### LITVINOV, RUSSIA'S REPRESENTATIVE IN NORWAY

Moscow, June 30.—The Soviet Government expects that in the near future, the Norwegian Government will be ready to start negotiations with the Soviet Government relative to the questions now pending between the two countries; and that the Russian representative, Litvinov, will soon receive the necessary facilities for the journey to Norway. The object of the negotiations on the part of the Russians is the attainment of an understanding between the two countries in questions which concern them both. Litvinov is also the Swedish representative, and is awaiting passports from Sweden.

### FOOD CONDITIONS ARE IMPROVING

Moscow, June 30.—From official figures, we learn, in comparison with the last few years, that the distribution of bread is steadily increasing. In the community kitchens established by the city authorities, from seven to eight hundred thousand people eat daily.

### NEW RUSSIAN SCHOOL

Moscow, June 30.—The Soviet Government has issued a call to all Russians belonging to the learned professions, who are now in foreign countries, to return to Russia in order to help in the establishment of a new Socialist school.

## THE NEXT ISSUE

of

# SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. THE SOVIET POWER AND THE PRESERVATION OF ART, by A. Lunacharsky, People's Commissar of Education.
2. THE "MISERY" OF THE RUSSIAN SCIENTISTS, by C. Smirnov.
3. COMBATTING THE DISORGANIZATION OF TRANSPORT. *An official article on methods used and results obtained in the rehabilitation of the railroads in Soviet Russia.*
4. RUSSIAN WOMEN IN THE RED ARMY.
5. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.

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## The Soviet Power and the Preservation of Art

By A. LUNACHARSKY

AMONG the many calumnies that are spread concerning the Soviet power, I am made particularly indignant by the report appearing in American newspapers to the effect that we are guilty of vandalism toward museums, palaces, country homes of landed proprietors, and churches, which constitute important monuments of antiquity and frequently have a unique art value.

We can deny these accusations with pride and firmness, for we have accomplished marvels in protecting such monuments. Of course, I do not maintain that individual objects of art have not been destroyed in the course of the Russian Revolution. We have been informed of certain country seats that have been burnt down, libraries destroyed, of collections scattered, and similar incidents, but surely it will be understood that such a mighty upheaval as the revolution could not proceed without some excesses, and we must call the attention of the imperialists to the fact that during the war that was staged by the "most civilized" bourgeois armies, human property in the occupied regions was destroyed in incomparably greater measure than in our country.

In Russia this phenomenon was of temporary nature and lasted only till the moment the Government took the reins into its hands. At present, not only in Petrograd and in its environs, where immense treasures of this kind have accumulated, not only in Moscow and in the palaces situated in the environs of Moscow, which also are unique in their class, but also in the provinces, often even in the most remote corners, we find representatives of the "Section for the Protection of Monuments of Antiquity and Objects of Art"; these representatives, with the aid

of educated peasants and workers, carefully guard such property of the people as has artistic value.

American newspapers have dared to speak of plundering and disorder in the imperial palaces. I should be very happy to be able to show some foreigners what is actually being done at present in these palaces—and we did to be sure pass through a serious period when all sorts of armed forces were making Gatchina and Tsarskoye Selo unsafe, when there were no supervising organs in Petrograd at all. Under these circumstances it necessarily appeared to be a hopeless undertaking to protect the treasures of the palaces and museums which are of immeasurable value even if considered only from a material standpoint. The task was rendered more difficult by the fact that many palaces, particularly the Winter Palace, had cellars that were chock full of wine, brandy and cordials. We were obliged to destroy these stocks of liquor ruthlessly, as the excesses of drunkenness would otherwise have spread to the Eremitage\* and to the halls of the Winter Palace, and might have caused unheard of damage. There is terrible temptation in alcohol, and I remember one good soldier of the Pavlovsky regiment who, together with certain other guards, had not been able to refrain from tasting the wine, hundreds of thousands of bottles of which he was guarding; in extenuation of his act he later said to me: "Put me alongside of an open chest of gold, and I will not touch it; but it is impossible to stand alongside of this wine." And yet we have managed, by destroying this wine, by applying the severest

\* The Eremitage, one of the most famous museums of Europe, was built in 1840-1852 by the architect, Von Klenze, and contains valuable collections of sculpture, coins, weapons, etc. The gallery of older European paintings is particularly noteworthy.

measures, to prevent the misfortune that was then threatening.

If you enter the Winter Palace or the Gatchina Palace today, and find any traces of destruction in these places, you may be convinced that they are traces of the period when Kerensky and his young imperial cadets and Cossacks were still carrying on there. But there are practically no such scars remaining; we have already healed them.

As for the museums, they are in excellent order, in the hands of the best custodians. The museums have been much enriched by transferring to them works of artistic and historic value, of the most varied kinds, from private palaces and estates. While the best pictures of the old Eremitage were transferred to Moscow by Kerensky and are there waiting, packed in their crates, for the day when we may feel absolutely safe in Petrograd, the apartments of the Eremitage are being filled anew with wonderful works of art, partly purchased, partly taken from private store-rooms, which were formerly inaccessible to the public, and which now are being exhibited there. What marvelous works have been discovered and, at present, exhibited to the masses of the people and to school children in the palaces of Yussopov, Stroganov, and elsewhere!

The palaces themselves are devoted by us to the most varied purposes. Only a few among them, such as the artistically uninteresting Anichkov Palace and the Marinsky Palace, have been placed at the disposal of the authorities. But the Winter Palace has been transformed into an art palace. In its magnificent salons, constructed by Rastrelli and his pupils, you will always find a crowd of people listening to excellent music performed by the State orchestra or the State brass band, or enjoying cinematographic exhibitions or special dramatic performances.

One exhibition here follows upon another; some of them have really been magnificent both in the number and beauty of the works exhibited. It is our effort to make both the exhibitions and the museums real sources of culture, by combining them with lectures and attaching instructors and guides to every group of visitors. By separating certain collections of moderate size from the museums, and establishing separate exhibitions, such as Buddhist religious art, or the funeral customs or funeral superstitions of the Egyptians, we create a splendid means of object instruction, and such exhibitions are visited in our much tried Petrograd by masses of interested persons.

Other palaces have been entirely transformed into museums: particularly the gigantic Palace of Katherine at Tsarskoye Selo, and the Alexander Palace nearby. The entire history of the autocracy is here presented to the eyes of the workers and the young people who come to this place from Petrograd in streams; who walk through the parks that are century-old, and then enter this palace which is kept in apple-pie order. We are successfully pursuing the aim of carefully preserving against

damage, in spite of this mass attendance, not only the walls, furniture, and art works, but even the interesting mosaic floors, to preserve which we go so far, where we have not had enough protecting runners, to provide visitors with special canvas shoes to be put on over their boots. This practice inspires the visitor, no matter how little he may be accustomed to such surroundings, with the feeling that he is face to face with the property of the public, which must be guarded by both state and public with the greatest care.

In the Palace of Katherine he beholds the bizarre and heavy magnificence of the period of Elizabeth, and the graceful and pleasantly harmonious splendor of the epoch of Katherine II. This civilization of the imperial masters, who were the finest architects, decorators, and masters in porcelain, bronzes and tapestry, appears to attain its culmination during the reign of Paul, with its incomparable perfection in works of the First Empire.

The neighboring Pavlovsk is the best monument to the taste of that epoch. The excellent choice of art works constituting its equipment, as well as the admirable decoration of its salons, make Pavlovsk an incomparable structure, the like of which is hardly to be found anywhere in Europe.

But this art epoch has also left attractive traces in the Great Palace at Tsarskoye Selo. Utilizing the labor power of their serfs, the Czars, standing in proud seclusion at the head of their nobility, were able to exploit all Europe's treasures, alternating the Asiatic luxuriousness of their Moscow ancestors with the excessive refinement of the works of European culture.

Under Alexander I, taste goes down. In his empire we find a certain coldness, which is not, however, without impressiveness. It is the reflection of the Napoleonic imperialism of Russia, with its serfdom.

And then look at the apartments of Alexander II, distinguished, commodious, with a touch of English bourgeois taste, devoid of ostentation—these are the studies and drawing rooms of a British gentleman, a wealthy country squire. And suddenly we have Alexander III before us, a curiously awkward, pseudo-Russian style, a splendor chiefly distinguished by its material wastefulness.

This decline is already noticeable under Nicholas I, with its heavy bronzes, with its second-rate Paris trinkets, products of the Second Empire.

But the coarse, quasi-Russian style of Alexander III adds an element which brings us back to Asia. Only with the utmost effort can we here discern a glimmer of true art. All of the objects are chosen for their cost, their display, their glaring and striking effects. You feel that the nobility has outlived its usefulness and is no longer the head of society, not even in the field of material civilization, not even in its house furnishings. They are already adapting themselves to the practice of living in ugly dwellings, calculated only to impress their subjects with spacious splendor and

gilt and tinsel. We already feel that the autocracy is maintaining itself with difficulty, and no longer has confidence in itself; it seeks to dazzle the eye, and fails in the attempt; therefore its effort for enormous dimensions and outrageous cost of material.

If we have already witnessed a rapid drop in taste, proceeding step by step, from Alexander I to Nicholas I, from the latter to Alexander II, then to Alexander III, we behold a veritable collapse into the abyss when we gaze at the tasteless chambers of Nicholas II. What a conglomeration of things! A gaudy cotton print with photographs attached, as minute as in the attic room of some millionaire's maid. Here is a Rasputin alcove, decorated with gilt images of saints; here are curious little tubs, huge divans, and very peculiarly decorated "dressing rooms", which arouse in us a suggestion of gross animal sensuality; you find furniture of the worst factory taste, furniture such as could be found in the rooms of suddenly enriched parvenus, who will buy any sort of "furniture" that suits their unbridled taste.

We find here a curious combination of two tendencies—the repulsive lack of taste of a degenerate Russian nobleman, and the not less repulsive lack of taste of a German philistine woman.

And yet we are speaking of the descendants of imperial dynasties! No one can free himself from the thought, even if his attention is not called to it—that the dynasty was going down, morally and esthetically, with breathless rapidity.

Our artists proposed to preserve undisturbed all the chambers of Nicholas II as models of bad taste; we have done this, for this ramble through the past, the most recent past, the period of the collapse of the Romanovs, is really a marvelous object lesson in Czarist *kulturgeschichte*, especially if it is aided by a preparatory lecture.

Gatchina provides much instructive material in this connection. But I fear that General Yudenich and the English bearers of culture who accompanied him have inflicted great damage upon the palaces which we so carefully protected, and which are so popular with the masses of the people, now that they have been transformed into museums.

At Moscow, the Kremlin is visited by many traveling parties. This set of buildings, with the exception of a few that are occupied by government establishments, has now become one gigantic museum of instruction, including also the churches.

The country seats surrounding Moscow are being carefully preserved by us. But, whenever their totality does not represent a unified whole, everything that has artistic and historical value is removed from them—also from the monasteries—and transported to other museums which have been added to Moscow's attractions. The palaces which are valuable for their architecture, such as Archangelskoye and Ostankino, are even in our hard times places of pilgrimage for all those who wish to delight their eyes with unified monuments of the period which was so "glorious" for our no-

bility, the period when that nobility exploited and destroyed entire generations of its slaves, but was at least clever enough to live elegantly and to acquire in western Europe, in exchange for floods of Russian workers' sweat, objects worthy of decorating such fine structures.

In a country passing through a revolutionary crisis, in which the masses are naturally inspired with hatred against the czars and masters, and involuntarily transfer this hatred even to their dwellings and furnishings, without being able to judge the artistic and historic value of these things, since these same masters and czars had permitted them to continue living in ignorance, in such a country it was of course not an easy task to carry out our work. For we had not only to dam the wave of destruction, to preserve the works of art, but it was our task to reanimate the latter, to create living beauty out of mere museum specimens, so that the worker, unconsciously thirsting for beauty, might be refreshed.

It was our task to make of inaccessible castles and palaces, where dwelt the degenerate scions of once famous families—who had become bored with everything and no longer observed anything—public institutions, which, guarded with loving care, must provide hours of pleasure for numerous visitors. This was indeed a difficult task.

The Commissariat for Public Instruction and its Section for the Protection of Historic and Art Monuments, is ready at any time to render account of its activities before civilized mankind, and, may confidently say that not only the international proletariat, which is the best part of this civilized humanity, but also every other honest man cannot withhold the tribute of respect to this immense achievement. Emphasis must be laid not only on individual cases of destruction—such might occur in any country, even in the most enlightened; but also on the fact that in a country which had been kept back in a stage of barbarism through a criminal government policy, these disturbances did not attain any great dimensions, but were transformed by the power of the government of workers and peasants into a well organized possession of the people as a whole.—The Kremlin, October 23, 1919.

#### HELP THE RUSSIAN CHILDREN

On our editorial pages, the reader will find a presentation of the plight of the 780 Russian children who will reach New York about September 1st.

They need clothing and blankets for their journey across the Atlantic and through the Baltic Sea to their homes in Petrograd. They need food and clothing and medicaments, in addition to the expenses of their entertainment in New York before their steamer sails for Europe.

Clothing, to be accepted, must be new; and no contributions of any kind should reach this office later than August 30th.

RUSSIAN SOVIET BUREAU, Dept. A  
Room 304

110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

## The "Misery" of the Russian Scientists

By V. S. SMIRNOV

Under the foregoing title *Dagens Nyheter* printed, last Sunday, an article by Dr. J. T. Arne, with the benevolent and humanitarian purpose of bringing financial aid to stranded Russians belonging to the so-called *Intelligentsia*; but his accusations against the Bolsheviki, who, he says, want to wipe out the Russian scientists, are founded upon ancient and absolutely false emanations from the ultra-reactionary *Huvudstadsbladet*, of Helsingfors, and other similar Finnish sources. As, for instance, his assertion that the famous historian, Platonov, died in jail. This story was circulated widely in September last, in Finland, and has since been proved to be entirely without foundation. In fact, a former tutor, or teacher, of the University of Petrograd, K. Tiander, recently an assiduous contributor to the *Huvudstadsbladet*, some time later published in the same paper a statement to the effect that a scientific-historical commission had been appointed in Petrograd under the chairmanship of Platonov. Tiander has been responsible for much of the news that comes from Russia through Finland. The undersigned, who studied under Professor Platonov in the University of Petrograd, met him, also, several times during the summer of 1918, while serving in the People's Commissariat for Education. At that time Professor Platonov was working with the Soviets, who accepted and appreciated his endeavors with gratitude. There was thus no reason or foundation for the statement that Professor Platonov had died in jail.

Among other scientists who were supposed to have died of privation in Petrograd Mr. Arne also mentions Professor Shlyapkin. I can also say from my own knowledge that Professor Shlyapkin, who lived on the Finnish border, died long before the March Revolution. Further mention is made of the well-known historian and academician, Lappo Danielevsky, "starved to death in Petrograd." This statement, for which Tiander is also responsible, although it was published in a more moderate form in *Huvudstadsbladet*, also lacks foundation, since, being an academician and a professor, Danielevsky was in such economic circumstances that it was entirely improbable that he died of hunger.

From these examples it ought to be clear that information which comes from the Finnish reactionary press concerning the misfortunes of Russian scientists under the so-called repressions of the Bolsheviki can scarcely be depended upon. That severe food and fuel situations existed in Petrograd and Moscow as a result of the world war, civil wars, and the Entente blockade, is generally known, and is no secret. That under such conditions the scientists suffer, along with the rest of the population, is but natural. But to accuse the Bolsheviki of bringing about these privations and of subjecting especially the scientists to them is at least illogical.

Those who are familiar with present conditions in Russia know very well that the Soviet power, on the contrary, does everything in its power to make life as comfortable as possible for scientists, artists, technicians, and others. This is admitted by all honest representatives of the Russian *Intelligentsia*. For instance, issue No. 3, 1920, of *Vyestnik Literaturi* (The Messenger of Literature), a magazine published by Dr. Kauffman, in Petrograd, contains an article under the title, "A Well-Deserved Tribute," which is a tribute to the Commissar of Education, Z. G. Grinberg, who was transferred from Petrograd to a similar position at Moscow. Almost every literary and scientific institution in Petrograd, with the Academy of Science at the head, participated in this tribute. During the farewell meeting and banquet held at the "House of Arts," many hearty and most touching speeches were addressed to Grinberg, in all of which his great efforts in behalf of useful enterprises were emphasized. Among those who spoke were the chairman of the Society for Literature and Science, Professor Kauffman; Hariton; the chairman of the Turgenev Society, the well-known former senator, Koni; the critic, Chukovski, and several others. All these speakers emphasized his especially humane relation to scientists as well as to literary persons. The two above mentioned houses (of arts and literature), are large clubs which owe much to Mr. Grinberg, and their aim is to give thousands of scientists, artists, and writers, and their families, the possibility of receiving help in the form of foodstuffs, and the opportunity of carrying on their scientific, literary, and artistic work. Similar institutions, as for instance the House of the Press, may be found in Moscow and other centers of culture in Russia.

Professor Kauffman emphasized in his speech that the scientists have never had, nor could they hope to have, a better Minister of Education than Grinberg.

Here I must state that Grinberg, who was my fellow worker during the entire time of my service in Petrograd, is a faithful Communist. Just as wonderful as he are the People's Commissars for Education, Lunacharsky and Maxim Gorky, who are at the head of the great national proposition, the "Literature of the World," and several others. During the severe food shortage in Petrograd last January, a special commission was formed with the purpose of improving the position of the scientists. On account of the decision of this commission, 1,800 scientists at Petrograd had a larger food ration than the other inhabitants of the city. Besides, this commission decided to establish a "House of Science" in the former Palace of Grand Duke Vladimir, in which several rooms were kept heated and illuminated, in spite of the fuel shortage, for the needs of the scientists.

All these measures ought to make it sufficiently clear that the Soviet Government is not and has

not been neglecting the fate of the Russian *Intellectuals*, which loyally cooperates with it. Dr. Arne is very much grieved that a few professors were arrested and executed, compelled to flee abroad, etc., but he neglects to inform his readers that these participated actively in various plots against the Soviet Republic.

It is a little too much to expect that such men as Kartashev, Kuzmin-Karavayev, Milyukov, Struve and others, whom he especially enumerates, should be allowed to remain unmolested in Russia, since at the same time they are members of various White Russian "governments." The two first mentioned belonged to the "Northwestern" government of Yudenich; Struve is Foreign Minister in the Crimean Government of Wrangel; Milyukov is head of the "White" Conferences at Paris, etc. Naturally the professors in Soviet Russia have no special privilege to conspire against the Soviet power. In this regard they are on the same basis as other Russian citizens.

I can assure Dr. Arne that nobody in Soviet Russia is so stupid,—as he seems to imagine—as to wish to create any special proletarian mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, etc. By "proletarian culture," one understands in Russia nothing so absurd as he seems to believe, but proletarian art and proletarian literature, which are actually being created in Russia now. But a more extensive elucidation of this subject is not within the scope and purpose of this article. In one thing, however, I agree with Dr. Arne, and that is that science, like literature and art, has in Russia reached a very high plane, in spite of the most un-

favorable conditions, even much higher than he knows. Beside these branches which have been enumerated by him, and which have attained a general recognition all over the world, I could add many more, such as, for instance, the history of literature, linguistic research (not only Oriental), and natural science. (Dr. Arne mentions world-famous Russian mathematicians and physicians.) Within the sphere of natural science there was, for instance, the Darwinist and biologist, Professor Timiryazev, who joined the Soviets as soon as they were constituted, and whose long life ended at eighty; he was a faithful Communist and contributor to the *Communist International*, to *Pravda*, etc., etc., who had attained world-wide fame.

Partly on my own account, from my own experiences as superintendent of the high school department of the Commissariat for People's Education in the northern Communes of Russia, at Petrograd, I can bear witness to the fact that the Soviet Government laid great stress not only upon the spreading of education among the masses,—as Dr. Arne asserts,—but also upon the promoting of science in every respect. The paper shortage and other consequences of the blockade organized by the "democratic states of culture" cannot of course contribute to the flowering of science, art, and literature at the present time. Nevertheless, no government in the world is doing as much as the government of the workers and peasants in Russia which is so maligned by "bearers of culture" elsewhere.—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, July 2, 1920.

## Russian Women in the Red Army

THE Russian women—peasant, working-class and bourgeois—have played an important part in all revolutionary movements which have swept through Russia. Amfiteatrov, the Russian writer, acknowledges the importance of the Russian women's efforts, looking towards the emancipation of the working and bourgeois classes in Russia, in the following words: "The women have taught the Russian people to read and write, they have established new teaching methods and have borne the whole martyrdom imposed by the work of enlightening the proletariat." As a matter of fact, the Russian women are entitled to a large share of the credit for the liberation of Russia's working classes. Their solicitousness, their devotion and spirit of self-sacrifice, intensified to the point of fanaticism, enabled them to bear quietly and with patience all these tortures which were a consequence of illegal activity—the only possible method of agitation and propaganda in czarist Russia. For many decades the woman revolutionist stood watch at her quiet, hidden, and often most dangerous post. She organized secret printing shops, manufactured bombs, planned assassinations, (fighting methods brought about by the peculiar

conditions existing in Russia), carried on the propaganda in the army, fought on the barricades—everywhere, at all dangerous posts, we meet the Russian woman revolutionist, whose self-sacrifice and revolutionary energy served as an example for others.

After the fall of czarism the energetic revolutionary activity of the women continued. Unfortunately it was put to a base use by the bourgeois democracy. The so-called "Battalions of Death", composed of inspired women of the bourgeois democracy, were used chiefly in the fight against the revolution of the proletariat. And in these fights against the revolutionary laboring class the famous women's "Battalions of Death", defending the bourgeois democracy with tenacious energy, were almost completely destroyed.

The successors of the bourgeois women in the bourgeois-democratic era were the women of the proletariat, whose readiness to fight and determination in all things revolutionary were the means of lighting the spark of the revolution of the proletariat. For it was the strike of the women textile workers in the large factories on the Vyborg side of Petrograd which gave the impetus to the

Bolshevik uprising in October, 1917. These very women, leaving their places in the textile works in a body and pouring in a seething mass into the inner city, gave the signal for the beginning of the proletarian revolution in Petrograd.

It is sufficient to cite these incidents to explain why Russian women of the proletariat are to be found in the Red Army. But here there are no separate battalions of women. The women volunteers (during the general mobilization they swarmed in great numbers) are attached to various units and sent to the front. Side by side with their men comrades the women soldiers of the proletarian army fight their battles, fight them with the same degree of fearlessness and heroism as the men. And all this is done quietly—modestly. No one in Russia thinks it necessary to make special mention of the fighting spirit and the fearlessness of the women—or to praise them: it is all taken for granted.

The women soldiers are chiefly active in the auxiliary service. Thousands of women were attached to the sanitary branch of the service. They were first thoroughly trained and then sent to the front or to field hospitals as hospital troops and to hospitals in the interior as nurses. These female sanitary troops perform their duties at the front with marvelous fearlessness. They do not wait until the front is moved forward—while still under fire they rescue the wounded from the line of battle and thus save the lives of many of their comrades in arms.

Women soldiers are also utilized in the auxiliary service behind the lines—at the supply stations, in the transportation service, as couriers, at the army offices and post-offices—everywhere women are to be found, everywhere they offer their strength and their labor in the defense of the Soviet Power. The women spare no efforts and no sacrifices and willingly submit to the rigid war discipline, for well they know that their services constitute a strong support for the defensive system of the proletarian state.

But in all other agencies, too, that serve educational purposes, women are used almost exclusively. For the troops of the Red Army have their libraries, reading rooms, etc., besides which they are treated to lectures, meetings and debates for the purpose of socialistic enlightenment and education. All this affords the women a further field for their activity. How much the efforts of these women at the front have accomplished is shown by the marked self-discipline and fitness of the men composing the Red Guard. Above all the troops are taught self-respect, and they are thoroughly imbued with the realization of the honor, the privilege that is theirs in defending the cause of the revolution and of Socialism; but it is not forgotten to also impress them with the obligations which this honor places upon them.

The women inhabitants of large cities like Petrograd, Odessa, Samara, and others were given the opportunity to take a hand in the defense of

these cities. They were mobilized for the auxiliary service and it was chiefly their task to replace the men, who were leaving for the front, in factories, offices, and other places of employment. Many women even volunteered for the actual defensive service under arms, were equipped and drilled, and by the side of their male comrades of the proletariat, awaited the approach of the White Guard, ready to defend their proletarian homes to the last drop of their blood.

According to their ability the women are being trained for military service. In fact, military service is just as obligatory for all organized women Communists as it is for their men comrades. Once or twice a week armed detachments, composed of both men and women, may be seen marching to the district training posts, where they are drilled in the use of firearms, and where a general military training is imparted to them. The labor organization, "General Military Training", the "Voevobuch" as it is called, counts among its members many hundreds of women proletarians. On May 1, when the volunteer labor battalions paraded, there could be seen in their ranks splendidly drilled detachments of women soldiers. Women members of the "Voevobuch" do garrison and guard duty in the cities, and women soldiers are today a familiar part of the daily life of these cities. Women are also trained for officers in the proletarian officers' training schools. It was in the fall of 1919 that the first woman officer left for the front—one of those women from the ranks of the youthful working women who form so large a contingent of all volunteers.

The Russian working woman performs her duty with enthusiasm, limitless devotion and quiet modesty. Hunger, privation, and cold are forgotten, family cares and affairs are pushed aside when danger threatens the Proletarian State. They are not willing to give up without a struggle the fruits of their heroic fight with their former oppressors, their deliverance from capitalistic exploitation, their complete economic and political equality. The very thought of a return to the old slavery of the working woman, to the yoke put upon woman by a tyrannical state, appears unbearable to them. It is for this reason that they fight with such passionate enthusiasm at the front of the Russian Proletarian State, why they so willingly bear all the burdens and hardships of the auxiliary military service. Not for the defense of capitalism do they wage their fight, as was the case during the war in the west and middle-European states: their fight is for the preservation of the fruits of the proletarian revolution.

And the women of the Austrian proletariat? Do they realize that the shells, which, in the munition factories, are loaded by women workers, will also tear the bodies of daring, self-sacrificing proletarian women fighters? Do they realize that the heroic Russian women workers willingly sacrifice their lives under the fire of shells and machine guns, in order that the women proletarians of other countries, too, may be free?

The destruction of the Russian Proletarian State through military force will result not only in the abrogation of all liberties achieved to this day by the women of Russia, but will make the liberation and emancipation of the proletarian women in other countries impossible for decades

to come. The fight of the Austrian women workers against shipments of ammunition, destined to be used in battles against proletarian Russia, is just as much a fight for her own ultimate deliverance from the yoke of capitalism.—From a recent issue of *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

August 22, 1920.

"La victoire est aux gros bataillons."—Napoleon.

"THE victory is with the big battalions," said Napoleon, "it can be obtained only by force and no force is too strong to bring victory."

When the Polish military leaders began their offensive against Soviet Russia four months ago, with Moscow as their strategical objective, they believed that their army was strong enough to accomplish this difficult task. The Russians, on the other hand, although their military strength was superior to that of the Poles, allowed the invasion to proceed, while they mobilized an army with reserves sufficiently strong and numerous not only to check the Polish advance in Russia, but also to resume a decisive counter-offensive.

Following the classical doctrine of Napoleon, the Soviet strategists looked with indifference upon the situation of the Russian frontiers, still unsettled and uncertain, and did not trouble to guard them, thus leaving open the gates of the Republic. The attention of the Russian Supreme Revolutionary Council was concentrated on the importance of uniting all the fighting forces of the Soviets in one army, which should operate under one trusted leader. This leader was Comrade S. S. Kamenev.

Since the beginning of the Polish campaign, the firm hand of the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Army could be discerned in every movement of the Red Army, during their most dangerous and daring manoeuvres, and especially in their retreats. The latter, on every occasion, were accomplished in extraordinary good order; there was never panic or confusion. Even the enemies of the Soviets considered the flexibility of the Russian front as remarkable.

The Soviet's military command, with no desire to achieve a cheap victory, very skilfully evaded the battles in which their enemy was anxious to engage the Russians, and did not hesitate to do this even when the Reds were numerically superior to the invaders. The main strategical aim of the Soviet command is the complete annihilation of the enemy forces, and, in order to accomplish this, suitable circumstances must be created. When these circumstances were lacking, the Russian commander held his forces in check even at times when he would have been able to inflict on the enemy's attacking army some considerable tactical

reverses. Let us remember Kiev. There cannot be any doubt now that the Russians could have defended the city and stopped the Poles west of the Dnieper, as well as prevented their crossing the Dvina and Berezina. The huge Russian reserves were already in full readiness about fifty miles east of the Dnieper, and there was no difficulty in moving them to the battle front in time. But Kamenev knew well that a battle for Kiev would certainly be followed by the complete destruction of this historic city, and, moreover, that it would have been less favorable for the Russian strategy to engage the Poles west of the rivers than to counter-attack them after they had accomplished the rather difficult crossings, which they would be compelled to repeat during their retreat under vigorous pursuit by the victorious Red Army. Furthermore, thanks to the confusion which overtook the Polish army when it was forced back across the Dnieper, Budenny was able to penetrate in the rear of the Polish battle-front, and thus to accomplish the gradual annihilation of the Polish field army.

That this annihilation has been accomplished is proved by the fact that the Russian Soviet army not only was able to reach the gates of Warsaw on August 15, but, as I predicted, entered, on August 17, the northeastern part of that city, situated on the right bank of the Vistula, and known as Praga. More than that: the fortifications of Modlin (Novo-Georgievsk) were under the fire of the Russian siege artillery. These fortifications, newly built to replace the former Russian fortress, are situated about twenty miles northwest of Warsaw, where the river Bug joins the Vistula, and presents one single stronghold, ably protecting the entrance to the city. Furthermore, the appearance of the Russians at Plock, about thirty-five miles west of Novo-Georgievsk (Modlin), on the Vistula, and later in Wloclawek, northwest of Modlin, thus completely cutting off communications between Warsaw and Danzig, both along the Vistula as well as by the Warsaw-Bromberg railway, proves that the Reds have accomplished a gigantic movement, encircling the whole Polish army in that region.

From a military standpoint, the Soviet troops had already reached Warsaw on August 17. The Russian cavalry, having crossed the Vistula at several points, entered Praga, as I have said, and we must note that Praga is even closer to Warsaw

than Brooklyn is to New York. Being masters of the east of Warsaw, of Novo-Minsk (twenty-two miles from Warsaw); Tluszcz (eighteen miles); Radzimin (twelve miles); and of several points within range of field artillery of the city, and, at the same time, encircling Warsaw on the northwest and northnorthwest, there could be no doubt in the mind of any military expert that Warsaw was bound to fall, after the bombardment of the city, the usual procedure in such cases.

I expected that at any moment we should hear of the shelling of the city, which, from the tactical point of view would have been a normal development of the military operation.

We must not forget that Warsaw is not a fortress, as I have already explained in my former article. The population of this town is about 1,000,000, and it must have grown even more, thanks to the presence of great numbers of refugees. I must point out an important fact: in most cases the military command of a besieged town is far from any idea of surrender, and is forced to raise the white flag either to avoid the useless bloodshed of the civilian population, or compelled by the latter to capitulate to the enemy under a menace of revolution. Military history is full of such examples. The national spirit of the Polish people in Warsaw was at a high level of patriotism, which was strongly supported by the Catholic clergy. Therefore the bombardment would have had to be of a most vigorous character, and consequently would have caused tremendous loss of life and property.

As I have often pointed out, however, the Soviet strategy aims not at the occupation of one town or another, but rather at the annihilation of the enemy's fighting force. Destruction of the enemy's forces can only be accomplished in the field. It has already been clearly shown in repeated instances that the Soviet strategy does not aim at unnecessary destruction. The recapture of Kiev was accomplished without bombardment—the Poles left it when they lost their battle in the field. Not one bomb was dropped from the air on Warsaw, while leaflets covered all the streets of the city, after they were dropped by the Russian airmen in great abundance.

Thus it is clear that the Russian military command decided to forego the cheap and easy victory of reducing Warsaw, by terrible destruction, in favor of the larger strategy of drawing the Polish army out for complete destruction in the field.

Once more the Russian General Staff has succeeded in deceiving the Franco-Polish command, as was also the case during the "great offensive" of the Red Army in April, which was considered by the Allies as a decisive movement on Warsaw.

The absence of bombardment by the Russian artillery was explained by the Polish military leaders by a lack of guns in the hands of the Reds. Finally, as was anticipated by the Russian command, the Poles undertook a desperate sortie from Warsaw, a movement which has been erroneously called in the papers as Polish offensive.

In such cases usually a sortie is a very fierce venture, and as the Reds are weak in number, they must lose ground in that sector and retreat towards Brest-Litovsk, and even further to the east.

So, practically, Warsaw remains without any garrison, as the latter was sent out to the field, while the city remained still encircled and seriously threatened, from the north and north-northwest, without any hope of support from outside.

Simultaneously, the Polish command ordered the garrison of the fortress of Ivangorod (sixty miles southeast of Warsaw, on the Vistula) to start a movement on Brest-Litovsk. At the same time, their column left Lublin (southeast of Ivangorod), directed on Vlodava and Kholm. The column which started from Lukov has occupied Biala and forced a front by joining the troops which had reached Vlodava, where fierce fighting with the Reds was lately reported, and finally Brest-Litovsk was evacuated by the Russians as it is alleged.

Suffering from a lack of reserves, and using even battalions of women, the Polish center is approaching the river Bug, where fresh Red reserves are in full concentration to meet the enemy's foolhardy attack.

The southwestern Russian front is gradually advancing on Lemberg, which is now within range of the Soviet artillery. I am absolutely convinced that the complete defeat of the Polish armed forces is a matter of but a short time, for the following reasons: 1. The Poles have already lost their field army, during the constant battles since the beginning of March, 1920; their reserves were already almost annihilated during their flight from Kiev. They have at their disposition a newly-formed militia, and the troops which garrisoned the fortresses, which they are now using for their so-called offensive. 2. They have Haller's army in Galicia, of considerable value, but part of that army was removed to Warsaw at the request of their French military advisers. 3. The situation in West Prussia is very alarming for the Poles, and requires serious consideration, because the hostile feeling of the German population against the Poles is growing there, as may also be noticed throughout Germany. 4. That the British intend not to interfere with the Soviets is becoming apparent, and Danzig may even be guarded by the British navy from any attempt by the supporters of the Poles to send them arms, ammunition and men; this is sufficient for an understanding of the grave situation in which the Polish strategy is now placed. 5. The Polish command knows very well that it cannot count on any reinforcement from the Allies, nor does it count at all on Wrangel's army in South Russia, especially since England has pronounced her decisive word and the workers of Europe have made their final decision to prevent a war with Russia. 6. The morale of the Polish army is very high, supported as it is by the national and religious feeling of the imperialistic



portion of the Polish population. The truth is hidden from the Polish people very carefully, and the time is near when it will come out; then the morale of the people must collapse, and finally it will collapse in the army also. 7. Three separate Polish armies, or rather groups, are fighting the Russians now, and in no case is the latter's army broken up; it is the Polish army that is broken into pieces that have to act independently, in several sections of the theater of war. Should one of these groups be beaten, the remaining portions will perish, one after another.

Some of the military critics tried to find a similarity between the Battle of the Marne and the so-called "release" of Warsaw. Such a parallel is absolutely erroneous.

First of all, the Allies were in superior numbers to the Germans during the Marne battle, and the Germans were forced to abandon Paris altogether.

Paris is itself a fortress, while Warsaw is not. Moreover, the Poles never can be superior in number to the Russians.

"I have not, however, any doubt that Warsaw will fall if the war continues," declared Major-General Sir Frederic Maurice, in the *Daily News* of August 18. "By throwing in their reserves, the Poles can drive back the Russian advanced troops and gain time," he continues, "but the advantage of gaining time is small unless there are fresh resources that can be brought into play, and these the Poles have not got. The Russians must win through in the end, and the sooner that plain fact is recognized, the better for every one."

Such a statement by this important British general is of great significance and absolutely corresponds with my standpoint, so often repeated in SOVIET RUSSIA, as well as in the American press.

The hours of the Polish army are numbered.

## Combatting the Disorganization of Transport

### 1. MILITARIZATION OF RAILROAD MEN

The Council of Defence of the workers and peasants has decided to militarize, throughout Russia, the work of persons aged eighteen to fifty and employed or formerly employed within the past ten years, in the railway service, as mechanics, assistant mechanics and firemen of every class and category, as well as the workers repairing boilers, the superintendents, and laborers working in the railway shops.

Persons working in the above-mentioned occupations and filling responsible posts in the Red Army or working, according to their specialty, in the institutions of the War Commissariat or on the construction of railroads, as well as persons now occupied as railroad men and holding the positions enumerated above, are exempt from militarization.

Persons liable to militarization and not presenting themselves within the time fixed, are tried before the revolutionary tribunal and punished by confinement for a maximum period of five years in a concentration camp.

### 2. MOBILIZATION OF COMMUNISTS

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has addressed a circular to all the party organizations, announcing the mobilization of the Communists for the combatting of disorganization in transportation.

"The civil war which has been imposed upon us," the circular reads, "and which has lasted more than two years, has brought our country to extreme ruin. Our industry cut off for long months from its sources of basic materials, deprived of fuel and releasing a large number of expert workers for the Red Army, finds itself paralyzed. Our transport suffered especially. The number of newly constructed locomotives and cars is altogether insignificant, compared with that of the period before the war and our actual needs. The damaged

locomotives considerably exceed in number those which have been repaired. The number of cars and locomotives out of service is growing from day to day. In the localities which were invaded by the bands of Denikin and Kolchak almost all the railroad bridges have been blown up, a great number of works have been destroyed, the railroads damaged, telegraph poles torn up, etc.

"All these ravages, together, render the situation of the railroads extremely dangerous. The catastrophe of a complete cessation of the movement of trains threatens us, if by heroic efforts we do not succeed within a short time in working a radical change. In view of this enormous and mortal danger, the Central Committee is utilizing a means which was tried with success during the years of the revolution.

"We appeal to the masses of the workers, to you, especially, comrades, members of the Russian Communist Party. It is you who have led hundreds of thousands of Red soldiers in the great and sacred fight for the proletarian power, for Communism. You have done this by your heroic example, by your unlimited devotion to the cause of the workers. Whenever the situation on the front became threatening, our party ordered a mobilization of the Communists, and always this mobilization regenerated the front. The Red soldiers, who were even yesterday dispersed by the first attack of the enemy, are very different today, when a fresh force of Communist workers has entered their ranks. They have become heroes and accomplished great feats, competing among themselves in daring and courage.

"At the present time, comrades, we are on the eve of a new mobilization, but this time for an internal peace front. Cost what it may, we must regenerate our means of transport during the coming months. It is by this effort and only by this effort, that we can deliver the working centers

from the terrible suffering of famine and cold. This effort, if it succeeds, is the assurance of the regeneration of our whole industry and the definite consolidation of our victories against the national and world counter-revolution.

"To this end, the Central Committee announces a new mobilization of 5,000 members of the party, for the work of transport.

"Let each city and district aspire to be in the front ranks of the fight against the danger which is menacing the revolution, a danger which must be met.

"Let every mobilized member of the party report at the peace front with the same disposition to heroic acts, and the devotion of which tens of thousands of our party members have given proof on the fronts against Denikin and Kolchak.

"We must construct three new locomotives for one, and repair a hundred instead of ten.

"Forward, Comrades, to a new heroic battle on a new front. The victory which we shall win there will be a victory on the whole line, and, especially, a general battle won against famine and cold.

"We must win this victory, and we *shall* win it!"

### 3. THE PRODUCTION OF A WEEK OF INTENSIVE LABOR

The week devoted to transportation has produced very satisfactory results on the railroad lines Nicholas and Murmansk.

Railroad men and volunteer workers participated, working particularly on large and small repairs, in order to put into circulation, with the least possible delay, the maximum number of locomotives and cars. The workers dismembered a number of cars and locomotives which were irreparably damaged, employing the useful parts for other cars; they adapted numerous freight cars for passenger service; they collected fuel, loaded and unloaded trains, cleared the tracks of snow, and selected the exchange parts and useful material.

8,844 listed workers and 400 supplementary workers were employed in the Nicholas railroad shops on the repair of cars. They repaired 295 freight cars, twenty-six baggage cars and nine passenger cars. In the central shops for the repair of locomotives 2,500 men worked during this week. They completed almost all the capital repairs on eight locomotives. Labor production increased on an average of seventy per cent. On the same Nicholas railway in the course of the week devoted to transport, the work was pursued not less energetically. They succeeded in repairing almost 900 trains and continued, moreover, the usual routine repairs on locomotives. They adapted more than 100 freight cars for passenger transportation. In short, the transport week has increased the quantity of rolling stock by nearly 1,000 units.

The transport week also produced very satisfying results on the Murmansk railroad. They were successful in repairing thirty locomotives, necessitating ordinary repairs, and a tender, and two

locomotives were recovered. The parts of twenty-one passenger cars were inspected, 168 freight cars repaired, forty-three cars for the transport of wood converted, the boards of 448 train-platforms railed, and 660 stove-pipes prepared. The increase in labor productivity on the Murmansk railway amounts on an average to sixty per cent.

### 4. THE RAILROADS OF UKRAINE

After Denikin's retreat, the Soviet power found the railroads in the region of Kharkov in a deplorable state. The entire technical personnel had been removed and the drafts, designs, and tools carried off. The Whites burned everything they did not have time to remove. Typhus raged among the few employes who remained. In depriving the railroads of the technical personnel, they did not succeed, nevertheless, in doing it soon enough to catch up with the Red Army, which advanced rapidly, always liberating new sections of railroad. The situation of the railroad bridges was particularly critical. South and north of Kharkov, forty-seven bridges were destroyed. The workers of the railway service accomplished miracles, in order to rebuild them. A special information section was formed, to organize local reconstruction squads which were formed with the immediate help of the service section of the railroad. Reconstruction was much hindered by the lack of material and the absence of a transport operating regularly to bring material. It is thus for example that the demands for wood, addressed to Orel and Kursk were not met except at the end of two weeks. In view of this state of affairs the reconstruction section of the southern railway service began itself to exploit the forests. As a result twenty-nine bridges of the forty-seven destroyed by the enemy were repaired in June.

### 5. RESUMPTION OF INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY COMMUNICATION

The economic activity of the country becoming more intense upon the raising of the blockade and the conclusion of peace with Esthonia, a question of first importance arises, and one concerning the very near future, that of the railroads, as one of the principal economic factors.

In anticipation of this, the financial and economic section of the Commissariat of Ways of Communication elaborated a program of work relative to the questions of transport economy.

This program is occupied, principally, with the organization of new direct international transport of passengers and freight and the reestablishment of the old transports. Measures will have to be taken henceforth to establish these transports with the aid of the Esthonian railways.

The program next describes the financial situation of the railroads and enumerates the measures designed to improve it; it then discusses the comparative study of the situation and of the role of the economy of the railroads among the other branches of the national economy and occupies itself with a new distribution of the railways in accordance with the economic situation.

6. "ECONOMIC LIFE" ON THE QUESTION OF TRANSPORTATION

Economic Life, a daily appearing at Moscow, and serving as the organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy and the Commissariats of Finance, of Provisioning, and Foreign Commerce, devotes its Sunday issues exclusively to the question of the fight against the disorganization of transportation. In the number of March 7, the journal explains the purpose of these periodic articles.

"The worker having taken into his hands, following upon the October Revolution, the direction of the national economy, must understand and form a clear idea of the importance of the transport and its regular functioning. Every locomotive, every train, becomes, from this moment, a valuable thing for the working class. The difficult conditions in which we are forced to live render the question of transport very urgent for the working class, and it demands immediate solution. In effect, only the satisfactory solution of these questions will enable the worker to improve the present difficult situation and destroy all the chains which prevent him from constructing his new economic life.

"The fundamental task of our Sunday members is to inform the large working masses, the organizers of the national economy, of the state of our transport. We want, constantly, to attract the attention of the workers to every change in the transport situation for better or worse. We do this in order to keep the workers constantly alert, to call them to the fight against the disorganization of transport, for only victory over this public calamity will permit the strengthening of the proletarian power and consolidate the conquests of the October revolution."

The same number contains interesting information on the situation with regard to rolling stock on the railroads of Soviet Russia.

"We must recognize," writes the journal, "that only a very insignificant quantity—but a few hundred—remains to us of the number of locomotives which were in use in 1914.

"There were constructed in our factories and received from abroad nearly 4,000 locomotives in the period from 1914 to 1919, inclusive. That means nine locomotives for 100 versts of exploited railroad, considering the system which we possess at the present time (normally, there would be thirty locomotives for every 100 versts). This number of locomotives is four times less than that available in 1914, and two and a half times less than that available in 1916.

"We must logically deduce from this that it is not only necessary actively to repair the locomotives out of service, but that it is also indispensable to increase at all costs and in the shortest possible time the number of locomotives in use, by constructing new and very powerful engines. This second circumstance is even of more importance than the first.

"Such a critical situation with regard to our rolling stock naturally brings up the following question: are our factories for the construction of locomotives and trains in a position to furnish us the necessary quantity on the condition that they be supplied with metal, fuel, and other indispensable materials. On the condition, also, of their having at their disposal a sufficient number of workers provided with food and equipment? And then the question: how soon will our factories be able to achieve this task?

"Let us suppose that we have a system of 50,000 versts of railroad. For 100 versts in use, we must have an average of thirty locomotives, the proportion which obtained before the war. For 50,000 versts we must have 15,000 locomotives. The working conditions on our railway system makes thirty freights cars necessary for each locomotive. Thus, a minimum of 450,000 freight cars must be available. We now have about 10,000 locomotives and 250,000 cars. We need, therefore, 5,000 additional locomotives and 200,000 cars.

"In 1912 and 1913 the committee charged with the distribution of orders studied in detail our factories for the construction of locomotives and cars. It follows from this examination that the maximum annual production of all the factories could be estimated at:

Locomotives ..... from 1,700 to 1,800  
Cars ..... " 40,000 " 46,000

"About 1,300 locomotives and 30,000 cars are annually put out of service. Thus the factories can, in the course of a year, increase the total quantity of rolling stock in use by the construction of Locomotives ..... 500 at most  
Cars ..... 15,000 " "

"To construct all the rolling stock that we lack, would require: 5,000 locomotives at the rate of 500 a year=10 years, and for the cars (200,000 at 15,000 a year)=12 years and a half. But in reality we would have to triple or, at least, double this figure, because, first, the machinery in most of our factories is worn out and must be replaced; second, to restore working conditions such as they were in the factories in 1912 and 1913—the period of the greatest production—a considerable length of time will be needed."

MEDICAL RELIEF FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

The Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee will hold a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York, on Thursday, September 2, at 8 P. M., for the purpose of calling attention to the necessity of raising funds to purchase and forward medical and surgical supplies to Soviet Russia. Among the prominent speakers who will address the mass meeting are Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens, Dr. Judah L. Magnes, and Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek. The admission fee is thirty cents.

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*  
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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**L**EMBERG, in Eastern Galicia, will probably be already in the hands of the advancing cavalry and other forces of the Soviet Russian army, under General Budenny, by the time these lines reach the reader. Anyone who knows the history of the relations between the Poles and Ruthenians in that portion of Galicia will not be surprised to learn that the Russian troops have been greeted as deliverers by the population of Lemberg and the surrounding districts.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, recently dissolved, by action of the Versailles conferences, into a number of component and non-component parts, included, as one of its largest crown provinces, the country known as Galicia, which barely more than touched another Austrian province (Moravia), and was separated by high mountains (the Carpathians) from Hungary, with which it had a much longer common boundary-line. All of Galicia had once been "Polish", by the rather extensive definition of the boundary-line of 1772, the date of the first partition of "Poland". The 1772 boundary of "Poland", which the Polish imperialists have set up, it appears, as their least desideratum, included great areas populated by conquered or purchased peoples: Lithuanians, White Russians, Ukrainians, Letts, and others. With the successive reductions of Polish territory involved in the three partitions toward the end of the eighteenth century, and with the final incorporation of Poland proper with the Russian Empire, the right to tyrannize over these subject populations passed from the Polish aristocracy to the Russian Czarism and its more efficient exploiters, as well as to the no less able tyrants in Prussia and Austria. In Prussia it resulted that the uniform pressure of the Prussian lords was felt by the entire annexed population, the Poles themselves being the chief sufferers; in Austria, however, this interesting condition came to pass:

Austria-Hungary was a monarchy with a population of over fifty million, of which the dominant section was a German-speaking area with about ten million population. It is well-known that this apparent primacy of the German element in Austria was the result of various compromises with other racial elements, and one of the most permanent and stable of these interracial bargains was the one concerned with Galicia. Western

Galicia, with Cracow as its center, is largely, almost entirely, Polish in population; Eastern Galicia, with its capital at Lemberg, is almost as exclusively Ruthenian. The Ruthenians in language and customs are difficult to distinguish from the Ukrainians, or Little Russians, who inhabit much of the south of Russia. The ruling class in Austria consented to grant to the Polish element in Galicia the control of all of Galicia, retaining the single capital at Lemberg, instead of dividing the country into two provinces, an eastern province with a Ruthenian government at Lemberg, and a western province with a Polish government at Cracow. This arrangement worked satisfactorily, on the whole, both for the imperial bureaucracy at Vienna, and for the Polish nobility and intellectuals in Galicia, although it will be readily seen that the Imperial Government could (and it did) make excellent use of threats of concessions to the Ruthenians whenever it was necessary to secure the support of the Polish faction in the Imperial Diet for some government measure.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire fell, and the German section lost its privilege of playing off one racial element against the other. But the Eastern Galicians, in spite of many protests, met with a worse fate than had been theirs in Austria, where they had been a bone of contention between the empire and the Poles. They were handed over by the Peace Treaty to be administered "temporarily" by Poland for twenty-five years, after which definite disposition would be made of them. Of course the Poles, in Eastern Galicia as well as in any other Ukrainian districts they have from time to time occupied in the course of their recent campaigns, continued the program of tyranny and polonization which they had always pursued under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, where they had been a sort of favorite element, with the exception that now there was no curb whatever on their imperialistic and exploiting appetites. It is well-known that their present occupation of Eastern Galicia and of the capital at Lemberg was resisted by all the Ruthenians by force, and that they did not succeed in taking Lemberg until they had laid siege to it.

But the exploitation of Ukrainian populations by Polish overlords goes much further back in history than the compromises governing the operation of the now defunct dual monarchy. The relations between the Ukrainians and their Polish masters have been as sharp and bitter, for many centuries, as those between English lords and Irish peasants, and the present liberation of Lemberg, and, more particularly, of the surrounding peasant populations, from the Polish yoke, will be as welcome to the oppressed people as a liberation of the Irish people from England would be to the Irish.

\* \* \*

**I**T IS AS liberators, therefore, and not as conquerors, that the Soviet troops will enter Lemberg. To be sure, the original intention of the Soviet Government, which still remains its fixed

policy, was to let the subject populations decide for themselves what form of government they would live under, and with what other country, if with any, they would join. But the necessities of war have forced a new condition on the Soviet Government. The necessity of self-defense against Poland has forced Soviet armies to invade this subject-land of Poland, as it has invaded other lands similarly handed over by the "Peace Treaty", to the tender mercies of the Polish tyrants. Newspaper readers still recall with what joy the Soviet forces were received in the "corridor" torn from Germany by the Treaty, when the German population of that district had an opportunity to express its feelings toward the advancing Russian troops. Here again, interference in the relations between Poland and Germany had not been Soviet Russia's intention, but had been brought about by the necessity only of replying to Poland's acts of aggression against Soviet Russia.

\* \* \*

**KATTOWITZ** is a prosperous city near the southern tip of what was once the Prussian province of Silesia (which had been forcibly annexed from Austria in 1740). The newspapers tell us that although Kattowitz is surrounded by largely Polish populations, which would have been ready to be joined with Poland if the plebiscite area of which Kattowitz is the center had been given an opportunity to vote immediately on this subject, they have been so estranged by the recent acts of the Polish government, culminating, the other day, in the dispatch of Polish regiments to patrol Kattowitz against the rising tendency to throw off the Polish occupation, that they will probably vote to remain with Germany when the elections are actually held (July 1, 1921 is the latest permissible date). In fact, so sure are the German partisans of their ground, that they are beginning to clamor for an election at once. In this section also Soviet troops, if they should enter, would be very welcome. Already it is impossible, in view of the anti-Polish sentiment in this district, to forward munitions to Poland from the west through this route.

In Posnania (*Posen*, Prussian Poland), the case is similar. Unlike the Kattowitz area, this country was handed over to Poland directly, without even a plebiscite. Its population is now beginning to feel what it means to be attached to imperialistic Poland's war-chariot. Already Poland needs men; Russia is defeating her, and the European imperialisms are afraid to draft men to aid Poland out of their populations, and so Posnania experiences the first "benefits" of annexation by Poland; she must furnish 300,000 new troops to resist the punishment rightfully threatening from Russia, and, in order to raise this number of soldiers, all men of the age of seventeen to fifty years are being drafted in the Polish army. Thus the unhappy lands of Europe are being depleted of men in order to enable Poland to carry out France's orders, to force Soviet Russia to pay the

Czar's loans back to France, to maintain a buffer-state against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

\* \* \*

**POLAND** is represented as desiring peace; the Soviet Government is declared, in the hostile press, to be opposed to peace and engaged in the pursuit of imperialistic aims. Thus, we are told that the Soviet Government is delaying the convening of the armistice commission by refusing to accept the credentials of the Polish delegates. The facts of the matter are well told in the following account, in the London *Daily Herald*, of August 4, contributed by the Christiania, Norway, correspondent of that paper:

CHRISTIANIA, Tuesday.—The mystery of the delay in the Russo-Polish peace negotiations, which has been causing so much anxiety to the Allied statesmen, is now cleared up. The cause of the trouble is another characteristic piece of Polish duplicity.

The Poles are gambling for a catastrophe on the chance of Allied intervention.

The Polish delegates were invited to a conference with the Russians in order to discuss peace preliminaries and armistice terms. From beginning to end of the Notes that have been exchanged, there has been no ambiguity about this.

Chicherin's Note to Lord Curzon on July 11 promised that "if Poland addresses to Russia proposals to enter into peace negotiations, the Soviet Government will not reject the proposal, and will also consider in the most friendly spirit any subsidiary proposal as to an armistice." Similar phrases have been used in every one of the succeeding Russian Notes.

In Lord Curzon's Note of July 20 to Warsaw, the Polish Government was advised "to send a formal message asking for an immediate armistice and proposing peace." Finally, the invitation by the Soviet High Command asked the Polish delegates to come and "to enter into negotiations on the question of an armistice and peace between Russia and Poland," and mentioned that the Russian Supreme Command would send "representatives furnished with full powers."

The Polish delegates passed through the Russian front on July 30. But when, on August 1, they presented their credentials, the Russians found to their astonishment, that the Poles were only empowered to discuss an armistice and that the credentials were only signed by the military command.

The Russians thereupon demanded that the Polish delegates should be provided with proper credentials from their central government for negotiations both for armistice and for peace preliminaries. They suggested that negotiations should begin at Minsk on August 4 and that, to save time, the Polish Government should notify the Russian Government by wireless that a courier with new credentials had been sent.

Again, to the astonishment of the Russians, the Polish delegates refused this suggestion, and declared that they must go back to Warsaw to confer with their government. They therefore left yesterday, and the Russians are still awaiting the arrival of delegates with proper credentials.

It seems clear that there is more than a mere technical question at issue. Recent declarations in Warsaw have made it obvious that the Poles are desirous of securing an armistice, not as a beginning of peace negotiations, but as a means of preparing for a renewal of the war, in which they hope for Allied aid.

The Russians, on the other hand, made it perfectly plain from the beginning that any armistice arrangements must be actually part of the peace preliminaries. In view of the extraordinarily shifty manner in which the Poles have handled the whole business, Russia cannot discuss armistice terms unless some guarantee is given that they are honestly intended to lead to the establishment of peace.

## Petlura and the Vatican

**M**R. MORKOTUN, a member of the Paris Ukrainian National Committee, which is a Denikin organization, favoring a united Czarist Russia, and opposed to movements pursuing separatist aims, makes the following disclosures:

### *Russia—the Chief Enemy of the Vatican*

The Vatican believes that a monarchist system, established with the aid of the church, will replace Bolshevism in eastern Europe. Eastern Europe will then become the mainstay of reaction for an offensive on the democratic and "godless" West. The chief peril for the Vatican is a strong democratic Russia, for that country might wreck all the plans of the Vatican. To dismember Russia, and to seize parts of it, creating small states under its influence—such is the policy of the Vatican.

The first victims of this policy are Ukraine and White Russia, which the Vatican hopes to bring under its power, relying on the support of the Polish magnates and on the ignorance of the peasants. The clerical plan counts on surrounding Poland with catholicized Ukraine and White Russia, and on using Polish imperialism to subject these countries to Poland, thus strengthening and bringing into power in Poland the definitely clerical group of magnates and military.

### *The Pope as Mediator Between Petlura and Poland*

In the spring of 1919 Petlura was in a desperate situation. His territory extended over seven versts, and he was threatened on all sides either by the Poles or by Denikin. Among the persons surrounding Petlura, the priest Boom (of Belgian descent)—an official Jesuit, was of great importance. Boom persuaded Petlura that the only way for a rapprochement with Poland was through the Pope.

To gain the Pope's support for Ukraine Petlura, on Boom's advice, appointed Count Tyshkevich as his representative to the Vatican. Count Tyshkevich is a great Polish magnate, a Jesuit, who in the interests of the Church first gave his attention to the Lithuanian question and later to the Ukrainian question. At the Vatican Count Tyshkevich was under the special protection of Benedict, and Cardinal Gaspari began to direct his policy.

### *The Pope Sends a Letter to Petlura*

Soon after his appointment Count Tyshkevich transmitted to Petlura a letter from the Pope which contained the recognition of Ukrainian independence. Boom then persuaded Petlura to appoint Count Tyshkevich as his representative to Paris, in place of Sydorenko, who was incapable of acting in foreign affairs. In August this appointment became a fact.

Count Tyshkevich's son, who also belongs to the jesuit order, was preparing the ground at Paris for his father. In the summer of 1919 the President of the Committee of the Polish Magnates of Ukraine, Count Grokholsky, who was at Warsaw, began to work for a union of Ukraine and Poland.

The catholic magnates of Ukraine conceived the idea of making Ukraine, subjected to Poland, the base of their monarchist plans: entrenched in Polish Ukraine, the catholic reaction would seize Poland. Count Grokholsky found the petty adventurer Pavluk and presented him to the Entente missions at Warsaw as a representative of the Polophile Ukrainians. Pavluk went to Petlura as an agent of Count Grokholsky. Count Tyshkevich's son traveled between Warsaw, Paris, and the Vatican, keeping his father in touch with Count Grokholsky's part.

### *Tyshkevich's Mission at Paris*

Soon Count Tyshkevich arrived with a double mission: from Petlura—to obtain recognition of the independence of Ukraine; from the Pope—to work for the reestablishment of relations between France and the Vatican. In Paris Count Tyshkevich acted under the direction of Monseigneur B., a high representative of the political Church, and one of the leaders of the clerical party. One of the first steps of Count Tyshkevich was a statement in the clerical newspaper *La Croix* of September 5 about the establishment of a church Union in Ukraine and the despatch thither of catholic missionaries. This statement led to a written protest signed by the members of the Ukrainian mission Lozinsky, Matushenko, and Dedushka, which is in the possession of the author of this article. Canon Simbratovich—a Jesuit—served as the connecting link between Rome, Count Tyshkevich, and Petlura. Count Tyshkevich's program was—a church Union between Ukraine and the Vatican, and a political union with Poland, and the establishment of an aristocratic monarchy in Ukraine. Count Grokholsky's agent, Pavluk, was empowered to act as Petlura's representative at Warsaw, and renounced Galicia and a part of Volhynia in favor of Poland.

### *Petlura's Compact with the Polish Magnates*

In the latter part of 1919 Petlura was forced out of Ukraine. On December 2, 1919, he came to Warsaw. He concluded a treaty with Poland in which he recognized the inviolability of the land estates of the Polish magnates, which were to be excepted from any agrarian reforms (paragraph 3, of the first part of the treaty). In addition Petlura agreed to an administrative protectorate of Poland over Ukraine, that is, a political union with Poland.

### *Petlura Represented at the Vatican by a Jesuit Priest*

At the end of 1919 priest Boom was appointed Petlura's representative at the Vatican. In the beginning of March, 1920, Count Tyshkevich gave an interview for the *Matin* and *Journal* in which he spoke of the Latin culture of the Ukrainians. According to information from reliable sources, Count Tyshkevich tried to convince the French Government that the Ukrainian population was ready to accept Catholicism. (In the past only

czarism prevented the Ukrainians from becoming Catholics.) If the French Government wanted to bring Ukraine into the sphere of its political influence it should support the Catholic as well as the Polophile aspirations of the Ukrainian people and defend it against the barbarians, the Muscovites. The Vatican would help the French Government, of course, if diplomatic relations were established between them.

#### *French Clericals for Petlura*

The support of an independent Ukraine became

the official policy of the clerical and right French parties. On February 5, 1920, Deputy Bonsel spoke in favor of recognition of an independent Ukraine. On April 12, 1920, Cardinal Genochi (?), the Vatican Minister to Ukraine, left together with Father Boom for the Ukrainian region under military occupation. The vast sums of the so-called Polish fund of special contributions, which were paid by the catholic landed proprietors to the Vatican since 1830, were presented by the Church for the conversion of the Ukrainians to Catholicism.

## Poland and Ukraine

By KARL RADEK

*[The following remarks by the famous Polish-Russian political theorist are now a little superseded, but they acquire a new timeliness from the fact that we now know that the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics are both represented in the armistice commission that is ready to meet with the Polish delegates.]*

THE Polish press has of late been devoting considerable attention to the Ukrainian question. The Polish landed proprietors, who held the Ukrainian peasants in bondage for ages, and who are now waging war against the Ukrainians in order to secure for the future the opportunity of exploiting the Ukrainian landless peasants, and the poor of Eastern Galicia, who are seizing Podolia and Volhynia in order to save the estates of the Branitzkys and Pototzkys from the Ukrainian peasantry, who are shouting that the Ukrainian nationality was invented by the Austrian Governor-General Stadion,—these Polish landed proprietors have suddenly begun to worry about the fate of Ukrainian culture and democracy, which—they say—is threatened by the Bolshevist peril.

In December they were negotiating with Petlura. Petlura was assuring his braves that these negotiations were only fictitious, but that they were necessary as a cover for his flight from Denikin to Warsaw. But the Polish press now reports that these negotiations are very real, and that Petlura really sought aid from the Poles. That Petlura is capable of doing this, is beyond doubt. He is irresistably rolling downward, since he is unable to retain power with the forces of the handful of intellectuals who are his only support.

In February, 1918, the Ukrainian Rada sold out to German imperialism. They reasoned as follows: German imperialism wants the Ukrainian produce, but is indifferent to the fate of the Ukrainian landed proprietors. The Rada must remain a peasants' party, at the same time seeking protection from the German government. But, unable to give anything to the peasants, the Ukrainian Rada was also unable to furnish the produce to the Germans, and was therefore discarded by them. In its place, the Germans installed Skoropadsky, whose mission was to create for German imperialism a basis of support in the Russian and Polish landed proprietors. The illusion of

the compatibility of a peasant democracy with German imperialism collapsed.

Petlura tried to repeat this experiment with regard to the Anglo-French imperialism, but the Allies—who were gambling on the counter-revolution of the Russian landed proprietors—did not give Petlura the opportunity to feel on his own hide that Allied imperialism differs in no way from the German. Petlura was beaten by the Red Army, was beaten by the Denikin bands, and, realizing his absolute impotence, he now intends, it seems, to throw himself into the arms of the Poles. This is but the play of one who is hopelessly bankrupt, for Petlura cannot have even the slightest hope that, remaining a peasant ruler, he can at the same time accept help from the government of the Polish landed proprietors who have in Ukraine more enormous estates than had the Russian landed proprietors. And if Petlura agrees to a bargain with the landed proprietors, he thereby unreservedly renounces the social and national program which was the basis of his policy. Petlura and his adherents have only one thing left—to fight for their own hides.

Offering their friendship to Ukraine, the Polish nobility and landed proprietors are simulating no less, if not more, than the German imperialists. For the German military had yet to demonstrate to the Ukrainian workers and peasants its attitude toward them, but the Polish landed proprietors the Ukrainian people know only too well, know them through long experience, and with regard to them there certainly cannot be even the slightest illusions. The Ukrainian people will rise against the Polish nobles more promptly and energetically than they rose against Denikin.

The fact that with an extremely disorganized transport and in the absence of any important aid at all from the Allies, the Polish Government dares to undertake such an adventure, proves anew

the truth of the proverb: "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

The Russian and Ukrainian Soviet governments made a peace offer to Poland. They expressed their readiness to discuss peaceably all disputable territorial questions which might arise. And if the Chief of the Polish State, ex-revolutionary Pilsudski, whose head has been turned by the victories on the weak western front, intends to seize Ukraine under the pretext of liberating that country, we have no doubt that this adventure will end very sadly for him and for the Polish landed proprietors and French capitalist circles whose puppet he is.

The Russian workers and peasants know that the Soviet Government did everything possible for a peaceful settlement, and the Polish workers and peasants will know that the government of the Polish landowners did everything to get war. After all the sufferings that the Polish people underwent, they unquestionably desire peace. And we have no reason to worry about the outcome.

The judgment of the Polish workers and peasants on the adventurous policy of the Polish landed proprietors will at the same time be a judgment on the Polish conciliators and compromisers. Pil-

sudski is even now a member of the Polish Socialist Party. That party bears the full responsibility for his policy. It is helping the Polish landed proprietors in their vile undertaking, and representing Soviet Russia and the Soviet Government as a government of national violence and national aggression.

By exploiting the justified suspicion on the part of the Polish people toward the Czarist government, in order to create a distrust of the Russian toiling masses, the Polish compromisers are assisting the Polish landed proprietors in their policy, which aims at the conquest and enslavement of Ukraine, masking themselves with the idea of uniting around Poland the Ukrainian states, which would serve as a screen for the Polish imperialism precisely as the renowned Tariba served as a screen for German imperialism.

The Polish compromisers talk of peace with Soviet Russia and simultaneously create conditions for a war against her. If this war should become a fact, it will be the end of these henchmen of the Polish bourgeoisie and Polish landed proprietors just as it will be the end of the bourgeoisie and of the landed proprietors themselves.

## Women Workers in Soviet Russia

The women workers' movement has become an important political factor in Soviet Russia. The work has been most successful in Petrograd, Moscow, and in the governments of Moscow and Ivanovo-Voznessensk. But undoubtedly, the women workers of Petrograd are more class-conscious and better organized than the others. In other governments, also, the work has been introduced, in many places with considerable success.

The women workers have shown excellent talent for organization, and have shown that they are capable of accomplishing things. In spite of the unprecedented external difficulties, they have already vigorously supported the Soviet institutions by founding a number of nurseries, kindergartens, schools, public dining-rooms, etc. And when the male worker has to go to the front, in order, within the ranks of the Red Army, to defend Soviet Russia from the attacks of Denikin, Yudenich, and the imperialists of the Entente, the woman worker who remains behind, not only takes his place in the factories and the workshops, but also in the Soviets, the unions, the militia, etc. The number of those who wanted to fight the White Guards, shoulder to shoulder with their brothers at the front, is also not small.

Faced by the imperialist enemy, the woman proletarian has proved herself worthy of her brother proletarian. Immovably the women workers stood, ready for any sacrifice, in order to wrest the power from the bourgeoisie. Of course, it is hard for us—they said to the workers—but go to the front, don't think of us, we will take your places, we will manage. During the last attack

by Denikin, the women workers of Tula, at a non-partisan conference, declared unanimously that Denikin would enter the city only over their dead bodies. Similar resolutions were passed in other cities.

The entire working-class of Russia rose against Denikin and Yudenich. It is ready for the most intense efforts, the deepest sufferings to defend its Soviet Government. Deep are the roots of the Soviet Government in the proletarian masses; they go down into the lowest classes of citizens. It has been able to rally even the least progressive, the most uneducated elements for its protection. In this fact lies the best pledge of its strength, of its invincibility.

The bourgeois women hate the Soviet Government; they try by all possible means to blacken it in the eyes of the masses; they do not shrink from the most ridiculous and incredible lies. Last spring, the representatives of French and English imperialistic circles spread the foolish and worthless lie of the "nationalization" and "socialization" of women by the Soviet Government. For this reason, the ladies of the Parisian and London monde and demi-monde thought it advisable to appeal solemnly to the imperialistic "tiger," Clemenceau, to protect the Russian women from the wicked Soviet Government. This accusation against the Communists is nothing new. Did not Marx, in the immortal words of the "Communist Manifesto", brand and ridicule this invention of the bourgeoisie? Obviously, all these attempts to alienate the women from the party, to provoke them against the revolution will have no effect.



## Transporting Naphtha from the Caucasus

By U. LARIN

**W**HEN the first news came of the recapture of Baku with its hundreds of millions of poods of naphtha, the sceptics made very much of the difficulties of transportation. But already in the middle of May the Glavtop (the Supreme Fuel Commission) formulated a plan to transport five million poods within a month and a half (May 15-July 1).

The Fuel Commission, which was formed on May 11 (with representatives of the various fuel and transport organs), coordinated also the data, plans and actions of the different organs and institutions with regard to naphtha, and the results are quite favorable. One of the important decisions of the Fuel Commission was to give to the Supreme Committee of Water Transportation (Glavod) fifty per cent of the incoming naphtha (within the limits of seven million poods a month), in order to rehabilitate at once the water transport, without which the transportation of naphtha in large quantities would be impossible. The Fuel Commission also decided in favor of the Glavod the old question regarding the transfer into its jurisdiction of the naphtha pumping stations, and facilitated the transfer from the military organs to the Glavod of the whole work of transporting naphtha on the Caspian Sea.

The Fuel Commission, as early as June, planned to provide naphtha for the railways, for which no arrangements were made before, and for this purpose to intensify the work on naphtha, so as to have on hand during the period of May 15-July 1 not five million, but twenty million poods. Among the other organization measures should be mentioned the creation of a distribution base at Astrakhan on the plan of the distribution bases for provisions which had been created a few months earlier on the initiative of the chairman of the Supreme Council of Provisioning, Comrade Markov.

According to the reports of the Glavod to the Fuel Commission, naphtha is brought into Astrakhan in ever increasing quantities. Since the opening of navigation there arrived.

|              | Until May 25    | Until May 29    |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Naphtha fuel | 4,279,000 poods | 7,297,000 poods |
| Kerosene ... | 777,000 "       | 1,156,000 "     |
| Machine oil. | 83,000 "        | 264,000 "       |
| Benzine .... | ....            | 2,500 "         |

Total .... 5,139,000 poods 8,719,500 poods

It should be remarked that almost all of this comes from Baku: 8,111,000 poods came from there, from Grozny through Petrovsk came only 103,000 poods and from Emba through Rakushi 506,000 poods. There is a remarkable lack of special products—lubricating oils and benzine, which furnish only a small part of the transport. The

Fuel Commission found it necessary to take measures to obtain a considerable increase of these products. The ready tonnage assures the daily delivery to Astrakhan of about 800,000 poods. The whole transport of naphtha in the Baku-Astrakhan region is now united under the direction of the representative in the Glavod collegium of the union of water transport workers, Comrade Bovin.

The export of naphtha products from Astrakhan up the Volga was begun on May 11, when the first naphtha barge left with 415,000 poods; the barge passed Samara only on June 2. After this the work moved more rapidly. Up to May 30, boats left Astrakhan carrying 4,600,000 poods of naphtha fuel, 994,000 poods of kerosene, and 51,000 poods of machine oil—a total of 5,645,000 poods. We can therefore rest assured that the railways of European Soviet Russia will receive in June the 2,000,000 poods of naphtha which the Fuel Commission found necessary to furnish them every month for the present (1,000,000 for the South-Eastern railways, 600,000 poods for the Riazan-Ural line, 300,000 poods to the Syzran-Viamza line and 100,000 to the part of the Tashkent line near Kinel). This will make it possible to transfer the coal which the Riazan-Ural line was getting, to the Moscow-Kursk line, and to transfer the whole line up to Moscow to a coal basis about July 1. Moreover, it will no longer be necessary to bring wood from far-off districts, carrying it for many hundreds and sometimes even for many thousands of versts, for the following roads, which heretofore were in the worst position with regard to fuel: the Riazan-Ural, Syzran-Viazma, and Moscow-Kursk lines. The railway situation will be considerably improved and the rear supporting the western front much stronger. And in July we will begin to furnish naphtha to the factories and workshops which were selected for this purpose, the order of delivery being determined by the Fuel Commission in agreement with the Central Industrial Commission of the Supreme Council of National Economy.—*Isvestia*, June 15, 1920.

### THE PROTECTION OF LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By S. KAPLUN  
of the Commissariat of Labor

This pamphlet, reprinted for the first time from an English translation that appeared in Petrograd this year, is an authoritative study of the actual operation of the Code of Labor Laws, which has already been reprinted by us in pamphlet form.

Price Ten Cents

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 W. 40th St. Room 304 New York, N. Y.

# The Communist Party in Russia

By ARVID HANSEN

In all countries there are at present in the workers' movement *Putschists*\*—people who think, or say they think, that knowledge, study, preparation, are worth nothing, while action, immediate action, is everything. Look at Russia, they say, a people of illiterates, who really put over their revolution, instead of talking about it. It is not education, it is action that is demanded.

Reasoning of this kind may look very attractive at first blush. The only hitch is that it is not the illiterates who made the revolution, but, on the contrary, the most educated, most intellectual portion of the working class, those who not only could read and write, but also *think*, people who had acquired a firm Socialist education and understanding, and who had already shown themselves to be the possessors of an organizing talent great enough to enable them to do away with illiteracy in the near future.

The Communist Party in Russia is not a very numerous party. It counts not more than half a million members, but it is a party that has no members on paper, a party of active units who are not only masters of the language alphabet, but also of the alphabet of revolution. Only through a united organization can the party control the situation.

In the larger cities, there are higher educational institutions for the training of Communists, schools in which instruction is given in history, particularly in the history of revolutions, in social economy, and social politics. Without a certain education, and without having passed through a

practical test, no one is admitted to the Communist Party. Voluntary courses in the Communist Party program are now to be found in most of the schools in Russia. The young candidates to the party are sent out as state employes on the most varying errands, and are tested through a period of three months; only after passing the test can they enter the party. They are then sent as party members all over Russia, as commissars in order to exercise control over the administration. In every single school, every single hospital, every single railroad train, etc., etc., you will find at least one Communist. The Communists have better opportunities than others for advancing and are more certain of getting decent bread. But in return, they must devote their lives to Communism. It is one of their privileges also to be sent to the firing-line, to the most dangerous positions, when the Soviet Republic is threatened by any enemy. During the combined offensive of Yudenich and Denikin, 20,000 Communists were sent to the front at once from their work in the institutions, and it was 300 young officers in training, with revolutionary inspiration from the Moscow War School, who prevented the Yudenich vanguard from cutting off the railway line between Petrograd and Moscow. Very severe demands are made on the absolute unselfishness, zeal and idealism of the Communists. Even a slight transgression of the party program destroys one's future. A crime of selfishness, such as speculation or embezzlement, if perpetrated by a Communist, is punished inexorably by death, at least in the more serious cases.

## René Marchand in Russia

THE former correspondent in Russia of the Paris, *Figaro*, Mr. René Marchand, has given a most interesting account of his conversion from nationalist chauvinism to international communism. As the correspondent of a French bourgeois journal, he lived in Russia during the war and through both revolutions without any suspicions that all was not happening strictly according to the orthodox bourgeois version of these events which he and his colleagues were reporting to their papers. He confesses that he failed utterly to comprehend what was going on before his eyes. He made the rounds of the Allied Embassies and was gulled at every stage by the official version: the Bolsheviks were German agents and Allied intervention was an act of beneficent friendship towards the Russian people. A partial report of how this honest but thoroughly deluded man stumbled upon the truth has already appeared in

\* From the German noun *Putsch*, an unsuccessful and premature attempt at revolution.

these pages in a letter which he addressed to the President of France. He retells the whole story of his disillusionment with great frankness and humility in a pamphlet entitled "Why I Side With the Revolution." We give the story of his culminating discovery in his own words:

"A meeting at the Consulate General of America, which existed at that time at Moscow under the Swedish flag, was to enlighten me in regard to a whole series of facts and actions of which I had as yet no idea whatsoever.

"The intervention which I supported (even in my blindness when it appeared to me as realized against the Bolsheviks) had constantly remained in my mind as directed first and foremost against German imperialism and destined to give economic aid to the Russian people . . . But never had the suspicion even entered my head that our representatives in Russia might have in view an intervention of a different kind . . . such as must surely bring about frightful sufferings to the Rus-

sian people and which, to culminate matters . . . could not, even indirectly, affect German imperialism . . . What I accidentally learned at the meeting at the American Consulate General shocked and revolted me to the last degree, by throwing a completely new light on the real plans of our representatives . . . No longer against German imperialism (for they no longer discussed that question) . . . but simply and in fact, whether they fully understood what they were doing or not, against the unfortunate Russian people themselves . . . Without doubt this meeting was not, as I have already pointed out, an 'official conference'; it bore the character of a private business conversation. But that does not alter and never can alter in the least that, in the presence of the official representatives of the United States and France, Consuls-General Poole and Grenard, without being reproved for one single instant by the latter, an English officer (whom the Extraordinary Commission for combatting the counter-revolution later identified as Lieutenant Riley) was able to explain to a French agent the details of a project, according to which he proposed to blow up the railway bridge which crosses the river Volkhov a little way from the station Zvanka. What is particularly singular is that Lieutenant Riley . . . observed quite coldly that the wrecking of this bridge cuts off Petrograd from all communication, not only from the north, but also from the east, whence Petrograd exclusively received all the trains of wheat and cereals and, in general, almost all its provisions, already so precarious, so insufficient for its population. And Riley himself concluded that the wrecking of the bridge could have as its direct consequence the complete starvation of Petrograd . . . Nevertheless, the frightful prospect did not prevent him from continuing the study of this infernal plan, any more than it for one second troubled the peace of mind of the Consuls-General of the United States and France, who, probably, had not heard of this affair for the first time. The French agent,

to whom Lieutenant Riley addressed himself, more particularly than to the other persons present, was M. de Vertamond . . . The latter, in point of cynicism, was not in the least behind Lieutenant Riley. He declared that he had attempted, but without success, to blow up the bridge at Cherepovets . . . Afterwards he expatiated on the measures which he had taken in order to effect the destruction of rolling stock and obstruct the principle railway lines . . . After this stupefying conversation which, I repeat, had not provoked either on the part of Mr. Poole or M. Grenard the slightest objection, Lieutenant Riley concluded, addressing himself to M. de Vertamond, that it was necessary for them 'to divide the work' . . . Our Consul-General, who had until then kept silent, commenced to speak, and, addressing himself more particularly to M. de Vertamond, said: 'At present there is one question to which I should like to call attention: the great interest in compromising Bolshevism in the eyes of western Socialism. There must certainly exist some kind of agreement between the Bolsheviks and the Germans . . . A telegram emanating from the Commissariat of War, or some other document of this kind, would be most valuable for the political motives which I have just mentioned, and it seems to me that it should not be at all impossible for us to place our hands on a document of this kind which we could advantageously make use of.'

"Espionage of the most contemptible kind, plots and outrages cunningly devised in the dark, inducements held out to agents anxious to make a career in order to 'find' imaginary documents, to such methods had the persons who had the honor of representing France before the Russian people arrived! These were the machinations to which they resorted, acting in security under the protection of neutral flags, whilst accusing the Bolshevik Government, in the face of the whole world, of giving evidence of 'bad faith' towards them."

Mr. Marchand went forth from this meeting a wiser man.

## Zinoviev on the Situation in Ukraine

[In an article entitled "The Polish War in Ukraine and the Don Territory," published in "Izvestia" and "Pravda" of June 2, Zinoviev has given his impressions of a journey into Ukraine and the Don district. In view of the present political situation the article, which we reprint, is very significant.]

"If the Polish gentlemen did not exist it would be necessary to invent them." Beginning with this formula I find it easier to recount the impressions I obtained from my trip through Ukraine and the Don district.

The whole population in the towns, with the exception of the Polish spies, who are paid, and the men who are otherwise profiteering, is entirely on our side in our war against the Polish league of nobility.

Among the workers at Kharkov the Mensheviks have hitherto had a certain influence. At one of

the most important factories in the town, engaged in the manufacture of locomotives, the Mensheviks received at the election to the Soviet of Kharkov a few months ago, about two-thirds of all the votes. In the Kharkov Soviet the Mensheviks have 200 delegates of the entire thousand there. The situation has already changed, and continues to change daily.

Some little time ago I had an opportunity to attend a labor meeting at this same locomotive factory, in addition to a few thousand locomotive workers, there were workers gathered from six

nearby factories, making in all a gathering of 8,000 men. The Mensheviki had sent their speakers, who had unlimited freedom of speech. These speakers adapted themselves to the sentiment among the workers. They spoke against the Poles, they declared that they would go to the front to defend the Soviet Power in its struggle against the Polish bourgeoisie, and they made only one "change" in our resolution. The alteration reads as follows: "To win an increased success in the struggle of the Soviet Power against the Poles, all Socialist parties must form one front. It is necessary that the Communists take the initiative in this union . . ."

Obviously, on this basis, it would appear easy to win at least some of the workers, especially those who for one reason or another had hitherto belonged with the Mensheviki. But the workers immediately apprehended the Polish tone, and understood that if the Mensheviki were honestly willing to fight against the Poles, no special agreements about unity in the matter would be necessary. And the large meeting demonstratively rejected the change of the Mensheviki leaders, with a crushing majority, and joined our side.

Such is the situation in the railroad and other factories. The Mensheviki loudly declare that they are for the Soviet power at the present time, and that they are ready to go out and fight against the Poles. But at the All-Ukrainian Congress they were conspicuous by their absence, because they were insulted that the Soviet of Kharkov had not given them a minority representation. The workers of Kharkov had understood that one can see anything except honesty and consistency in the present attitude of the Mensheviki towards the Russian-Polish war. And those places which a few months ago elected Mensheviki to the Soviet of Kharkov are now recalling one after another of the Mensheviki delegates and replacing them with our party comrades. The sentiment among the workers is everywhere the same, a concentrated increasing hatred for the Polish gentlemen who have interrupted us in our peaceful reconstruction.

A labor meeting at Lugansk, which was attended by 20,000 people, was aroused to passionate demonstration at the mere mention of the Polish bourgeois forces. Among the rural workers in Nikitovka, where 10,000 people had gathered at a meeting, the same condition existed. The labor meeting at Rostov was especially grand. We had not had in a long time such an audience to address. Upon the immense open place outside the town not less than 40,000 people had assembled. A real proletarian audience. And everyone was animated by the same thought, to defeat the Poles and to assist the Soviet power. A half-hearted attempt of an anarchist to bring about dissension met with unanimous opposition among the assembly. For fifteen minutes after the meeting was over it was impossible to leave the place, young and old participating in an improvised enthusiastic demonstration for the Communists.

But the sentiment among the peasants is of still

greater importance. Our chief difficulty in Ukraine up to that time had been that we lacked sufficient support among the population in that country. And now we can say "there is nothing so bad but that there is some good in it." The campaign of Petlura and Pilsudski has, without doubt, created a closer connection between the peasants and us. One must have seen the numerous peasant representatives at the fourth congress, one must have heard the delegates who came from the governments of Kharkov and Poltava, and who appeared at the Congress and made their simple but sincere speeches against Polish gentlemen, one must have read the numerous resolutions which came from the peasant meetings out in the country districts, and one must have been at the congress when the manifesto concerning the Polish offensive was read, which went through the whole audience like an electric thrill. One must have seen the peasants from the vicinity of Kharkov, assembling with rapture to the banner consecration of the Ukrainian Republic, one must have seen the recently mobilized men from the district of Kharkov,—in number 120 per cent larger than estimated. It is clear to the Ukrainian peasants that Petlura and Pilsudski have split Ukraine into three parts, one for the Poles and two for the Ukrainian land owners. These Polish and Ukrainian gentlemen have already this year confiscated the crops from the farms of the peasants. The peasants understand, and that is enough.

#### BELGIAN-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT

BERLIN, June 24.—B. T. communicates as follows:

The Belgian Minister of Commerce, who has returned from London, has delivered a report to the Ministry Council on his negotiations with Krassin. The Council decided to reopen trade, postal and telegraph communications with Soviet Russia. Belgium will ask from Russia the guarantees asked by Lloyd George.—*Naye Arbayter Shtimme*, June 25, 1920.

#### TWO YEARS OF SOVIET RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY (1917—1919)

By GEORGE CHICHERIN

Gives a complete account of all the negotiations between the Russian Soviet Government and all foreign countries, for the two years beginning November 7, 1917, and ending November 7, 1919.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

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New York, N. Y.

# Official Communications of the Soviet Government

## ENGLAND STILL SUPPORTS WRANGEL

Moscow, July 26.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has sent a communication to the Russian trade representative, Krasin, at London, stating that, simultaneously with the declaration of the British Government to the effect that no more war supplies would be delivered to Wrangel, new shipments have arrived for Wrangel's army. One of Wrangel's generals, Fevishin, was taken prisoner and declared that Wrangel was receiving supplies, cannons, rifles, and other arms mostly from England and secondly from France. Large British and small French warships are defending Wrangel on the sea; they give him support from Batum. If the Entente continues to support the enemies of Russia, it will be hard to honor the claims of the British creditors. England's criminal policy brings to nought all efforts made up to now in the Central Executive Committee.

## REGARDING KOLCHAK'S END

Moscow, July 26.—In order to correct the news spread in the foreign press, the Soviet Government has published all details regarding the end of the Kolchak government in Siberia. According to this report, Kolchak was shot by the local revolutionary committee of Irkutsk when an attack of the counter-revolutionists was threatening the revolutionary government. The Soviet troops had at that time not yet reached Irkutsk. Together with Kolchak were shot one of his ministers and three agents of the secret service; later on twenty-five more officers were shot. At Omsk three of Kolchak's ministers were sentenced to death by a revolutionary tribunal and shot. Besides this there were very few death sentences carried out in Siberia.

## THE BEATEN WRANGEL

Moscow, July 22.—The Finnish and Swedish dispatches about the victories of General Wrangel are entirely invented and fallacious. Wrangel landed some time ago with British aid, and supported by British troops west of Taganrog, succeeded (as the Soviet Republic had withdrawn most of their troops to the Polish front) in driving ahead about eighty kilometers as far as Oryekhov. There he was beaten; a part of his troops fled to the south, the other part to the north, where, cut off from all supplies, they will be surrounded within the next few days.

Moscow, July 22.—Regarding the British demand that the Crimea remain for the future neutral, and that General Wrangel take part in the negotiations, the Soviet Government has informed the British Government that, in view of its desire to establish friendly relations with Great Bri-

tain, it is ready to guarantee security of life to General Wrangel and his troops, in case of their immediate surrender.

## POLISH BARBARIANS

Moscow, July 17.—During the Polish retreat numerous pogroms were instituted by the Poles in the localities evacuated by them. At Popovicini twenty-six Jews between seventeen and sixty-two years of age were killed. Most of the villages in the Kiev region were burnt down by the Poles, and Jews and peasants driven into the burning villages.

STOCKHOLM, July 14 (A despatch to the Berlin *Rote Fahne*).—Similar to their destruction of Borissov and Kiev the Poles devastated Bobruisk. Before evacuating the city the Poles pillaged the stores, shot down ten party workers, and burned down the freight station, the harbor, and the bridges. The factories were dynamited. All cattle and draft animals were carried away.

## REPATRIATION OF AUSTRIAN WAR PRISONERS

VIENNA, July 17.—The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has received from Moscow the following radio:

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs communicates herewith that nothing stands now in the way of sending home the Austrian war prisoners.

In pursuance of the exchange treaty concluded at Copenhagen an order has been issued to the Russian Central Bureau for War Prisoners in respect to an immediate renewal of the repatriation of Austrian war prisoners.

A request is made for, as far as possible, an immediate repatriation of Russian war prisoners who are in Austria.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*  
CHICHERIN.

## INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Moscow, July 12.—The industrial reconstruction of Soviet Russia proceeds favorably. The railroad works of Kremenchug which in January were rebuilding six locomotives and five tenders daily, have reached, in June, a daily output of fourteen locomotives and as many tenders. The factories in Rostov-on-the-Don operate almost on a peace scale.

Moscow, July 12.—The railroad line, Kazan-Yekaterinburg, has been opened again.

## NANSEN IN MOSCOW

Moscow, July 12.—On July 6, the newly elected Moscow Soviet was inaugurated in the presence of Fridjof Nansen who was greeted by Maxim Gorky.

### ENGLISH REFUSE TO ALLOW RUSSIANS TO GO HOME

Moscow, June 30.—70,000 former Russian officers and citizens, members of the middle class, who had immigrated to Greece, appealed to the English authorities to make possible their return to their native country and to obtain for them an amnesty from the Soviet Government. The English declined to act as mediators.

### THE TARTAR REPUBLIC

Moscow, June 30.—People's Commissar Vladimirsky has arrived in Kazan with a member of the Turkish Communist Party and the representative of Mustapha Kemal. The Tartar Republic will be solemnly proclaimed at Kazan.

### WRANGEL WITHOUT SUPPORT OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

A radio from Krassin to Chicherin, dated June 10, 1920.

"Today Wise visited me and made in the name of Lloyd George the following declaration:

"The government of Great Britain received news that Wrangel started an offensive against you.

"In agreement with a prior declaration, the British Government has called off its representatives who had been with Wrangel and has given instructions not to render to Wrangel any support either in money, gold, or ammunition.

"The offensive was taken against the plans and counsels of the British Government which in this manner does not bear responsibility for Wrangel."

"To a question of mine whether a telegram concerning this matter will be sent from Curzon to Chicherin, Wise asked to regard his communication as official and to send it to Moscow. To my question whether the British Government will make public this communication, Wise said that Lloyd George would make today a corresponding declaration in Parliament. I on my part promised to send this communication to my government."

KRASSIN.

### EXTRA-SCHOLASTIC INSTRUCTION

1524. May 14, 1920.

Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, placed at the head of the section of extra-scholastic instruction of the Commissariat of Public Instruction, communicates the following information: "Before the war Russia had eighty-five per cent illiterates, and primary instruction was in a lamentable state. To regain lost time Soviet Russia must instruct not only the young generations, but begin or complete the education of the adults. The masses themselves rush upon science. Since the revolution, every factory has constituted a club, a library, a school. Without waiting for the intellectuals the working class itself accomplished this enormous work of creation. At present this thirst for instruction penetrates into the country; the peasants give free land and buildings for libraries, people's houses and

schools. The Commissariat of Public Instruction centralizes and organizes all these initiatives through the mediation of the extra-scholastic sections of the local soviets. The heads of these sections meet at periodic conferences two or three times a year. In addition there was held about a year ago the All-Russian Congress for extra-scholastic instruction, with six hundred delegates. At the same time the Military Commissariat, the syndicates, the Communist Party, the League of Communist Youth, and the cooperatives also possess extra-scholastic sections working in always closer contact with the Commissariat of Public Instruction. The practical results manifest themselves in the form of schools, courses for the illiterate, or semi-illiterate, popular universities, conferences, reading-rooms, libraries, clubs, people's houses, museums, excursions, houses for the peasants coming into the city, etc. It has been determined that within two years in the cities, and four years in the country, there should not be left in Russia one illiterate, and to this end the Council of People's Commissars has given 4.5 billion rubles. This program, despite its grandiose extent, will be realized, thanks to the collaboration of the whole organized population. Everywhere the illiterate have already been registered, courses are multiplying, extensive propaganda is under way to persuade the most recalcitrant, young and old, to learn to read and write. In the advance guard are the provinces of Petrograd, Moscow, Tambov, but, above all, that of Cherepovetz, where six thousand schools out of ten thousand planned are already operating. In the province of Tambov forty-eight thousand illiterates had already completed their courses on the first of April. There are eighty-two popular universities giving more advanced instruction. The villages have reading-rooms receiving regularly two or three journals which are read aloud. The libraries are organized, unburdened of all the rubbish, and completed with new books. There are courses for librarians. On the first of January, 1917, there were eleven thousand ninety-four libraries; on the first of July, 1919, twenty-five thousand five hundred, dependent upon the section of public instruction, without counting all those of the cooperative syndicates, garrisons, political groups, etc. The present number certainly exceeds one hundred thousand. Clubs of every kind, for adults, adolescents, factories, etc., multiply. They often form integral parts of people's houses in which there are also theatrical performances, halls for meetings, conferences, concerts, etc. The province of Homel alone has sixty houses furnishing beds for the peasants coming into the city, who can find there also all kinds of information of a political, agricultural or other nature. Moreover there is noticeable in general a rapprochement of the city and the country. Often the telephone unites the cantons with the capital of the district, the villages receive the journals, they are visited by propaganda trains and ships, and by touring parties from the urban centers. The propaganda trains and ships

bring with them cinematographs, stocks of pamphlets, exhibits, etc., with representatives of all the commissariats, which assure a living bond with the center. Every day are created new forms of extra-scholastic education. Thus the propaganda wagons are sent by the capitals of the districts into the most distant hamlets where they organize meetings and distribute journals. Thus the information bureaus are created in all the places of passage of companies of refugee travelers, etc. Local and individual initiative play the most considerable part. In one word, thanks to the Soviet power and the Russian working masses, one will soon see the disappearance of the age-old ignorance, and Russia will attain a level of culture unknown by all the other countries so far as concerns the great mass of the workers."

### AGAINST THE POLISH ATTACK

1531. May 16, 1920.

Semashko, returning from a tour of the southwest front, states in *Pravda*: "The sanitary condition of the front is entirely satisfactory, the typhus epidemic is diminishing with astonishing rapidity. Cholera, even in the form of isolated cases, does not exist. The medical personnel is sufficient in numbers. There is a great number of vacant beds, about forty per cent, and a considerable quantity of sanitary trains. The administration of the health service operates in a satisfactory manner." On this subject Semashko mentions the shameful conduct of the Polish troops, who pillage and massacre not only the civil population but even that which is under the protection of the standard of the Red Cross. "One of these reports, relating how Polish officers under the orders of the most serene Prince Radziwill pillaged a sanitary train, shot a number of the personnel and robbed the rest, has already been published. But reports of this kind arrive every day."

The central bureau of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of the minority publishes an appeal to all citizens to join their efforts and repulse the enemy. "The working people must win their right to peace and independence. The incursion of the Polish bandits must be settled so that Russia may enter the grand road of socialist construction. All to the aid of Soviet Russia. All forces at the disposition of the Soviet power for the front and for the work in the rear."

All news from the occupied places report the unbelievable atrocities of the Polish White Guards. At Zhmerinka, Russian railway men were replaced by Polish legionaries, and ordered to leave the place within twenty-four hours and carry nothing away. Many were arrested and most of them shot secretly in the night. The Poles have exterminated all Red soldiers falling into their hands, not sparing the wounded and the sick in the hospitals. In the region of Mozir the Polish proprietors have regained their domains and take cruel vengeance on the peasants whom the Polish authorities treat like beasts.

### INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

The Soviet of Moscow has decided upon the administrative fusion of the capital and the province. A preparatory commission of the members of the Moscow Soviet and of the Soviet of the Province has fixed at fifty the number of the members of the executive committee of the future unified Soviet, thirty for Moscow and twenty for the province. The fusion of the corresponding committees of the Communist Party is arranged in the same way. This measure in tightening the bond between the city and the country will be favorable at once to the economic and moral progress of the province and the provisioning of Moscow with milk, vegetables, and fodder. It is one step further in the direction of the great organic rapprochement of the cities and the country.

### THE SOVIET POWER AND CULTURE

The Executive Committee of the province of Samara has allotted the little daughter of the celebrated writer Aksakov a relief of twenty-five thousand rubles.

### STATEMENT FROM REVAL

*The following is the text of a statement issued by the Russian Soviet Delegation at Reval on July 21:*

The Russian Delegation, which is composed of Leo Kamenev, Chairman; Leonid Krassin, Deputy Chairman, and Vladimir Milyutin, and which by agreement with the British Government was en route to London is leaving Reval today; Kamenev and Milyutin are returning to Moscow, and Krassin is going to Stockholm in connection with commercial affairs initiated there by the Soviet Government. These departures are explained by the fact that the British Government, at the very last moment, chose to condition their admittance to London upon acceptance by the Soviet Government of an armistice with Poland. It is very characteristic that when Lloyd George formulated conditions for the resumption of trade relations, no mention was made of Poland, although the Polish aggression against Russia was then in full swing. The coming debacle of Poland was then not so evident to the British and French governments as now. This putting forward of entirely new conditions after an agreement had been reached, following protracted negotiations, and when the delegation was already on its way to London, flouts all international rules, and throws a revealing light upon the "impartiality" of the British Government in the Russo-Polish contest. The delegation does not doubt that British public opinion, especially that of its laboring masses, will very well judge for themselves whether it is in the interests of the British people and of a general peace that their government now causes a new postponement of the negotiations—a postponement which has undoubtedly been prompted by the French protectors of the beaten Polish adventurers.

### THE INTERNATIONAL BATTALION

On May 31, Acting People's Commissar of Interior, Comrade Kornev, reviewed at the Moscow-Kazan railway station the international battalion which was on the way to Ukraine to fight against the imperialistic Polish magnates. The battalion arrived from Siberia in seven days and was to continue on its way to the south. It was decided to take advantage of its passing through Moscow to review the battalion.

One could not fail to be impressed by the splendid appearance of this battalion, consisting entirely of Red internationalists, among whom are Hungarians, Germans, Galician Ukrainians, and Poles. The battalion fully deserves the name Communist, for almost a half of it, about 400 comrades, are either members of the Russian Communist Party or candidates for members. Seventy per cent of the battalion are workers. In the fight in the East against the Kolchak bands, as well as in the review, the battalion displayed an example of iron discipline and unflinching proletarian firmness.—*Izvestia*, June 3, 1920.

### EASTERN REPUBLIC AND JAPAN

The Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Eastern Republic has informed the Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government that the Japanese Government is ready to recognize the Soviet Republic and the independence of the Eastern Republic in all economic and political questions.

### PRISONERS OF WAR PROTEST AGAINST THE POLISH OFFENSIVE

REVAL, May 30 (From the Rosta Correspondent).—The *Russkoye Dielo* of May 18 contains the following protest by former Russian war prisoners against the Polish-Ukrainian offensive:

"We, former Russian war prisoners of all nationalities held at Camp Yosephov (Czecho-Slovakia), Great Russians, Ukrainians, White Russians, Poles, Tartars, Armenians, Georgians, Estonians, Letts, Jews, Lithuanians, and others, separated from our families for over six years by the endless inhuman war and living only with the hope of its speedy conclusion and the coming of peace between all peoples, protest with every fibre of our being against the brigand attack of the Polish landowners and Petlura's Ukrainian adventurers on bleeding, toiling Russia, which is in vain holding out the hand of peace. We protest against the new fratricidal war, which again shattered our hope for a speedy restoration of a normal life of toil and the friendly fraternal collaboration of the toilers of all nations. We ardently call upon the Czech workers and peasants, upon the Czech democracy, upon the workers, peasants and democracy of the whole world, to protest most energetically against this criminal attack. We call upon them to exert all their power and to use every possible means to prevent the success of this base attempt. Let there be an end to bloodshed! Long live the peace of the whole toiling world!"

Attached are 809 signatures.—*Izvestia*, June 3, 1920.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

of

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

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2. WOMEN OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. *From the memoirs of a Czech Legionary.*
3. A LOGICIAN'S REPORT, *by William M. Malissov.*
4. THE POLISH OFFENSIVE AND ENGLAND'S MONOPOLY OF RAW MATERIALS.
5. THE FIRST WORKER'S COMMUNE IN MOSCOW.
6. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, *by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.*

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## The Organization of the Labor Market in Russia

THE history of the labor exchanges and the organization of the labor market in Russia begins with the March Revolution. The feeble attempts of the public organs (the Zemstvos and the cities), in pre-revolutionary times, to create the semblance of such an organization, cannot be taken into account, as they produced no results whatever. As there was a complete absence of any regulating organization, anarchy ruled in the labor market, a condition under which the workers as well as the national economy suffered and which benefited only the manufacturers as the unemployment produced by this anarchy made it possible for the contractor to dictate any terms that he pleased.

The March Revolution of 1917 also did not attack the problem of the organization of the labor market with determination. The newly formed Coalition Government concerned itself just as little about the needs of the broad masses of the people as the government which had just been overthrown. It therefore happened, that it was only in August, 1917, that the first law dealing with the Labor Exchanges appeared and that at the outbreak of the November Revolution, in the whole enormous country, with its hundreds of large cities, there existed only about fifteen or twenty labor exchanges. The law was not adapted to the situation. According to this law, labor exchanges were opened in cities of not less than 50,000 inhabitants. The direction of the exchanges was assigned to committees made up in equal parts of representatives of the employers and employes, with a neutral chairman at the head. In view of the small number of labor exchanges, it can be said positively that the problem of the organization of the labor market was not solved by this law in the least. The working-class disregarded

the law entirely. The unions simply ignored it, they did not send any representatives to the bipartisan committees, did not take the least part in organizing a network of labor exchanges, etc. This was the state of things when the November revolution broke out. The November revolution placed the government of the Workers' and Peasants' before unprecedented and difficult tasks: millions of workers, who became unemployed when war industries and the army were demobilized, had to receive employment or in some way be protected from poverty and degeneration. For this work a steady and well-functioning apparatus for the registering and distribution of the unemployed was necessary. On January 31, 1918, the Workers' and Peasants' Government issued its first law dealing with labor exchanges. According to this law, employers were excluded from the administration of the exchanges; it also decreed that workers and clerks could be employed only through the exchanges. The object of this decree was, on the one hand, to protect the workers from being exploited by the private employment bureaus, and on the other hand, to get control of the labor market. But its chief provision was the obligation to establish labor exchanges in places with 20,000 inhabitants, that is, to make an extension of the net of labor exchanges possible.

The task was to establish as large a number of labor exchanges as possible and to reorganize those which had been inherited from the old Labor Ministry. In this respect an important work was indeed accomplished. We will let the facts speak for themselves. In November, 1917, when the government came into the hands of the workers, there were about twenty-seven exchanges in existence; in January, 1918, their number had already almost doubled to fifty. And as time went on,

the activity for furthering the establishment of organs for the distribution of the unemployed became more and more feverish. The activities of these labor exchanges consisted chiefly in the registration of the unemployed, in obtaining work for the unemployed, and in satisfying the demand for labor. The statistics obtained by going over the figures of seventy-two exchanges for the time from January until April, 1918, gives the following picture of the general situation at the time: in all groups of production there were 342,448 applications for employment; there were 109,582 cases in which employment was offered, 85,782 unemployed obtained employment, of which 8,324 took work which was not in their own specialty. The percentage of the demand to the supply was thirty-two per cent, that is, for every hundred unemployed workers, thirty-two received employment. This characterizes the depressed condition of the labor market, which corresponded to the period of acute demobilization at the beginning of the year 1918, when as a consequence of the closing of a whole series of enterprises and the transition of part of them into production for peace, enormous masses of workers remained without work.

However that may be, we may say that the Soviet Government quickly passed through the initial stages of this work. Already at the beginning of 1918 it facilitated in every way the establishment of organs for the registration of the unemployed: in registering them it found also the most suitable means for the overcoming of unemployment. The larger part of the workers (seventy-eight per cent) who received no employment, began to be paid allowances for unemployment. This period in the activity of the labor exchanges gave rise to those funds for unemployment which have played such an important role in our struggle against unemployment, as the attempt to organize emergency works and other measures could not exercise any genuine influence in modifying the acute period of unemployment which the country went through at the beginning of 1918.

The organization of the labor market which was accomplished during this first period took definite shape, on an all-Russian scale, at the Second All-Russian Congress of the Commissars of Labor, the Insurance Organizations and the Labor Exchanges. At this Congress, the fundamental rules for the new organization of the labor exchanges which had been drawn up in Petrograd, and which had found their first practical expression at the Congress of the Moscow department, were confirmed. At this Congress, a universal procedure, valid for the entire Republic, and which had been elaborated from the statistics of the labor market of the department of Moscow, was adopted. And at this Congress, firm connections were also made with all the cities and towns of the provinces, and the position which the workers took as regards the organization of the labor market in all Russia, was made clear. And finally the Congress gave the first genuine impulse to the attack on the

problem of the real apportionment of labor power in the Republic. Only after this Second All-Russian Congress was the practical execution of the exchange of the superfluous labor hands, which had been discussed at the Congress, carried out. Since this time, a continually growing, important work of organization has been accomplished.

Let us present here only the most striking facts from these two years of labor exchange construction. The Section for Labor Market of the People's Commissariat for Labor during this period of time has written and distributed about fifty announcements and instructions. In these announcements numberless aspects and phases of the general organization of the labor market have been thoroughly discussed and rules for the activity of the Sections for the Distribution of Labor (the former labor exchanges) have been laid down. And besides, in the legislative field, some of the decrees and statutes written by the section have been published.

All this important work, which in a certain measure is equivalent to the creation of a new labor legislation in the field of the organizing of the labor market, has not been accomplished by expert educated lawyers, but by the responsible officials who are employed in the Section for the Labor Market. Out of all this formal, legislative work, the new law of November 1, 1918, dealing with the Section for the Distribution of Labor power must be considered more closely.

In the first place, we must point to the actual establishment of the unity of all organs for the organization of the labor market, which has been finally accomplished by this law. This unity has been achieved by the complete amalgamation of this branch of the union production-organizations of the workers, with the general government organs by means of the collegium of the central and local apparatus, which is made up of the organizations of production of the workers and the clerical workers. Even in the old labor exchanges, the basic principle was to concentrate the entire demand and supply of labor in the centralized labor exchanges of the workers. We have gradually brought about the creation of such an organ. When the labor exchange law of January 31 appeared, one of its chief functions was to point out the necessity of eliminating the employment bureaus as well as labor exchanges and employment agencies belonging to the separate unions. As regards the former, the Section for Labor Market had very little trouble because of the law making them legally accessible. But it was otherwise with the abrogation of the labor exchanges and the employment bureaus which belonged to the unions. The workers, during the obstinate struggle fought out during the revolution of 1905, had won the right to establish these exchanges and agencies. After the March revolution, these agencies developed quickly, for the government labor exchanges came into existence very slowly, and furthermore they were composed equally of employers and of employes, and it can be well understood that they

aroused the mistrust of the class organizations of the workers. This lack of confidence was transferred to the new labor exchanges after the November revolution. In the meantime, we have succeeded, by obstinate work and by the gradual transference of the entire employment business into the hands of the organized unionized workers' movement, in gradually breaking through the ice of this mistrust. At the head of the local labor exchanges there were representatives of the unions, and in this manner, the unions were enabled painlessly to transfer their exchanges and employment bureaus to the government. In practice, this took place either by means of their complete amalgamation with the general workers' labor exchanges, or by means of the establishment of special production-union sections. This process of the abrogating of the individual labor exchanges and employment bureaus belonging to the unions, was completed by consolidating the labor exchanges and employment bureaus of the railroad workers with the Section for the Distribution of Labor. The decree of November 17 was issued for this reason. In this respect, a considerable work has been accomplished, the gradual consolidation of all the individual agencies for the registering of unemployment into one central agency. This central agency has, in the future, only to work on in the direction of an intensification of its activities in registering and actually distributing labor. One of the organizing measures which simplified the carrying out of this work, was to extend the system as was decreed by the law of November 1, 1918. Contrary to the law passed by the Coalition Government dealing with the labor exchanges, which maintained that the establishment of labor exchanges was necessary only in towns of not less than 50,000 inhabitants, the first labor exchange law passed by the Soviet Government, January 31, 1918, reduced this number to 20,000. In view of the slight density of the working population and in view of the fact that ever larger circles of the working masses must be included, the new law has made another step forward and has reduced this number to 10,000 inhabitants. Besides this, the opening of sections or sub-sections in towns of less than 10,000 was made possible where the circumstances permitted. As a result, on the first anniversary of the November revolution, November 1, 1918, the apparatus for the registering and the distribution of labor displayed a really imposing, widely ramified net of agencies.

The activity of the apparatus for the registration and distribution of unemployed kept on broadening. According to reports which deal only with 203 sections, over one and a half million unemployed, almost one million positions, and three-quarters of a million of references, were handled by the organized apparatus. These figures speak for themselves and can stand comparison with every labor exchange apparatus in Western Europe and America. But now we must also consider the exchange of the superfluous labor power.

Already at the very beginning of an extended

activity the necessity of an exact organization became apparent, before the accomplishment of an exchange of the superfluous labor hands could be approached. This plan of organization was worked out after the second Congress and was as follows: The entire territory of the Republic was divided into a definite number of provinces for the exchange of labor, in accordance with the number of labor exchanges, and the provinces were again divided into districts for labor exchange, depending on the economic and geographical relations of the districts in question and on the means of transportation. The local labor exchange periodically informs its district exchange of any superfluity of demand or supply. The district exchange distributes this surplus in its district, and sends that which it is not able to distribute on to the provincial exchange; this last distributes all that it is able and hands the demand for labor which it cannot satisfy to the Central Sub-Section for Exchange which is a part of the Labor Market Section.

The last Congress of the Labor Sections which took place in Moscow in January, 1919, did nothing in regard to the organization of the Labor Market but develop further the provisions of the regulation of November 1. An amendment to this regulation was adopted which found its final expression in the order of the Council of People's Commissars on May 3, dealing with the organs for the registering and distribution of labor. Aside from laying down the basic principles more firmly, (particularly in the sense of dividing labor into economic districts), the changes made by this order consisted chiefly in extending the activities of these organs in the form already assumed. To the central apparatus "the practical realization, by means of its organs, of the registering, the distribution and re-distribution of the unemployed, as well as of the workers employed in all branches of industry on an all-Russian scale" was transferred. The local and district exchanges, for their part, aside from their general activity in registering the unemployed and in satisfying the demand for workers "shall register all those who are working for wages," "all those unemployed who are not seeking employment," as well as "all citizens, who are not doing work useful to the community and who are subject to the obligation to work."

What form the activity of the section for the registration and distribution of labor took in the year 1919, is shown by the following picture of the labor market in the months of January to September, 1919, according to the reports from 271 sub-sections for the registration and distribution of labor:

|                                   |           |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| Applications for Employment ..... | 1,080,997 |
| Help Wanted .....                 | 1,202,196 |
| Assignments .....                 | 862,682   |
| Of Which There Were Accepted..... | 765,228   |

*For every 100 unemployed there were:*

|                                    |       |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| Positions .....                    | 111.2 |
| Assignments to Positions .....     | 79.8  |
| Of Which There Were Accepted ..... | 70.8  |

*For every 100 positions there were:*

|   |      |
|---|------|
| Assignments .....                             | 71.8 |
| Accepted .....                                | 63.7 |
| For every 100 assignments there were accepted | 88.7 |

Aside from the extensive range of general activity, this table shows how well adapted the apparatus is for the accomplishment of the tasks which arise in supplying the national economy with labor. With such a lack of working hands as exists in our country, the table proves that our organs already embrace a wide field of activity. This field is being constantly extended. The apparatus itself will in the future be better adapted to the newly-arising tasks.

At present, until the Republic is re-divided into economic districts, the organization system is based on the generally current system of the local apparatus and possesses sub-organs in the form of agencies, corresponding points or sections, which are connected with the central apparatus by means of the government centrals, which central apparatus directs the entire system through the intermediation of these government centrals. The whole system of the organs for the registering and distribution of labor in the governments, including the newly liberated districts in the Urals and in Siberia, comprised on November 1, 1919, altogether 320 sub-sections and 280 branches in 39 provinces.

In the organizing of the labor market the Soviet Government, consequently, in the course of its revolutionary construction, has passed through a great evolution. From the bourgeois employment bureaus—the labor exchanges in the Coalition period of the Revolution—the government passed gradually, by way of the purely workers' employment bureaus (Decree of January 31, 1918), to organs for the distribution of labor power.

This conditions was fixed for the first time by the decree of November 1, 1918, but since that time also further steps have been taken for the extension and intensification of the work. And if the legal order of January 31, 1918, only changed the forms of the organs, but allowed the essence of their function to remain that of an organized contract for the occupation of the workers, the legal order of November 1, 1918, signified a step forward in that it assigned to the Sections for the Distribution of Labor, the task of registering the

workers who are employed for wages. This task, however, can only be realized after exhaustive preparatory work. This preparatory work is, at present, almost completed, and the new amendment to the order dealing with the organs for the registering and distribution of labor, makes it clear that the government apparatus for the registration and distribution of labor is to have as its function not only the registration and distribution of the unemployed, but also the registering of the workers engaged in production, that it not only must register the unemployed who are seeking employment, but also those who are not seeking any work, as well as all citizens who are eligible for work, but are not busied with any work useful to the community.

It must be taken into consideration that we have accomplished this whole work of the construction of the national economy under unprecedented difficulties, without being prepared in any way and without any preparatory steps in this field. The registration of labor could be made easier in capitalistic countries because of the existence of more or less regulated industrial statistics, but we are compelled to begin from the beginning, we must create these statistics before we proceed to the registration. So although we had already in the order of a year ago, November 1, 1918, announced the transition to the registration of the occupied labor hands, we were, nevertheless, compelled to refrain from taking practical measures in this direction so long as we had not finished the preliminary work necessary for the regulation of the industrial statistics. In the new decree dealing with the organs for the registration and distribution of labor, May 3, 1919, the function of registering of the occupied working hands is treated more concretely. But we are now in a position to formulated concrete provisions for the carrying out of this registration. At the same time that we are approaching the solution of the problem of the registration of the occupied workers, we approach the carrying out of a number of measures which have for their object the providing of our national economy with labor. In this place belong the problems of mobilizing the workers, the registering of the entire unemployed labor forces on hand (mobilizing the non-working elements) etc.

## The Polish Attack and England's Raw Materials

*[The following article will be better understood if it is recalled that it was written about the time of the Polish advance in May, 1920.]*

**F**ROM London the Berlin *Rote Fahne* has received the following communication:

Anyone who has studied the labor movement in England during the past few weeks will have observed that the most intense question of the day is not only that of the rise in wages, but of the fall in prices. From all parts of England resolutions are addressed to the government by local groups

of labor parties, unanimously demanding immediate steps for a reduction in prices. Quite evidently a realization is beginning to grow within the ranks of the workers that the continuous increase in wages will never mean anything but the tugging on an endless chain, until the day when prices and profits of private capitalists are regulated. However, the English Government pro-

ceeds in an exactly opposite direction. The control exercised by the state over the prices and distribution of various foodstuffs is to be dropped in the course of the summer and, according to a statement recently made in the Lower House by Sir Robert Horne, the Minister of Labor, "the time has come when permission may again be granted to owners of coal mines to run their business independently."

It thus becomes clear that the representatives of the financial interests, standing behind the British world domain, are resorting to energetic measures to rid themselves of even a trace of public control over their operations in the world market. The critical financial condition of the French bourgeoisie has caused the latter to become at this moment nothing more than an economic appendix to London and New York, and while the French militarists are permitted a certain freedom in their activities in middle European matters, it may be taken for granted that they have ceased to play their role as a factor in world politics. At present the opponents in the battle raging in the capitalistic world are the trusts of Wall Street and the syndicates of London. British high finance has set itself the task of exercising unlimited control over raw materials in demand the world over, in order that it may successfully meet American competition and bring down prices in the English markets. For if a reduction in prices is not effected through large imports of cheap food supplies and fuel, the pressure of the English proletariat will presently reach a point where some form of state control over the operations of the trusts would be unavoidable.

Now the situation is this: at the moment the only necessities which could be brought into the local market cheaply are to be found in half-developed regions, where the proletariat lives under partly feudalistic, partly slave-like conditions, and where the cost of production may be reduced to a minimum. These regions are situated chiefly on the gateway between Europe and Asia—on the Russian plains and in various parts of the middle East, in Mesopotamia and in Persia. The importance of these regions for British financial interests is enhanced by the circumstance that if they do not soon pass under the control of London, they will no doubt come under that of American trusts. Thus we have the picture of three world powers at this moment, struggling on the threshold between Europe and Asia for the control of the raw materials in these regions—the financial capitalism of Great Britain, the American trusts and the Proletarian Republic of Russia, which latter desires these raw materials for the reconstruction of its industries on a communistic basis.

The offensive against the Russian Red Army, undertaken by the Polish bourgeoisie under the auspices of the British Ministry of War, is quite evidently the work of those financial interests in London whose mouthpiece is Winston Churchill. It differs from the offensive of Denikin and Kol-

chak against Soviet Russia only insofar as it does not, according to present appearances, seem to plan a blow against the heart of the Russian Workmen's Republic by means of the occupation of Moscow and Petrograd and the reestablishment of a great Russian czardom. The policy is evidently the same as that pursued by the German General Staff in the East after Brest-Litovsk and which aimed to isolate the industrial region of central Russia and to cut them off from the agricultural, coal, and oil districts in the southern and southeastern borderlands. The mere occupation of these districts by the Polish hirelings of the London banks has a twofold effect: first, it enlarges the territory wherein these banks may carry on their operations for the acquisition of raw materials and fuel, and thus participate in the efforts to bring down prices in England; and second, it makes the Soviet Republic economically dependent for its chief raw materials upon the good graces of the London financiers, without causing the latter any of the expenditures which a military expedition would entail.

It is a question if, in view of the difficulties of gathering and of transportation in this part of Russia, it will be possible for any length of time to bring large quantities of grain into the English market. On the other hand, Northern Caucasia is said to have one and one-half billion poods of grain, the reserve supply of several years' harvests, ready for export to Western Europe. Before the revolution seventy per cent of the capital invested in coal mines in the Donets basin was in the hands of French and Belgian banks. There is some foundation for the belief that a short time ago a part of this investment was taken over by a large English mining syndicate headed by Mr. Urquhart, as equivalent of English loans to France during the war as well as of financial concessions made to the French Government since the signing of the treaty of peace. This syndicate of Mr. Urquhart was one of the most influential English factors in the allied intervention in Russia. His syndicate owned the copper and iron mines of Bogoslov and Troitsky in the Ural and West Siberia, and was the main force behind Kolchak's great offensive in the spring of 1919.

But just now the London financial capitalist is not so much interested in coal, copper, and iron as he is in oil. It is even now the opinion of experts in the British admiralty that oil will in the future be the chief driving power in the navy, and this opinion seems to be shared by the English business world, insofar, at least, as it concerns the possibility of utilizing liquid fuel for industrial purposes. Lord Fisher, in a recent letter to the *Times*, expressed himself as follows: "Our policy should adopt for its guide the following words: 'If you don't succeed at first, dig, dig, dig again.'" The formation of the new "Shell" combine, embracing the Dutch oil interests in East India, as well as the recent organization of a company for the exploitation of the oil-fields of Mohammerah in southern Persia, is only one part of the scheme

to gain control of the world trade. After long conferences between London and Paris the French Government at last consented to relinquish the claims to Mosul and upper Mesopotamia which it had won by the secret treaty of 1916. It is not quite clear what the nature of this transaction was; but it is probable that France was persuaded to liquidate a part of her debt to the British financiers by giving up her claims granted to her under the terms of the secret treaty. This will enable the "Shell" group to exercise control over the immense oil fields of Mesopotamia, which are known to be very rich.

There remain, of course, the oil fields of Baku and northern Caucasia, large; but gradually becoming spent. It is not likely that possession of these by the British "Shell" syndicate is of vital importance for the needs of the domestic markets in England. But, as so often happens under a capitalistic regime, a source of supply is not grasped merely to satisfy a hungry market, but to prevent a competitor from obtaining control of this source of necessities. Thus it often happened that the capitalist, rather than permit natural wealth to fall into the hands of a competitor, destroyed it. One need only think of the destruction of the mines in the north of France by the Prussian militarists and the burning of the Galician and Rumanian oil fields in 1915 and 1916 by the czaristic armies and English engineers—and this at a time when the workers of Europe were freezing for lack of fuel. Many years before the war the "Nobel" syndicate of Baku bought up land in the neighborhood of Grozny and Maiko in the Cau-

casus in order to prevent the oil in these regions from reaching a market which, through a reduction in price, would have resulted in a curtailment of their profits.

The same thing happened recently in Baku. In a letter to the *Times*, dated May 12, a technical expert tells how in 1919 hundreds of thousands of tons of oil were poured into the Caspian Sea, because the pipe lines between Baku and Batum were too narrow to allow of oil being shipped to the west and because it was impossible, by reason of the allied blockade of Soviet Russia, to transport the oil to freezing Russia (the natural market for all oil from Baku) by ship. The same objective is maintained by the Polish offensive against South Russia. If it becomes possible to occupy Ukraine and to cut off communication with north Caucasia, Soviet Russia will not be able to obtain the oil which it needs for its industries. The consequences will be these: first, Soviet Russia will become dependent for its fuel needs upon the "Shell" company, and second, Soviet Russia will be unable to exchange a part of the oil from Baku for machines from America—a transaction, which, if it came to pass, would endanger the chances of a British monopoly of supplying Soviet Russia with certain technical articles, and would also place the Standard Oil Company of America (the only important rival of the "Shell" group) in possession of quantities of oil which would have the effect of breaking the monopoly-prices fixed by London. In the service of these interests the Polish army, led by the "socialist" Pilsudski, marches eastward into South Russia.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

Pittsburgh, Pa., August 28, 1920.

**I**N SPITE of the fact that the armed intervention of the Allies was acknowledged by them to be a complete failure, leaving to history a series of the most shameful collapses of the Allied expeditionary forces and the armies of Russian usurpers, namely Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich, the capitalistic coalition of Europe, backed by Japan and America, is still continuing this intervention.

War on Russia exists *de facto*. Poland, the puppet state of France, has to fight the Soviet Army.

Under the cover of such useless and criminal warfare, which doubtless will be terminated in a general disaster for the Poles, and perhaps in a complete collapse of the Polish state, a new counter-revolutionary army in South Russia is gradually growing, nursed by the imperialistic coalition of the capitalistic Entente.

Now the Allies have Wrangel at their disposal, a young adventurer of the Kolchak type, but cheaper and less important. Wrangel, one of the captains of the Denikin band, is now to repeat

absolutely the same game which his defeated chief, Denikin, so brilliantly lost.

In order to support Wrangel's operations, France decided to sacrifice not only the Polish army, but also the whole Polish nation. According to the plan of Marshal Foch, elaborated together with General Weygand, the Poles have to divert, and divert vigorously on the Russian front, as long as they can, in order to attract as many as possible of the Red troops, thus preventing the Russians from directing a strong army against Wrangel's bands, and thus putting an end to the wanton adventure of the Russian traitor, who, for the price of French gold, is ready to sell the Russian people even to the Polish *shliakhta*. France does not care very much about what will become of Poland in the future. The main idea of the capitalist leaders of France is to overthrow the present Russian government and establish in Russia such a government as would agree to pay to France 30 billion francs, which reactionary Russia owed her. That is the real policy of France towards Russia, and French strategy is trying to support this policy with all its means, using for the tactical necessities the

governments of small nations, and a band of the ruined Russian bourgeoisie.

In reality, it is laughable to believe that France sincerely seeks the reconstruction of Poland. France knows perfectly well that it would be an impossibility; Napoleon knew it a hundred years ago. France is not afraid of a weakened Germany. It will be a long time before Germany will become once more dangerous for France. France knows also, that in case of the restoration of an independent, imperialistic Poland, with all her corridors and other means of communication with the outside world, Poland never will be able to repay all the debts incurred since she started to fight the Soviet Government in Russia. Pilsudski's "Socialists" openly declare that they will not consider valid the financial obligations towards America, France, or England, as national obligations, because these loans were offered by the Allies to Poland for the purpose of fighting the Russian Soviet Government, which is more dangerous to the Allied coalition than to the Polish people. We must not forget the fact that Poland was ready to make peace with Soviet Russia, but as the late President of the Polish Republic, Paderewski, has confessed, France rejected that project and forced Poland to fight.

Finally, Poland is fighting Soviet Russia neither for Poland's independence, which is in no way menaced by Moscow, nor for her alleged historical frontier of 1772, but she is fighting now only for the 30,000,000,000 francs which the Russian Czars borrowed from France, mostly for the purpose of fighting the Russian Revolution.

Poland is not independent and cannot be independent, since she is fighting the battle of the imperialistic capitalistic coalition of the world; and in order to gain her independence, she has to turn her front to the opposite side.

The Polish army may be considered as nothing else than an auxiliary force of Wrangel's army, because it was not the Poles, but Wrangel, who signed an obligation to pay the old Russian debts to France, in case he should be able to overthrow the Soviets; only therefore he was recognized by the French Government.

So it becomes clear that France is openly waging a war against Russia, that America is supporting France in that war, and that England and Italy are vacillating, uncertain of the outcome of the new adventure. The British and Italian governments are certainly in sympathy with France, but they do not dare undertake the risk, being handicapped by their working people on the one hand, and by the terribly risky nature of the new enterprise on the other hand.

The alleged and exaggerated "great victories" of Poland over the Red Army encouraged Wrangel and his captains, and since the reactionary press has begun publishing these fables about the Russian "defeats", the usurper in Southern Russia has become very active, both in Northern Crimea as well as in Caucasia, where the military situation has assumed a serious character.

Therefore we must now consider the operations of Wrangel's hordes as a matter of considerable importance, because after Wrangel's recognition by France and the sympathy expressed for him by certain other states, his troops may be looked upon as the vanguard of the whole imperialistic-capitalistic Entente. When Wrangel debouched from Perekop and started his invasion of Southern Russia, penetrating even as far as Orekhov, he caused some annoyance to the Soviets, as a local counter-revolutionist; but since he has begun his landing operations in the Kuban district, thanks to the cooperation of Great Britain and chiefly of France, just at the time when the Russians were fiercely engaged with the Poles around Warsaw, he has become very dangerous.

Making use of the favorable moment when almost the whole male population of the Kuban Cossacks are fighting in Poland, together with the Circassian tribes, Wrangel begins his invasion of the Caucasus.

His first landing on the coast of the Black Sea, near Sochi, was made on August 14, just when the Russian cavalry was approaching the Vistula. Here a weak detachment of the Reds offered fierce resistance to the invaders, but was overpowered and defeated. Simultaneously, the landing of the counter-revolutionary forces took place north of Novorossyisk, at Taman, and, further north, at Eisk, with an unmasked movement towards Tikhoretskaya, the important railway junction of the Tsaritsyn-Novorossyisk and Rostov-Baku railway lines. Sochi was held as a base for future operations south of the Caucasian mountains, should the Azerbaijan Red Army attempt to support the Soviet forces, which are defending Tikhoretskaya. There cannot be any doubt that the railway connecting Yekaterinodar with Novorossyisk and Rostov is the present objective of Wrangel's expeditionary forces. Later on, Wrangel landed a detachment at Aktarask Liman, about seventy miles northwest of Yekaterinodar.

Under the command of General Ulagai, well-known as a captain under Denikin, the invaders swiftly approached Yekaterinodar, which it is alleged has fallen into Wrangel's hands.

The situation of the local Red Army became very critical. Timoshevskaya, a Cossack place north of Yekaterinodar, and southwest of Tikhoretskaya, was captured, and the railway line between Tikhoretskaya and Yekaterinodar very probably cut off, thus isolating both places from any possible relief.

About August 18 Wrangel troops were landed at Anapa, on the Black Sea, and established themselves at Rayevskaya, and at once cut the communication between Novorossyisk and Yekaterinodar.

It is reported that Novorossyisk was captured by the invaders on August 23. There is some reason to believe that the Russians were unable to send reinforcements to Tikhoretskaya from Rostov, because of the great importance of the latter, on the other hand we must not neglect the declar-

ation of Moscow that the doors for the Wrangel forces to enter Russia are wide open, and that he should be cut off from his rear and defeated by an attack on both of his flanks. The movements of the Red armies in the region of the lower Dnieper, as well as in Orekhov district, are proving this, and there is no doubt that the necessary measures will be taken in due time in Western Caucasia, where the enemy is in a most unfavorable condition, being forced to operate by basing his operations on the landing points, which is one of

the most difficult things in military art, and, in order successfully to accomplish this, there must be at Wrangel's disposal not 150,000 men, as he claims, but millions: and where could he collect them?

The Wrangel adventure is the last trump which the Allies have in their hand, but unfortunately for them, the trumps are too low—the aces and higher trumps are in the hands of the Moscow players and they certainly will win the game.

## The Truth About Soviet Russia

By DR. BOHUMIR SMERAL

[A newspaper appearing in Czecho-Slovakia prints several interesting accounts, by Dr. Smeral, who has just returned to that country from Soviet Russia, of his impressions of travel. We print below, after giving the newspaper's comment on Dr. Smeral's account, the first instalment of his narrative.]

Dr. Smeral, a Czecho-Slovak Socialist, upon his return from Russia, writes about conditions there and about the people whom he learned to know in Russia; and since the word "Bolshevik" has been represented as on a par with "hordes of the bandits of old," we do not hesitate to print characteristic excerpts from Dr. Smeral's notes, so that we can ease the minds of those who, through the fear manufactured by the bourgeois Right, cannot recover from a certain painful consternation and, in addition, because we wish to contribute to the sobering-up of the many so-called radicals who, in their infantile naivete believe that under Bolshevism they can have an overflow of everything, like Adam in the Garden of Eden, without having any duties or responsibilities. To be a communist in Russia means self-discipline, and to impose duties upon oneself more strictly than upon others. Briefly, it is a different understanding of life than we are here accustomed to; it is a school in the knowledge of principles, for recognition of duties, and woe to the communist who is guilty of abandoning or neglecting his duties! Dr. Smeral learned that a communist is judged more severely than anyone else, if he is not loyal in his life and work to all the principles of Communism.

### I

*Notes of Travel in the Proletarian Country.*  
By Way of Introduction.

Prague, June 6.

I have returned from Soviet Russia. Everyone on meeting me fastens his eyes upon me with the serious question: "How are things there? What have you seen and experienced?"

My answer is brief and simple: I have come from a different world, I have returned a different man. What is happening in Russia is enormous, overwhelming, honest, sensible, necessary, indefatigable. *Novarum rerum nobis nascitur ordo*. A new order of things has been born! The cry of terrorism which is asserted as taking place in Russia for the past two years, is the work of the capitalist class with its henchmen and means, and it is a lie, the enormity of which has perhaps never been equalled in history.

I had free admission everywhere. I talked intimately with leaders and with simple laborers. I visited factories, barracks, meetings, organizations, soviets, and children's schools. It was impossible to show me Potemkin villages.\* I laid special stress upon psychological observations and facts in unexpected situations. For instance, when our conveyance was detained in a village and we were compelled to remain over night as the guests

of a simple country family; or when after the unexpected declaration of war by the Poles, in the midst of mobilization of communists and workers, an explosion of an ammunition factory in Moscow tasked severely the nerves of the entire square. When I wished to learn about official machinery of the Soviet state administration, I did not put theoretical questions to one of the comrades in charge, but went to the square and acted in a conspicuous manner during the reading of military declarations, had myself arrested and brought to the "cherezvichayka", and submitted to an investigation among other prisoners and suspects—and only later showed my legitimation—and then received, in addition to another, a special permit from Lenin direct—and only then applied for theoretical, correct, general information to one of the comrades in charge of the local office. Those were my methods of observation.

I am not a phantast, and I made an effort to study Russia impartially. I cannot conceal, however, that the Russian Revolution had from its very beginning my love and confidence. I would also

\* Potemkin (1736-1791) was a favorite of the Russian empress Catherine II (1729-1796). On one of her journeys, to impress her with the prosperity of the country, Potemkin caused villages and roads to be hastily constructed and filled with bustling crowds.



like to have it distinctly understood that during my six weeks' stay in Russia, it was impossible for me to see all. On the other side, however, I want it made public, that my observations will in every case be verified. Quite some time before me, two highly intelligent, critical Czech comrades had been in Russia for the special purpose of a systematic study: Ivan Olbracht, the writer, and Dr. E. M. Vajtauer, grandate of Paris University, young, but greatly honored in French scientific circles as a scientific student of experimental psychology. These two will remain in Russia for several months longer. The great laboratory of social construction offers them inexhaustible material. They work day and night. All places are open to them. Ivan Olbracht, who has been studying the cultural organization in Moscow, was preparing, at the time of my departure, to accompany the Commissar of National Economy, Rykov, through some of the districts of central Russia, where preparation is being made for electrization of the state, and then to remain alone for a few weeks in one of the villages for the purpose of studying the life and conditions there. Dr. Vajtauer was preparing for a prolonged tour into the Urals and Siberia to inspect the political and economic systems there. Whoever fears that my prejudice would not permit me to give correct information, because of my love for the country of Russia and its proletariat, let him read my lines merely as a foundation for what after a short time other eyewitnesses shall say about Soviet Russia.

In what form shall I put down my impressions for the benefit of those who have the interest to listen to me? On this occasion I wish to request comrades not to ask me to meetings or to lectures. In a lecture, even though it might last for several hours, only opinions, deductions, and general outlines are possible. The fundamental gist of the Russian overthrow lies in its details, concreteness, genuineness. Only the aggregation of details, in which an isolated one would perhaps seem trifling, makes it possible to form a picture of what is happening in Russia. It would be my desire, while my brain still teems with the history-making atmosphere through which I have just passed, to publish a book of my impressions. It would of necessity have to be a book, rather large, for which, considering the high cost of production, it would be difficult to find a publisher, and the price of which would also hardly be within the reach of the poor, among whom, above anyone else I should like to find readers. It would also not be an artistic book, because I have neither the talent nor the time to do more than to state mechanically and adjust the notes which I jotted down during my nightly hours, without any regard to artistic construction, striving merely to reproduce everything photographically and with truthful reality. The material, however, is valuable partly because some of it is the first available to Western Europe, so that it would be a pity, if under pressure of work and everyday cares, it should be forgotten.

The first part of the material, therefore, I shall report journalistically in the *Svoboda* and the second part in the *Social Democrat*.

I dedicate these lines to the proletariat of Red Kladno. The name of this district is well-known in Russia. In a large meeting in Petrograd, from the midst of the audience, a note was handed to me on the platform from the Smolensk youth, requesting me to convey their greetings to the young comrades of Kladno. I was entrusted with the same message by the Pan-Russian Central Committee of Young People. Upon my departure all the representative members of the Moscow Soviet pressed my hand and sent their greetings to their Kladno comrades. There were crucial months when the fate of the socialistic republic hung in the balance, and the heads of not of tens but of hundreds of thousands of the Russian proletariat in Siberia and all Russia were at stake. At that time, terror-stricken, unable to grasp the situation, the entire working people of Russia looked upon us as the merciless, bloody gendarmes of the capitalistic world. At that time, Red Kladno saved the honor of our nation. While in Moscow I received proof that today the working masses of our legion in Siberia realized the truth and that the Russian struggle has their warmest sympathy—and they are grateful to the Kladno proletariat.

## II

### *In the Secretariat of the Party*

Moscow, April 15, 1920.

**A**FTER an interview at the International, I commenced with a visit to the Secretariat of the Communist Party. The Secretariat is situated in the Fourth House of the Soviet, in Moskovskaya Street, in the building of the former Hotel Peterhof. My guide and informant is Comrade Nevsky.

The first impression: The Secretariat has at its disposal twenty-six rooms, in which there are 120 employes. The walls are hung with diagrams (very complete), with maps of all Russian *gubernias*, with indicated places showing organization. In the largest hall there is a huge map showing organization in all of Russia. There are placards, slogans. Portraits of leaders of the Russian Revolution. And everywhere, in the most conspicuous places, as impressive as in life, are the likenesses of the dead leader and of the martyrs: Marx, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. There is something inexpressibly touching in this everpresent testimony of reverence and love.

A first glance falls upon the nearest diagrams. "Sostav Moskovskoy gorodskoy organizatsii R.K.P. po professii do partiynoy nedeli na octabr 1919 goda." During the most critical situation in Russia, last October, when Denikin was nearing Moscow, and when Yudenich advanced upon Petrograd, Moscow comrades organized a week for obtaining new members. Prior to this, an investigation of the old members was made, and those who were found unreliable were expelled en masse, and could not be reinstated. The most dependable ones were sent to the front. In Moscow there were at the time

only 13,287 party members, and as a result of the "party week" this number grew to 30,000. So large a number applied for membership, though they knew well that just as soon as they joined the organization, they could, after a period of training and after instruction in the principles, be sent to the front, though their terms did not fall into general mobilization, and that in the event of Denikin's entry into Moscow, certain death awaited each communist. The diagram shows the increase in the different categorical occupations: Among laborers the increase was from 5,122 to 11,036, former servants (waiters, etc.), from 2,078 to 4,165, among soldiers stationed in Moscow as a garrison, from 4,957 to 12,448, and among the intelligentsia from 443 to 1,569. Another diagram indicates the standing of membership in thirty-eight provinces (outside of Siberia, Ukraine and Turkestan). In all these provinces, propaganda-weeks were set aside for obtaining new members, from October, 1919, to January, 1920. After re-registration of members and elimination of those unreliable, there remained in this section but 120,000. After completion of the propaganda, this number was increased to 320,000. In October, the membership was lowest, not merely as a result of the process of elimination, but also because in the terrific battles on all fronts in 1919, a great number of the best comrades had fallen. Now the number of members is constantly increasing; with the liberation of Siberia and the Ukraine, the Secretariat showed to the present Party Congress a membership roll of 600,000. Among the members, fifty-two per cent are workers, twenty-five per cent soldiers, the rest are small agriculturists, intelligentsia and other various occupations. The standing of membership is made public and is strictly accurate, a falling-off is never concealed, diagrams are reproduced in the newspapers and given to organizations. I continue to examine diagrams of meetings, campaigns, diagrams of volunteer workers (party members) during their hours of leisure—Saturdays and Sundays. The newest diagram, still damp, shows the composition of the latest Ninth Party Congress just completed. This diagram has just been attached to the diagrams of all the other congresses.

Comrade Nevsky explains. The Secretariat has no special secretaries at its head, but its administration is entrusted to three members of the Central Committee (central executive body) of the party. At present Comrades Krestinsky, Serebryakov, Preobrazhensky, are in charge. The Secretariat has the following departments: 1. Agitation and Propaganda; 2. Registration of competent workers and their assignments all over the country; 3. Organization and Instruction; 4. Information and Statistics; 5. Work in the Villages; 6. Work among Laborers and Women in the Country; 7. For Minority Nationalities; 8. Office of the Directorate combined with the Department of Finance. Just at this time the Central Committee decided that the Department of Registration was to be enlarged so that each of the 600,000 mem-

bers in all Russia should have his own special card, upon which should be entered the chief data in his life, activity and possible offenses, etc. Further, there is now in press a general legitimation-book for the entire bulk of the party. The Communist Party of Russia is the only political party in the world which, not only in its tactics, but also in its organization, is guided by scientific principles. To attain the greatest success with the feeblest forces—only science can accomplish this. This is the secret of the success of the Russian Revolution. It is now twenty years since the party proved the possibility of overpowering Czarism with small circles. Today we are trying to become a strong machine in the struggle to change the private-capitalistic order into a socialistic one. For this reason we must combine the highest degree of knowledge with the practical experience of the working classes. We are led by tried, strong authorities. We are held together by iron discipline. According to present statutes (rules of organization) of the party, whoever wishes to become a member, must be recommended by two old members. He does not immediately become a member, merely a "sympathetic candidate" at first. Only after six months can the Executive Committee accept him as a member. As a candidate, he has the right to be present at all meetings (except secret ones), but he cannot vote. The workers and landless peasants, may, upon special recommendation, have this term shortened. Also during special propaganda "party weeks" members are accepted without these formalities. The greatest cooperation is offered by the All-Russian Congress, then comes the Central Executive Committee, after that the Executive Committee of the provinces, districts, and cities. The chief nucleus of the organization is then a village, a factory, an industrial enterprise, or a military division. In each of these units are communists, whose duty it is to form organizations. Even though there are but three, they are obliged to form a "yacheyka" (a group) to meet for consultation, to study all questions and to act in union. Discussions are entirely free. But once a decision is reached, everyone must work along the same plan. The decision of the highest institution must be carried out, without any protest.

Lately, Comrades Kalinin and Lisitsin have been added to the Secretariat. Each of them contributes something to the milieu of activity of organization and agitation. Moscow is divided into thirteen organized districts (parts), and in them there are altogether 680 groups, trade and local. Each district holds a meeting each Friday regularly. Ordinarily there are held at Moscow, in one month, 300 lectures and 500 meetings. In the event, however, of special campaigns (such as against Denikin) many more meetings are called. The propaganda must touch each and every inhabitant personally. The Executive Committee, for psychological reasons, lays great stress upon having the masses constantly occupied with some important idea. For that reason, nearly every

week some concrete slogan is sent into the party lines. "To arms against Denikin," "Yudenich must be defeated," "Front-week," "Week of the Wounded," "Week of Cleaning, General Bathing, Shaving and Hair-Cutting," "Week of Fight Against Spotted Typhoid and of Cleaning of Dwellings," "Week of Kindling-Wood," "Week of Transportation," "Week of Disabled Locomotives." Important slogans these; for the fulfillment of their text all forces must unite, and for their accomplishment the last session of the Party Congress has just devised the means. They are wholly designed for one purpose—to create a solid block of work, which is necessary for the construction of economic life.

In Moscow there are thirty-five party schools and thirty-nine schools directed by Soviets, which educate workers for Soviet functions. Both of these types of schools are combined, like two faculties in one university. Further, there is also here a Central School of the Party and a Central School of the Soviet. These institutions are a kind of Workers' University and bear the name of the dead Comrade Sverdlov. The students in these universities are selected and are the especially able and competent workers from Soviet organizations, from the country and from the army. They receive lodgings in Moscow, maintenance and stipendia. They attend six months' courses (a part three months) and then they are sent to responsible posts. At present there are 1,200 pupils in the central school. The teachers there are Lunacharsky, Pokrovsky, Bukharin and other first-class men. Should I have time, this afternoon, I shall look in to see their life and work. Comrade Nevsky offers to be my guide.

Correspondence between the central and the organization is huge. The Provincial and the District Executive Committees (not the local organizations) are obliged, after each meeting, to send a copy of the protocols to the Central Secretariat, so that their activity may be followed and controlled. In this work of control alone, there are a large number of comrades employed in the Secretariat. In individual districts, appointed agitators are always active. With them, too, regular and accurate correspondence is necessary. We examine more minutely the department for work in the rural districts, which is supervised by our guide Comrade Nevsky. He is about forty, smooth-shaven, has rather long hair, wears a white starched collar, is well dressed, and of a quiet cheerful expression. He spent eight years in the different prisons of the Czar. In answer to a question as to what actually is his occupation, he says with a smile: "Revolutionist". Otherwise, he had for three years been in his youth a *privatdozent* of mathematics in a university. He springs from a bourgeois merchant family. He spent but three months away from Russia (in Geneva). In 1917 he was President of the military organization in Petrograd, where, in Kalinov's rooms, with the cooperation of Podvoisky and Trotsky, all the military dispositions for the overthrow were worked out. When

he recalls those October days, he becomes animated and narrates in detail, and only after a while returns to his present agendum. In order to give us direct proofs, he reads to us several letters which he has just received. An organizer in one of the districts writes that the small local peasants are complaining that in requisitions they are exploited as compared with the large peasants, and that he has taken advantage of this and had organized them. A student in the Moscow University who was sent out to agitate in the villages describes his experiences, acquired by contact with the people, experiences still unknown in Moscow. Inasmuch as other agitators have had their experiences, he suggests that a conference of agitators be called. Nevsky expedites his answer, makes a memorandum of the suggestion for the Central Committee to the effect that a conference be called for the first Sunday in June. A Petrograd comrade, a metal worker, reports with what results he is organizing the most obscure village elements in Tula Province. The Caucasian region requests to be supplied with a propaganda automobile, with good men and literature. Comrade Nevsky says that in dealing with simple country folk, personal contact is necessary. They come here to Moscow from the villages, usually to ask for intervention with the different Soviet organs. We receive them, act for them, talk with them personally, and people who had come to Moscow indifferent, very often return home with at least a spark of interest for the principle, and supplied with literature. It requires a good deal of effort and patience of course, but it bears fruit. I myself, according to my memorandum, have received, in the past five and a half months, 5,500 country people.

To investigate other departments so minutely, was not possible because of lack of time. I am taking away with me about thirty pamphlets, brochures and diagrams designed for the organization and agitation work of the secretariat. Among this literature there are especially careful suggestions, resembling military service hints, for the organization of the rural districts, women and young people. At parting, Comrade Lisitsin reminds himself to say that the political education in the army is not directed by the Secretariat—for that purpose a large, independent institution has been established.

#### LONDON REPRESENTATIVE ON WRANGEL

"Anti-Bolshevik forces landed in the province of Kuban, east of the Sea of Azov, by General Baron Wrangel have been completely annihilated," says a statement issued on August 31 at London, by M. Kamenev, head of the Russian Soviet Trade Delegation.

"After defeating General Wrangel's forces Soviet troops cut their communications, surrounded them, and by a night raid destroyed their headquarters. In the northern part of Taurida province, General Wrangel's army is completely beaten. He now holds only Crimea."

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*  
**RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU**  
 110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**L**YING has always been the chief weapon of the opponents of the Soviet Government, both in Russia and abroad, and we are once more about to behold a resort to this weapon that will produce a general, almost epidemic expression of the wish that neither the art of printing, nor those of paper-making and newsfaking, had ever been invented. For the Soviet Government has now regrouped its army, after the setback at Warsaw a month ago, and is again advancing, after having retaken Grodno and Bialostok. It will be difficult to disprove the actual advances of the Soviet armies in this territory, and the capitalist news agencies are therefore resorting to other fields of "conquests." As yet they have left uncultivated the possibilities of an overthrow of the Soviets in Murmansk and Archangel, but have already served us with a huge uprising all over Siberia. Omsk, Tomsk, Novo-Nikolayevsk—to mention only a few of the names as we recall them from the New York newspaper reports of Sunday morning, August 29—are the scenes of revolutionary uprisings of the "maltreated" peasantry, against the "tyranny" of the Soviets. Only a year ago, by the way, all Siberia was groaning under the iron heel of Kolchak and his associates, and hundreds of revolutionary uprisings were breaking up the continuity of the great Trans-Siberian Railroad line, and clearing the ground for Kolchak's four thousand mile retreat across the face of Asia. These rebellions were carried out by poorly-armed peasants and deserters against trained troops of many nationalities, armed and equipped with the best products of European and American factories. Evidently the Siberian population must have been animated by the feeling that it was in the Soviet Government that it had a friend, and not in the hirelings of the Entente Governments. Is not the population of these regions the same? Does it not still know what it means to be under the control of the hangmen hired by Western Capitalism? The news agencies should use better discretion in selecting the news offered them for transmission, or should instruct their correspondents to choose more plausible scenes for insurrections against the authority of the Soviets.

**O**N ANOTHER page the reader will find a letter written last week to Mr. F. P. Keppel, at present head of the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. The subject of the letter is the reported proposal to send the children from New York, where they now are, to France, instead of to their homes near Petrograd, and its intention is to protest emphatically against this violation of the most rudimentary right of the children to a consideration of their actual family status. Nothing could be more hypocritical than the suggestion, in the reports concerning the reason for this deflection from the proper aim of the journey on which the children are about to set forth, that it will be possible in France to take steps to determine the present whereabouts of the parents or guardians of the children, none of whom have seen their relatives for two years (in some cases the period is even longer). As a matter of fact, there is no possibility of getting more reliable information concerning addresses in Russia than through the instrumentality of the Soviet Government, and, in the case of local matters, the self-governing administrations of its cities. To hope to get information concerning the children's parents in France is about as sensible as to hope to get it in Japan or in New York. The American Red Cross knows the addresses of the children; at least it has the addresses at which they were living when they left their homes in Petrograd two years ago; it has even printed an extensive list of these addresses, a copy of which is in our possession. What can it hope to add to this list by sending the children and the accompanying officials to France? France has much less direct communication with Soviet Russia than any other country in Europe: in England the Soviet Government has duly appointed representatives in their offices at 128 New Bond Street, London, who would be glad to do anything they could to get information from Petrograd or Moscow on this subject; Italy, Austria, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, have regular offices in their capital cities where Soviet representatives do business, and all of them have some sort of facilities for obtaining the forwarding of communications to and from Russia. It would be far more reasonable, therefore, to send the children to any one of these countries than to France, for France is openly at war with Soviet Russia, and what communication she has with Soviet Russia is concerned only with the recovery of money loaned to former Russian governments, and not with works of charity and humanity. It may be said without exaggeration that, owing to its selfish pursuit of this money which was lent to destroy the Russian Revolution, even before its birth, France has succeeded in outheroing Herod—in practicing more savage cruelties against citizens of Soviet Russia than any other country in the world, in addition to maintaining, in concert with the other "civilized" powers, a blockade against Soviet Russia that has had the cruel results that are well-known to the world. But to France has been reserved the dishonorable distinction of excelling

in direct physical brutalities against groups and individuals wherever she had anything to do with citizens of Soviet Russia.

The worst illustration of how brutal the French Government can be in dealing with its "enemies" is afforded by its treatment of the Russians in France. Perhaps 300,000 Russian soldiers were sent to France during the early stages of the World War, to aid in holding the Western Front against the German armies. They were treated, from the very outset, as "colonials", who must be exploited, very much as the East Indian troops were exploited by their English masters, but with this difference, that while the East Indian troops were sent home to India when they became disaffected, the Russians were retained in France even after two successive revolutions in their home country, in 1917, had made it impossible for them to continue fighting with conviction in an imperialistic war. Their refusals to fight had, however, begun even before the revolution. Mutinies had frequently broken out in their regiments, and it was in connection with one of these that Leon Trotsky, who was then editor of a Socialist paper appearing in Paris (*Nashe Slovo*), was expelled from France. Long after Russia had ceased to be an ally of France in the World War, the French military authority continued to demand service and obedience from these soldiers whom Czarism had delivered into their clutches. Refusals to do the bidding of the French tyrant resulted in individual executions and mass machine-gun massacres. The columns of this weekly, particularly in its second volume (January-June, 1920), have frequently told of these cruelties which continued long after the World War had ended. To this day, although some of the former Russian soldiers were returned to Russia after having consented to forcible enrolment in counter-revolutionary armies, many of these men are being held in France against their will, by the government of the nation that was the light of the world in 1790.

And the Russian children, who are in a peculiar sense the children of the Revolution—since they were among the first to benefit by its generous provisions for their welfare—are to be sent to the home of world reaction!

**M**AXIM GORKY was found by Mr. Bertrand Russell in bed, seriously ill. Mr. Russell, in his article "Soviet Russia—1920", reprinted in *The Nation*, New York, July 31, 1920, describes his meeting with Gorky in a manner calculated to produce the greatest possible discouragement among friends of Maxim Gorky and Soviet Russia. How Mr. Russell could say that "Gorky is dying," which he *said* chiefly in order to be able to add that intellectual life in Russia is also dying, seems more surprising now than ever, for the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* last week received a letter, dated Petrograd, July 7, 1920, and forwarded by way of Berlin, in which the writer, the German proletarian poet, Max Barthel, says among other things:

"And whom should I see, but Maxim Gorky, walking along, big, brown, hale and hearty, broadshouldered and wholesome. We press each other's hands. He urges me to come to see him."

Of course, neither Mr. Russell nor Mr. Barthel is telling an untruth. When Russell visited Gorky, he was sick in bed; when Barthel saw Gorky, he looked healthy and was walking around. Gorky's illness has had these ups and downs for years; it is unfortunate that Mr. Russell should have seized so eagerly an opportunity to discourage all those who see more in the possibilities of the new era than he does.

Perhaps Mr. Russell jumps at conclusions. Did he not tell us in his second article that he saw in the environs of Moscow enough cows to feed all the babies in Moscow? Let us hope his knowledge of cows and milk is better than his power of medical diagnosis.

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**M**AXIM GORKY has himself passed through an experience not unlike what Mr. Bertrand Russell is now having. In 1917, Gorky, who was temporarily estranged from the leading elements of the Bolshevik party, published a number of articles, attacking them, in his paper *Novaya Zhizn*, then appearing at Petrograd. Gorky, as is well-known, is no longer an opponent of the Soviet Government, in fact, he is one of its most useful workers, but not a day has passed in all the three years since those articles appeared, but it has seen the republication of at least one of these articles, as an alleged indication that Gorky was *still* an opponent of the Soviet authority. The *New York Tribune* was particularly active last year in putting such misrepresentations before its readers. And, by the way, it is possible that a new flood of Gorky "propaganda" of this sort may be about to issue forth, for the *Tribune* has again reprinted one of his sharpest rebukes of the Soviet Government, dating from 1917, but with the insinuation that Gorky wrote it very recently. Probably, if Gorky should some day become President of the Council of People's Commissars, he would still continue to be quoted in the *Tribune* as an "Anti-Bolshevik." Already Mr. Russell has withdrawn some of his casual strictures on the Soviet Government (for instance, the one in which he suggested that the Soviet Government did not encourage the arts: see letter to *The Nation*, New York, August 14), but he might now write the most glowing laudation of its work, and he will yet go down in history, at least in the yellow press, as an opponent of the Soviet Government. In attempting to be "fair", it is well for the liberal to remember which of his delicately balanced half-truths will be most efficiently press-agented by the side that has at present all the money and all the newspapers.

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**T**HE *Index for Volume II of SOVIET RUSSIA (January to June, 1920)* is now ready. It will be sent to all subscribers; those who buy it on the stands may obtain the *Index* by sending in a written request for it.

## A Letter to the American Red Cross

[On August 30, Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, sent the following letter to the American Red Cross, of which copies were sent to the principal New York newspapers. We are reprinting the letter here, as not all of the newspapers to which it was sent have printed it.]

Mr. F. P. Keppel,  
Vice-Chairman, American Red Cross,  
National Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Dear sir:

I learn from New York newspapers of Saturday morning, August 26, that the Russian children who have arrived in New York on board the Japanese steamer, *Yomei Maru*, and who, I had understood, were to be returned to Petrograd, their home, are to be sent to France instead, and that steps are there to be taken to learn the present addresses of their parents or other relatives.

This news must arouse the indignation of every fair-minded person. These children have not seen their parents for more than two years. All of them were living, in 1918, in the vicinity of Petrograd and were sent by the Soviet Government in the summer of that year to the Urals, in order that they might enjoy a care and a diet such as could not then be provided in Petrograd. The Soviet Government has always been eager to give to children the best opportunity to grow into healthy manhood and womanhood. But the children of these colonies, unfortunately, have not remained under the care of the Soviet Government. When the Czecho-Slovaks began their campaign against Soviet Russia, late in 1918, their operations cut off these colonies of children from communication with European Russia, and as Kolchak and his Czecho-Slovak allies were then already beginning their retreat, the children were moved along with the retreating armies across Siberia in the great military migration that was to result in the restoration of almost all Siberia to the Soviet Republic. The Soviet Government, as well as committees of the parents of the children, during this retreat, frequently demanded of the Kolchak generals that the children be returned to Petrograd instead of being dragged away across the entire breadth of Siberia, but all was of no avail. They were shifted about in the vicinity of Vladivostok and finally the remnants of the party, after disease and death had decimated their ranks, were interned on Russki Island, opposite Vladivostok, whence 780 have been brought to New York by the American Red Cross, on the Japanese steamer *Yomei Maru*.

Now that they have literally encircled the globe, and have been hoping that after two years of separation they might again see their parents and homes, I am informed that these children are to be sent, not to Petrograd—and all of them lived at addresses in the vicinity of Petrograd, as the American Red Cross indicates in its list of the addresses of the children's relatives—but to the port of Bordeaux, France. It is a cruelty to the children and to their parents not to return them

to their homes, and it is an indication of the grossest neglect of the interests of the children, and of the utmost indifference to their fate, to undertake to forward them to France, the last country in the world that will pay any attention to the needs of children who are citizens of the Russian Soviet Republic.

France has shown what is her attitude to Soviet Russia. The France which is egging on the Poles to crush the Soviet Republic is not a country that will show much solicitude for the welfare of Russian children who are eager to reach their homes in Soviet Russia.

I know very well that these children are anxious to go home. I know, from many conversations with the children that have been reported to me, that none of them want to go to France. It is the duty of the American Red Cross to send them to their home in Russia and not to a country which is in fact at war with Soviet Russia.

I am ready to make every effort to get in touch with the Russian Soviet Government without delay, in order to arrange for the return of the children to their homes in Petrograd, in which the Russian Soviet Government, ever solicitous of the welfare of the rising generation, will be more than anxious to aid me. And I demand that these children be sent, not to France, but to Russia, and that if the American Red Cross cannot immediately decide to seek contact with the Russian Soviet Government through me for this purpose, the children be allowed to remain in New York rather than forwarded to France, until the question of a suitable method of their return to Petrograd may be properly solved.

Yours truly, L. C. A. K. MARTENS,  
*Representative in the United States of the  
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.*

### ITALY AND RUSSIA

Moscow, July 26.—Two Italian steamers arrived yesterday at Odessa, bringing medicaments and surgical instruments for Soviet Russia, valued at 2,000,000 lire. A portion of this material is donated by the Italian Red Cross. Red Cross Missions from Italy will depart for Soviet Russia in the near future in order to fight epidemics.

Among the passengers on the steamer were a reporter of the Roman newspaper *Tempo*, and the delegate of the Italian Socialist Party, Rondoni, who will leave for Moscow in a day or so. Rondoni is to deliver a congratulatory message from the Italian Government to negotiate at Moscow both in the matter of the exchange of prisoners of war, and in that of establishing maritime traffic between Odessa and Naples, thus resuming commercial relations with the Soviet Government.

## A Logician's Report

By WILLIAM MARIAS MALISSOV

**MR. BERTRAND RUSSELL'S** hell is formal logic. And he has but himself to blame. Were he to retranslate his observations of Soviet Russia into the original symbolic postulates of his fertile mind, there would really result a work shorn both of fact and of hope, a work that would appeal to neither scientist nor optimist.

It has occurred to me to point out some few of the leading propositions that transcend fact and inquiry:

- Prop. 1. Revolutions are exchanges of power largely and merely due to boldness and violence.
- Prop. 2. There is nothing new under the sun. (Analogies are the basis of conviction.)
- Prop. 3. There is no progress.
- Prop. 4. There is no evolution, just change. (To hope for a change is futile; better not hope.)
- Prop. 5. Men are fundamentally bad. Corollary: Men's faults will spoil a system. Their virtues, although they may be mentioned for the sake of fairness, have no results at all.
- Prop. 6. All action is narrow. (How else would it be action?)
- Prop. 7. Sincerity exists only on the ideal plane. (In action it is bound to be fanaticism.)
- Prop. 8. All men are deluded. (It might follow that one is not. At any rate a psychic weakness is detectable in the greatest.)
- Prop. 9. Nationalism is natural and instinctive.
- Prop. 10. Ordinary men, like peasants, understand practically nothing. (Aristocracy is bad.)

With this decalogue, reader, all sailing becomes easy. No squalls need affright the five-week-old explorer.

Before we proceed, however,—and the “before we proceed’s” are characteristic of logistic—let us mention “principles”:

1. It is necessary to start with an analysis, but apparently not necessary to follow it.
2. It is necessary to be aware of the other side, because all ideas are divisible in two, viz. those I approve of and those I do not. Synthetic observation is for poets.
3. It is not necessary to use statistical knowledge if plausibility is assured. Deduction is more fundamental than induction.
4. A consciousness of lack of information will make up for that lack. All Anglo-Saxons should admire the poise of mind that confesses ignorance while it dogmatizes ad libitum.
5. Most people will accept innuendo for argument—it is well to remember.

Well, then. At analysis Mr. Russell is quite a mind. Soon enough he realizes that Russia should not be compared to England or France, but to Germany and Hungary. Now see principle 1. It is not necessary to sustain one's honest analysis . . . Of course there are evils in Russia. Analysis, again, shows them to be principally due to the war and to the blockade, therefore . . . again see principle 1. It is not necessary to sustain one's honest analysis, not at least till the second article.

We might now collect some careless phrases that are innuendo—see principle 5. “Everything was done to make us feel like the Prince of Wales” is malicious cleverness for the idea of hospitality; “propaganda meetings” antedates 1688 because it is hardly tolerant, although it is stated, “we were all allowed complete freedom to see politicians of opposition parties.” These, later, degenerate into hostile generalizations about Russian laziness and activity, Communist internationalism and nationalism, Communist self-denial and parasitism, Communist sincerity and insincerity, this and that, yes and no. Indeed, so far, Mr. Russell has already gone on record as retracting his own grossly exaggerated statements about the status of art in Russia.

An illustrative example of Mr. Russell's consistency of thought must be emphasized. The Communist: “In spite of his position of power and his control of supplies, he lives an austere life. He is not pursuing personal ends, but aiming at the creation of a new social order.” . . . A moment later, “In a thousand ways the Communists have a life which is happier than the rest of the community.” Yes, the older Commun-

ists are “honest men” yet “their own materialistic theory should persuade them that under such a system corruption must be rampant.” Another class of Communists is “working for success and power, not for money,” and “the harsh discipline to which they are subjecting the workers is calculated, if anything can, to give them the habits of industry and honesty which have hitherto been lacking.” And finally, deductive logic wins, “With success would come increased opportunities of corruption, and of exploitation of undeveloped countries, I cannot believe that these temptations would be permanently resisted.” The cat is out of the bag—IT WAS ALL DEDUCED!

Many more drifts of reasoning like that, from assumed propositions—and not a particle of evidence! Most of the pseudo-facts—Mr. Russell ought to be challenged—are further apparent parrotings of complaints of disgruntled partisans, as talk of “friends”, “permits”, the reactionary version of Russian skepticism about the Allies being really the insincerity of the Bolsheviki; vague fears for the “heritage of civilization” and shuddering at an alleged “death of culture”—one feels that it was proper for Lenin to wave them aside as bourgeois prejudices—indicate clearly that at least four of the five weeks Mr. Russell spent with partisan opponents of the government, or . . . despair! Indeed there is no distinct indication in most cases of any personal observation. Mr. Russell really refutes his own facts.

Unfortunately at one point in particular this unscientific gossip degenerates into a shameful charge and a nasty innuendo—without semblance of proof or understanding of the seriousness of the presentation of such a charge in vacuo—(about the Extraordinary Commission)—“it has shot thousands without trial, and though now it has nominally lost the power of inflicting the death penalty, it is by no means certain that it has altogether lost it in fact.” There is hardly any use presenting counter-evidence to mere allegation that is clearly bad-natured.

Mr. Russell throughout seems to be unaware of how weak his demonstrations are from an inductive point of view. Entirely unaccustomed to the discipline of observation of the natural scientist, he does not hesitate to estimate the relative fatness of the populace of Petrograd and that of Moscow! It is astonishing what even a cautious man will see once he has convinced himself by deduction as to what he ought to see. It is similarly possible to avoid seeing. What! Has Mr. Russell not a single word to say about the program of education in Soviet Russia? How is science faring? What of the standards of living, hygiene? Are there no practical attempts to cure inherited and new evils? Has literacy gone up, is Communism being explained, any happiness?

It is something of a relief to find Mr. Russell in his second article confessing the motives underlying his selective presentation. He fears Lenin's Ironsides, wants quiet and none of that horrible emotionalism. It is not unnatural then to speak of Russia's being “not yet ready,” that is, practically to present the old Czarist argument, which we have recently heard from Baron Rosen. Ah well, aristocratic Mr. Russell does not know Russia, especially a proletarian Russia. He even finds it necessary to repudiate his statement that nationalism is natural and instinctive when he states that the “peasants are too ignorant to have any national consciousness.” This is entirely the proper tremolo in which to end an opinionated piece of work. Clever as it is and seductive as it is in its sweep and stand-me-up-before-the-Lord judiciousness, it must be condemned as unscientific, since it preordains observation by deduction; and as sullenly, squeakily pessimistic, since it is hostile to action and life-giving hope.

## Claims on the Russian Gold

By PROF. A. YASHCHENKO

[The following is an almost complete translation of an article which appeared on June 12 in "Golos Rossyi", a decidedly anti-Bolshevik newspaper, printed in Berlin.]

**I**N REGARD to the London negotiations with People's Commissar Krassin concerning the resumption of trade relations with Russia, and in connection with the question of gold payments for the first deliveries to Russia, energetic opposition has been voiced in the European press, and is, apparently, also entertained in certain official (particularly French) circles against the right of the Russian Government to dispose of the Russian gold reserve.

Numerous claims have been made on this gold reserve by creditors and "heirs". Of the latter (various border states) it is yet too early to speak. Russia, thank Heavens! is not yet dead, and the too hasty "heirs" may be committing a very grave mistake in their rash calculations on a speedy demise and on a rich inheritance. But the question of the countless creditors presenting their loan claims to Russia is becoming a matter of immediate interest, and it is quite timely to analyze the legal basis of these claims.

The leading place among Russia's creditors belongs to France. France supplied Russia with money almost from the very beginning of the Franco-Russian alliance. Russia's foreign loans were placed almost exclusively on the Paris stock-exchange. The total debt is considerably higher than the whole Russian gold reserve. The Russian loans in France were given a patriotic character and were placed among small subscribers, and quite often the Russian bonds made their way into the hands of prosperous workmen and peasants. France is aroused against the Soviet regime most of all by the latter's refusal to pay the loans made by the Czarist government. The stubborn hostility of France to Soviet Russia arises, in the last analysis, not so much from the aversion of the French bourgeoisie to the political principles of Bolshevism as from her fears of losing the money which she loaned to Russia.

Then comes the debt to England, consisting of England's charges for the military supplies furnished to Russia during the war.

Thirdly, Roumania demands her gold reserve, about 100 million rubles, which was removed to Russia at the time of the German invasion and remained there.

Finally, there are the claims by nationals of different countries—allied and neutral—for indemnification for the losses which they suffered owing to 1, expropriations based on Soviet decrees, and 2, destruction, seizures and looting during the revolution and the civil war.

From the standpoint of jurisprudence the question of foreign loans has not been solved by the decree of the Soviet Government simply annulling

them. A loan must be paid. An internal revolution does not affect this at all. The new revolutionary government may abolish vested rights only within the country, within its jurisdiction, but it cannot alone repudiate the obligations undertaken by the former government. Otherwise, the overthrow of a government would provide a convenient way to get rid of obligations. International loans can be annulled only in the case of a world revolution. Since there was no world revolution the decree of the Soviet Government repudiating its debts has no legal force with respect to other nations.

It would be unjust, however, to accuse the Soviet Government of completely ignoring this elementary legal principle. During the negotiations of 1918 in Berlin, with regard to the application of the Brest-Litovsk treaty it recognized the debt claims of Germany and determined their size by a definitely fixed total amount—*Pauschalsumme*. In the peace offer addressed in February, 1919, to all the Entente countries the Soviet Government agreed to recognize in principle the old debts of Russia.

It should not, however, be inferred from this that France can, without much ado, demand that Russia pay the full amount of the Russian debt. We should not overlook the counter-claims of Russia on France.

The principal part of these claims would be based on the losses which Russia suffered owing to the fact that France (together with England) intervened in (if they did not cause) the civil war in Russia.

France and England openly took sides in Russia with one of the belligerents in the civil war. In 1918 the Allied missions were the centers of counter-revolutionary conspiracies. Later France, England and Japan helped to organize the civil war. They sent troops and ammunition to North Russia, to Kolchak in Siberia, to Denikin in South Russia,—and loaned them money. Soviet Russia was subjected to a blockade. The civil war in Russia caused immeasurable destruction, and it is impossible at present to estimate it even approximately: the loss of men who perished in the battles or from disease and starvation, financial expenditures, destruction of goods, loss of human labor, destruction of buildings and of all kinds of constructions.

The essential feature, from the legal standpoint, is the fact that France and England, in this case, openly violated the neutrality with respect to one of the contending sides. Russia should be indemnified for the losses which she suffered thanks to this violation of neutrality. These counter-claims of Russia on her creditors are so vast that they



can hardly be covered by merely canceling the old debts of Russia.

During the Civil War in the United States England allowed the arming in her territory of the privateer ships of the southern states which were attacking the ships of the northern states, and when the Civil War ended in a victory for the North, the United States demanded of England reimbursement for the losses caused by this violation of neutrality. England had to satisfy this demand, and by the decision of the Alabama arbitration court was forced to pay a considerable compensation.

From the legal standpoint, the situation in the present case is not different, with this exception, of course,—that the losses are much greater and the violation of neutrality more obvious, having reached actual warfare, though without a declaration of war. The French and the English have no reason to raise the legal question of Russia's debts. From the standpoint of international law this case would not end to the advantage of these countries.

As to the loans and supplies which England furnished to Russia during the common war against Germany and which she apparently calculates at 600 million pounds,—these loans were given for the needs of the war in which England fought against Germany. During the first years of the war, while Russia and France were bleeding to death, England—feeling more secure on her islands—contented herself with loaning money and munitions to her allies, on the pretext that she had no compulsory military service. This alone was immoral—that while some countries were giving their manhood, others should only give their pounds. After the war, England grabbed the lion's share in the division of the war booty. And now it turns out that Russia, who, Thank God! has taken no part in this feast—is yet to pay over six billion rubles in gold for the English cannon and rifles which were meant, first of all, to save England herself, and which enabled her to seize all the German colonies, the whole German fleet, and the Turkish petroleum wells.

The next among Russia's old debt obligations is the Roumanian gold which was removed to Russia during the war. However, it is usually overlooked that when Germany signed the armistice with the Allies in November, 1918, she bound herself, according to one of the armistice conditions, to turn over to the Allies the gold which she received from Russia, amounting to about 100 millions. This gold was described in the armistice terms as the Roumanian gold, and the Allies bound themselves to return it to its owner. We do not know what has become of this gold. Apparently it is held at Paris. At any rate the Roumanians ought to direct their inquiries, first of all, to Paris and London. Besides, among the Russian-Roumanian reciprocal claims there is the question of Bessarabia,—a rather ticklish question for Roumania.

Finally, there still remains the question regarding the indemnification of nationals of different countries—Allied and neutral—who suffered in the course of the revolution and the civil war.

These losses belong to two main categories.

Some of them were caused by the decrees of the Soviet Government which aimed at the expropriation and socialization of different kinds of capitalist property. Is Russia obliged to reimburse these losses? It is a debatable question. On the one hand, these confiscations were of a general legislative character, were directed at all persons residing on the territory of the Russian state, and did not separate foreigners into a special category. Every government of a sovereign state has a right to pass within its territory any laws which it deems just and expedient. Foreigners may only demand that they should not be placed in a worse position than the natives, but no more than this. They cannot claim special privileges.

The other losses of foreigners in Russia belong to the loss of property owing to the civil war, looting, destruction, etc.

According to the principles of international law, with regard to the indemnification of those who suffered through the actions of private persons the state is only obliged, if possible, to punish the responsible persons and to make them pay for the harm caused by them. Beyond this the state has no responsibility for the actions of private persons, and, in particular, the state is not obliged to indemnify for these losses if the responsible persons are unable to do so. The same principle applies in the case of violations during insurrection or civil strife. Private persons entering a foreign country assume the risk of possible insurrections or riots, just as they assume the risk of other misfortunes—earthquakes, epidemics, floods, etc.

As to the losses suffered by foreigners through the action of the governmental agencies or troops during the suppression of an insurrection or riots, the prevailing practice of international law recognizes no obligation on the part of the state in which civil war occurred to reimburse the losses of private persons. If now and then states must such reimbursements, it was only as voluntary contribution to the victim and not as a legal obligation. This principle was promulgated in a number of international treaties which we cannot cite here.

The whole question of the reciprocal claims of Russia and of the foreign nations is very complicated and will probably require a special conference at the proper time. At any rate, the claims which are advanced at the present time by the Allies are one sided and do not at all reflect the real position of this question. The representatives of the Russian nation should remember this and should defend with all their energy their indisputable right.

## The Polish Advance

By N. A. GREDESKUL

(Professor of the University of Petrograd and Kharkov, and former Vice-Chairman of the First Imperial Duma. He is a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party.)

The Polish attack has totally altered our internal position and external relations.

Internally we have just put an end to the civil war. This war has resulted in a complete victory for the Soviet Power. Its result brought the complete solution of our internal quarrel after the assaults on the present regime by Kolchak and Denikin, who opposed it, not as individuals, but claimed to be representatives of governments of an all-Russian importance.

The solution of our internal dispute has given us the possibility of passing from war and destructive conditions to constructive and creative work. This constructive work must be on Socialist lines. On the ruins of the former life and culture, a new life and culture must be built. We can and must go in this direction because it is now our right, bought at a heavy historical price. The whole price has been paid, all obstacles done away with—we can begin with the realization of the big social revolution, in the name of which we must give the necessary organization and power to liberated labor, we must accomplish that which is of enormous importance not only to Russia, but to the whole world.

And now we are suddenly confronted with an alien external force, which is again dragging us into war—which prevents us from building our Socialist state and compels us to divert our whole activity to the business of war.

And what is the pretext under which it is being carried on?

In order to destroy Bolshevism; in order to prevent the accomplishment of the Social Revolution in Russia; in order not to allow the Russian people to live and manage as they choose.

But this is not all. There is still another reason, and that reason is simply plunder and conquest.

The Soviet Power, having for its aim the solution of internal problems, is prepared for all sorts of concessions. It is prepared to make peace, sacrificing, of its own desire, nothing that belongs to anyone else. The peace with Esthonia has sufficiently proved this. But Poland is not satisfied with such conditions. She simply thirsts for plunder—territorial, ethnographic and economic. And there is no limit to her appetite.

Brussilov is absolutely right when he says in his appeal to the Russian officers that the attack means not only the plundering of Russia, but its total destruction.

In case of Polish victory, Russia will undoubtedly be torn to pieces under the pretext of fighting Bolshevism, and will be subject to the domination of foreign powers, which will exploit her and take away from her everything they can carry with them.

And they will come to make order and will mock us physically and morally . . . "Know, barbarians, what it means to rise against 'Culture' and 'Freedom'."

But as we said before the Polish attack has altered our relations with the Entente, or at least with their governments. As long as our civil war lasted they were able to wear the mask of friends of Russia, and to help Kolchak and Denikin at the same time. They were able to say that they preferred only that particular government and only from it can they expect the restoration of Russia. What can they say now? Can they say they are helping Russia? Or that they wish to restore Russia with Polish arms? No, they do not say such things now. They say that they are saving Poland from an attack by Bolshevik Russia. The hypocrisy remains, but one mask has been thrown off and exchanged for a new one. What is then our position, those of us who are in Russia, no matter who we are?

We have to go voluntarily, with complete self-denial, wherever the government of the Russia of the workers and peasants instructs us to go, to serve not through fear but conscientiously.

The Russian officers will do all that they can at the front, and we—the Russian Intelligentsia—will help them at home, on the labor front. Without a strong, a comradesly, energetic, and productive rear the officers cannot fulfill their duty. Their efforts to save Russia would then be vain. Thus there is but one duty.

We must have complete unity, we must have concerted action against the attack undertaken against us by European Capitalism. This complete unity and concerted action internally depends mostly upon the intelligentsia.

The intelligentsia must understand this and take the credit or the responsibility for their policy.

The Russian officers have determined their position in the Soviet Government; so must the Intelligentsia.—*Izvestia*, June 5, 1920.

### A POLISH COMMUNIST APPEAL

To the workers of all countries:

The crushing victory of the Red Army, the precipitate retreat of the Polish forces sent to conquer Ukraine, has caused violent repercussion in the interior politics of Poland.

The two conceptions of Polish imperialism, the one of annexation pure and simple (Dmowsky), and the other disguised under the formula of the "liberation" of Ukraine and White Russia, are in harmony. Both of them are equally evil. There are no longer any differences in the bourgeois camp of Poland.

All the privileged classes, all the profiteers of the present regime form nothing but one reactionary block against all the workers. The counter-revolution,

ashamed of defeat, incited by the fear of its consequences, is blind, ferocious, and is ready for anything.

We, adherents of the party which alone is capable, through fraternal collaboration with the proletariat of our neighboring countries, of putting an end to war, famine and epidemics, which alone will be able to bring about, with the Socialist order, the peace so much desired in this unfortunate country, we, Polish Communists, appeal to the world.

It is necessary that you should know under what conditions we pursue our work for the safety and emancipation of the working class.

A state of siege is proclaimed throughout the entire country. The legal press of the workers, even of the pure and simple trade unions, is suppressed, at least those that do not bear the protective label of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party). The troops and detachments of gendarmes invade trade union meetings, demolishing the interior and arresting all the officials. In certain localities, such as at the works of Starachowice, the workers have replied to the provocations of the soldiers with a general strike and have retaken arrested comrades by physical force. The resistance of the workers is often paralyzed by the National Socialists of the P. P. S., whose leaders forestall the governmental repression as a means of freeing themselves from revolutionary opponents and recovering their waning influence over the working class.

At the trade union meetings, all those who dare raise their voices against the patriotic propositions of the partisans of the P. P. S. are arrested, either on leaving the meeting, or some hours later, by the agents of "law and order" (military gendarmes) and disappear in the infected prisons of the bourgeois republic. The prisoners are always beaten, insulted and often subjected to tortures.

Since the formation of the volunteer army, the streets have been in the possession of armed bands of the young bourgeois, school-boys, students, who, in company with outcasts of society of all kinds, are organized for civil war. Patriotism is extorted from the passers-by at the point of the bayonet. It is sufficient for one not to manifest chauvinistic sentiments before one of the ribald placards against the Soviets, covering the walls at each step, to be treated as a "Bolshevik."

Rumors are circulating that French colonial troops will soon arrive to reinforce the Polish army. These black troops will be utilized, without the least doubt, to keep in awe the Polish working class. It is for our French comrades to take effective measures to prevent such a disgrace.

Lately there has begun the transportation of hundreds of Communist prisoners from the overcrowded prisons and fortresses to an unknown destination. To the relatives of the prisoners all information about their new destination was refused. It appears that one party of prisoners has been transferred to the detention camp where the prisoners of the Red Army are detained. The typhoid fever there made such ravages that to stay in that place amounts to being condemned to death. Besides, the gendarmes and the military openly declare that at the first sign of a revolution all the notorious Communists that are found in their hands will immediately be executed.

Comrades! Socialist opinion throughout the world is already a power. Do not wait until there are repeated at home the unheard of scenes of barbarism of Hungary. In nearby regions at the front the blood of the workers and peasants flows ever and anon. Some thousands of prisoners of the class struggle are at the mercy of the reactionary brutes who do not spare them.

The white terror rules our country.  
Proletarians of the world, raise your voice!  
Act, act, without delay!

*The Central Committee of the Polish Communist  
Labor Party.*

Warsaw, July 14, 1920.

## SOVIET RUSSIA AND PERSIA

*An Order of the Day Issued by Trotsky*

The revolutionary council of the Persian Red Army, which is now fighting foreign and internal oppressors, has sent the following greeting to our Red Army:

"The Revolutionary War Council of the Persian Republic, organized upon the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of Persia, sends its sincere greetings to the Red Army and Red Navy. After passing through great hardships, and undergoing all kinds of privations, we succeeded in crushing our internal counter-revolution, which was merely a hireling of international capitalism. By the will of the toiling people there was organized in Persia a soviet power which began the creating of a Persian Red Army, built upon the principles of the Russian Red Army, with the purpose of destroying the enslavers of the Persian people.

"Long live the fraternal union between the Russian Red Army and the young Persian Army! Long live the union of the toilers of the world, the Third International!"

*Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council,*

KUCHUK-MIRZA.

*Commander of the Armed Forces,*

ESKHANULA.

*Member of the Revolutionary War Council,*

MUZA-FORZADE.

The following reply to this was sent in the name of the Russian Red Army:

"The news of the creation of the Persian Red Army has filled our hearts with joy. During the last decade and a half the toiling people of Persia has been struggling hard for its freedom. It has thus proved to all the world its right to this freedom. In the name of the workers' Red Army of Russia I express my firm conviction that, under the guidance of your Revolutionary War Council, Persia will conquer for itself the right to freedom, independence and fraternal toil.

"Long live the free toiling people of Persia as well as the families of free peoples of Asia and the whole world!"

*In bringing to the knowledge of the Red soldiers this exchange of fraternal greetings, I express my firm belief that from now on the bonds between the revolutionary armies of Persia and Russia will grow and become stronger, to the great advantage of the toiling masses of all countries.*

*Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council  
of the Republic,*

L. TROTSKY.

## WOMEN OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

*(From Memoirs of the Czech Legionary M. . . .)*

. . . We were advancing, everything was peaceful, no signs of the Bolsheviks. Suddenly we were surprised by shooting from a machine-gun. Bullets flew too high, the gun firing was unsteady, and we knew that it was being handled by a novice. I saw that it was a woman. I made a

side-attack upon her and called to her to surrender. She did not obey, but continued to fire. I did not want to bayonet a woman, and, therefore, struck her with the butt of my rifle. She shuddered, but continued to fire. I, therefore, struck her harder and took her prisoner. When later we became engaged in a battle, she nursed our wounded. After the battle, the boys held a consultation as to what to do with her. They suggested something too horrible to express in words. I shuddered and said to them: No, boys, only over my dead body! She was with us a few days, but I feared for her safety as I could not always stand guard over her. I, therefore, brought her before the commanding officer, and reported that this woman wanted to take care of our wounded. I received orders to do away with her at once, no matter in what manner. I took with me two boys and ordered them to be prepared, that we would lead her through the woods; they were to walk behind and in a favorable place they were to fire the shots so that she should suspect nothing. I told the woman to get ready, that she was to go with me. "I know where you are taking me," she said with a calm smile, "you are going to kill me." I denied this and told her that we were going to an investigation. I led her through the woods and chatted with her so that she should not suspect anything. Suddenly we heard a faint sound of the pulling of triggers. She turned around and said calmly with a smile: "Do you see, I knew very well that you were bringing me to my death." She turned to the boys and, uncovering her bosom said: "Fire, you will kill me but you cannot kill my ideal!" I was mortified and could not give the order to shoot. Here before me stood an illiterate Russian woman, of whom the strength of her conviction made a saint and I—I am supposed to be helping the Russian people? . . . Turn back, boys, I shall not do it! When we returned, I turned her over to my comrade of another division and told him everything. He was able to smuggle her away—into the city.

After a time, we were retreating—the communists were victorious. By chance, while retreating, I met the same woman in the city. She recognized me immediately and said with her calm smile: "Did I not tell you, that time in the woods, that our ideal would be victorious?" Tears dimmed my eyes. We continued to retreat.

### COMPOSITION OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET

The *Communist Toil* of June 7 quotes the following figures as to the composition of the Moscow Soviet: 1,339 men and 133 women. Of the total membership, 1,220 are communists, forty-six belong to various socialist parties, and 156 are non-partisan. According to their occupations the members of the Soviet are grouped as follows: sixty-seven office employes, fifteen physicians, eight students; the other members are mostly workmen.

### DYING FOR THE CZAR

The Sebastopol *Velikaya Rossia* of May 22 printed the following obituary notice:

"On the eve of the regimental holiday of the horse-guard regiment of the life guard, on May 23, a requiem mass will be held in the Cathedral of St. Vladimir in honor of the officers and soldiers of the regiment who had died for the Faith, Czar, and Country."

The Simferopol *Yuzhniye Viedomosti* took editorial note of this announcement, wondering for which czar the horse guards have died.

In reply to this the officers of the above regiment sent the following brief but explicit letter to the editors of the *Yuzhniye Viedomosti*:

"The horse-guards always died and are dying for that Russian Czar who was and who some day will again be."

### FINNISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS DEMANDS PEACE WITH RUSSIA

HELSINGFORS, May 31 (Rosta).—The Congress of the Finnish Trade Union Organizations adopted the following resolution on peace with Soviet Russia, which was proposed by the Organization Commission:

"Whereas, a state of war between Finland and Russia is still maintained, despite the resulting economic disturbance and uncertainty in the country; and

"Whereas, the peace offers made by Russia were not received sympathetically by the Finnish Government, which seemed to be watching for a convenient opportunity to attack Soviet Russia;

"Therefore, The Congress of the Trade Union Organizations demands that all procrastinations definitely cease and that steps be immediately taken for the conclusion of a real peace, for only this will open the way for the improvement of the economic life of the country and of the conditions of the workers. After the conclusion of a sound and lasting peace the military fortifications will become superfluous, the force of the army should be immediately reduced, reducing at the same time the expenditures for military purposes, and gradually the useless expenditure of labor energy for the manufacturing of military equipment should be done away with."—*Pravda*, June 6, 1920.

### THE PROTECTION OF LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By S. KAPLUN  
of the Commissariat of Labor

This pamphlet, reprinted for the first time from an English translation that appeared in Petrograd this year, is an authoritative study of the actual operation of the Code of Labor Laws, which has already been reprinted by us in pamphlet form.

Price Ten Cents

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 W. 40th St. Room 304 New York, N. Y.

## The First Workers' Commune in Moscow

**A**MONG our proletariat, especially among the women, there is still to be found a deep-rooted dislike of social housekeeping. For this reason it is interesting to observe how there developed in the workers' communes of Russia new forms of social organizations which are intended to replace our primitive, old fashioned ways of keeping house. The following article will give the reader a picture of the first workers' commune in Moscow:

In the heart of the city is located Moscow's first residence commune. It comprises a group of about twenty houses, four to five stories in height; this block of houses was well-known as the "Bakhru Houses" (so named after the former owner). Today they bear the proud title "First Moscow Workers' Commune."

At the beginning of the Revolution these houses were socialized by the city and turned over to the bakers' union for their use. They in turn established the commune. All apartments, even those which were vacated by former tenants, are completely furnished. Tenants remaining in the building were assigned only as many rooms as they actually needed for their families. All superfluous rooms had to be vacated, together with all their furniture.

These vacant apartments and rooms were turned over to the bakers and other workers, as well as to Soviet officials and their families. The rent is proportionately low and evenly divided among all tenants; in fact, only enough is collected to cover the necessary expenses for the maintenance of the houses.

The commune is supervised by a house committee which is elected every six months at a meeting participated in by all the tenants. (Excepted are workers in technical branches.) Included in the house committee are an engineer, whose duty it is to see that the houses are properly maintained, and a physician who watches over sanitary conditions in the commune. A few men to make necessary repairs in the houses are also employed: mechanics, roofers, carpenters, etc., but no one receives pay.

In the commune are located a bakery and a store for the sale of foodstuffs, conducted in conjunction with the municipal consumers' league. The house committee is represented in both organizations. The members of the commune also receive cards through the committee, which enable them to obtain various textile goods. These manufactured goods, clothing, shoes, hats, etc., are distributed through the warehouses of the municipal consumers' league. Members are also entitled to written orders for the repair of shoes and clothing, as well as for the supply of fuel. Moreover all rooms have heat from a central heating plant, electric light, and gas.

There was also installed in the commune a large

laundry, in which linen is carefully washed at very low cost. A community kitchen, too, was established and is used in connection with a large dining room. If desired, families can call for their meals and carry them to their apartments. Needless to say the comfort of the commune's children has not been overlooked; there are cribs for infants and little tots, and kindergartens for the bigger children. The women workers, away at their tasks during the day, need have no worry on account of their little ones; they know they are well taken care of.

The houses are placed in the center of a beautiful, scrupulously well kept garden. Every Sunday a concert is given there, and occasionally lawn parties are arranged. Adjoining the garden is a theatre (in memory of a martyr of the Revolution called the "House of Peter Alexinsky") in which plays are frequently given for the members of the commune, sometimes, too, performances for children, or lectures with and without stereopticon views; the weekly meetings likewise take place in this theatre.

The commune has established a comfortable reading room, and maintains a well stocked library. A dramatic and musical club is busily at work. The soul of the whole commune is of course the communist element, which has established it all and brought it to its present high standard, and which always calls on everybody for solidarity and a spirit of mutual assistance.

All members are obliged to maintain strict cleanliness and order. In the spring of the year, when the great masses of snow which have accumulated during the winter, begin to melt, all members are requested to lend a hand in the cleaning of yards and sidewalks. Cheerfully everybody grasps spade and broom, and it is a veritable pleasure to see how gaily and quickly the work is completed. All these people, performing their unaccustomed work in a spirit of so much cheerfulness, have the elevating consciousness that even these little tasks contribute to the common weal.

### TWO YEARS OF SOVIET RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY (1917—1919)

By **GEORGE CHICHERIN**

Gives a complete account of all the negotiations between the Russian Soviet Government and all foreign countries, for the two years beginning November 7, 1917, and ending November 7, 1919.

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## News Items

### NEGOTIATIONS WITH FINLAND

(Session of June 14)

REVAL, June 15.—Chairman Paasikivi informs the Russian delegation that he had communicated to the Finnish Government the proposition to conclude an armistice, and that a reply is expected every moment. Furthermore, Paasikivi proposes to discuss the question of the Pechenga region. Venola, a member of the Finnish delegation, makes known the following territorial demands of Finland:

The infringements upon the rights of Finland to the Arctic coast and its utilization should from now on be removed, and the Finnish population be accorded the access to the Arctic Ocean which is necessary for its existence.

The Finnish population of Karelia, which bounds on Finland, should be given a possibility—in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples—to decide whether it wishes to belong to Finland or Russia.

In regulating the boundaries, attention must be paid to making the boundary line between Finland and Russia form, as far as possible, a natural boundary line, guaranteeing a durable peace between the two states.

In his further remarks, Venola endeavors to offer reasons for the demands advanced by him by referring to historical and natural rights, particularly to the conditions of life of the Finnish population in the north, for whom navigation and fisheries in the Arctic Ocean present a problem of extraordinary importance, as well as by reference to the promises made by Emperor Alexander the Second.

In view of the complexity of the problems touched upon in Venola's speech, the Russian delegation proposes to postpone further discussion to the next session. Comrade Bersin proposes the following draft of the formula which is to reaffirm in the treaty the fundamental act of Finnish independence, which up to now has not yet received its juridical and diplomatic affirmation.

*Based upon the principle proclaimed by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of the right of all peoples to a free self-determination even to the point of their full separation from the state of which they are a part, Russia recognizes without reservation the independence, self-determination, and sovereignty of the Finnish state, and renounces of its own free will all her supreme rights which had been vested in Russia with regard to the Finnish people and soil, and existing by virtue of the former constitutional order or by virtue of international treaties which in the sense indicated lose all their strength for the future.*

Paasikivi promises to reply in this matter at the next day's session, and proposes to take up the discussion of the questions relating to the self-determination of Eastern Karelia. M. Venola expresses the hope that the population of Eastern

Karelia will be accorded the right to decide by means of a general vote whether they wish to belong to Russia or Finland. "The principle of right," says Venola, "demands that the present Finnish border should not divide two populations of the same stock between two states." Venola also calls attention to the fact that in a part of the Petrograd province Finnish tribes are living, and asks some concessions of a cultural character for the Finnish population in the province of Petrograd. Comrade Bersin says that all the questions raised will receive a general reply.—From *Krasnaya Gazeta*, June 17, 1920.

### A RUSSIAN CZARIST WARSHIP IN KIEL

The following is communicated by the Chemnitz (Germany) newspaper *Kaempfer*:

KIEL, July 13.—A Russian warship with the old flag and a Czarist crew entered the port of Kiel, in order to proceed by the way of the Baltic-North Sea canal to the Black Sea. After it was ascertained that it was a case of military support for the Russian General Wrangel, the captain of the ship was notified that the passage through the canal would not be permitted for reasons of neutrality.

Where was the ship up to now? Apparently in a Finnish port. Where does it get coal? It will be the task of the dock workers not to allow this ship to get even one ton of coal. The mad destruction of values in the Russian civil war must finally be stopped, in order that the Communist reconstruction of the Russian economy may be carried out.

### FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST POLISH AGGRESSION

*Sacrificing Their Day of Rest*

TULA, June 4.—The workers and employees at the Tula station of the Tykhvin railway line replied to the aggression of the Polish magnates by intensifying the struggle on the labor front. On June 2 they decided to give up their Sunday rest for a month and to work every Sunday six hours.

### JEWISH POGROMS

It is reported from Stockholm: Delegations sent by the Jewish inhabitants of various localities which have been occupied by the Poles, are arriving in Kiev. They are soliciting aid for the victims of the pogroms which the Poles organized before they retreated.

### RUSSIAN WAR PRISONERS

Moscow, July 27.—The last contingent of Russian prisoners of war that has arrived in Odessa brings five former Galician officers who are applying for commissions in the Red Army.

**LITHUANIAN-POLISH ENCOUNTERS**

KOVNO, July 16 (Lithuanian Telegraph Agency).—Yesterday a train with Lithuanian soldiers was proceeding from here to Vilna. At Landvarovo the train was stopped by Polish partisans. The Lithuanians resisted, whereupon a three hours' struggle developed, which ended with the retreat of the Poles in the direction of Vilna. South of Meishapals, the Lithuanian troops during their forward march came across a Polish brigade which was retreating from the front. The Poles were disarmed and a large amount of war booty fell into the hands of the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian troops stand before the gates of Vilna. It is reported further that the Bolsheviks, east of Vilna, are marching on the city. Vilna itself has been completely evacuated by the Poles.

**PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA**

KOVNO, July 16.—The peace treaty between Russia and Lithuania sets forth approximately the following boundary line: from the Dvina through the Crivista lake, Narosh lake, and Molodechno, along the Beresina west of Memel, along the Memel through Grodno up to the region of Austerov, then in a northerly direction to the German border. Lithuania gets also Grodno and Lida.

*We hope soon to be able to present the full text of the treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania to the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA.*

**TRADE RELATIONS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA**

STOCKHOLM, July 8 (A telegram to the Berlin *Rote Fahne*).—Since the opening of the Estonian border on May 8 to June 19 the following merchandise passed through the Yamburg boundary station to Soviet Russia: 269 cars with agricultural machinery, 117 car-loads of paper, 8 car-loads of leather, 3 car-loads of saws, 11 car-loads of tanning extract, 827 car-loads of potato seeds, altogether 1,235 cars weighing over 1,000,000 poods. Besides there were transported 2,400 poods of sole leather, over 5,000 barrels of herrings, and many other goods.

PRAGUE, July 4.—*Narodni Listy* reports that the trade mission of Krassin has placed a large order for shoes in a Czech shoe factory, the payment for which will be made in gold.

**EXPORTS TO RUSSIA**

COPENHAGEN, June 22.—The *Berlinske Tidende* reports from Kovno the following news item taken from the official Bolshevik paper *Pravda* concerning the resumption of exports to Russia. The exports are forwarded partly by way of Reval and partly by way of Petrograd. In both cities large quantities of goods have arrived. Contracts have been made for locomotives, scythes, threshing machines, mowing machines, etc. From the first of July, a train will leave Reval daily for

Petrograd and Moscow. In the near future many deliveries are expected from Scandinavia and America.

**CONTROL OF FOREIGN TRADE**

PARIS, June 29. (Havas).—According to a telegram of the *Petit Parisien* from Helsingfors, Lenin has signed a decree by which the People's Commissariat for Industry is transformed into a Commissariat for Foreign Trade. In the future, no one will have the right to undertake business transactions without being empowered to do so by this Commissariat. The result of this decree will be the unconditional control of foreign exchange of goods by the Soviets.

**THE FOREIGN DEBT**

The *Izvestia* writes as follows:

In January, 1919, we offered peace to the Entente and asked the Allies what sum they demanded of us for the debts made by the Czarist government. In reply there came the offensive of Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich. Today they want to present us with a bill. But, we, too, have a bill to present. The bill for the destruction of Borisov, Kiev, Balta, for the devastations made by the White generals in the pay of the Entente, for the executions of Russian workers and peasants by the English, French, and American officers. We shall see who will remain in debt, who has something to pay.

**IN THE REAR OF THE POLISH ARMY**

LVOV (Lemberg), June 2 (Via Belo-Ostrov).—In the rear of the Polish front there is a growing wave of insurrection against the Polish usurpers. Reports of this come not only from White Russia, but also from other localities. In Galicia a strong nationalist movement is expected. There were already numerous cases of encounters between the populace and the Polish gendarmerie, with killed and wounded on both sides. The Poles are sending punitive expeditions, but their activities are obstructed.

**AN ARMENIAN EMBASSY ON ITS WAY TO MOSCOW**

STOCKHOLM, July 1.—A delegation of the Armenian Republic, consisting of Leon Schandt, the Chairman of the Armenian Parliament, and other members, has arrived in Rostov on the Don on its way to Moscow. The delegation is authorized to discuss the conditions of a peace treaty between Armenia and Russia.

**KAHIL PASHA IN MOSCOW**

STOCKHOLM, July 1, 1920.—The well-known Turkish statesmen, Kahil Pasha, Fuad Pasha, and Gemse Pasha have arrived in Moscow. Two of the above-mentioned gentlemen are representatives of the Government of Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

## TWO DECREES OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT

[The following abstract of two official Soviet Government decrees is taken from a recent number of "Politiken", of Stockholm. We cannot vouch for the correctness of the details given, as we have not seen the originals of the decrees.]

On the 5th of May of this year, the Russian Soviet Government published two decrees of extraordinary significance for the industry and agriculture of Russia.

### I

Supplementary to the decree dealing with the socialization of the land, which does away with the private ownership of the surface of the land and the resources under the ground (1918), there was issued on the 5th of May a decree in which a new mode of utilizing the resources under the ground is provided for. All contracts dealing with the rights of private persons and companies to the resources under the ground are annulled. The exploitation of these resources and the minerals mined, the general direction and control of the mining industry are assigned to the Mining Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

### II

The object of the other decree is to increase the productivity of agriculture, which suffers much at present as a consequence of the often injudicious division of the land by the local communes.

It provides a regulation according to which a redivision of the land by the agricultural com-

munes may be carried out only with the consent of the local Agricultural Economic Councils. A complete re-division of the land is forbidden until the cultivation period has been completed according to the Socialization decree of 1918.

## CONGRATULATIONS FROM CHINESE WORKERS

A Chinese labor union, organized in Shanghai in April, 1920, sent the following telegram to the Siberian Soviets in the name of the "Chinese Laborers and Peasants":

"To the Russian Laborers and Peasants and the Red Army in Russia: We, representatives of the Chinese workmen and peasants, offer our hearty congratulations to you on the success of your revolution and hope that some day the capitalists of the whole world may be put down, to the advantage of our brother workers so that all of us can gain liberty, freedom and equality in the true sense of these words. We welcome the Russian Red Army because its members have made great personal sacrifices for the benefit of our working brothers throughout the world, so that we Chinese laborers and peasants are quite willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with you under the flags of the army of right in the hope that ultimately we shall uproot the evil of capitalism and class distinction."

(Signed)

*The Chinese Labor Association.*

—Asiatic News Agency, Shanghai, April 23, 1920.

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of

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## Impressions of Moscow and the Kremlin

By DR. BOHUMIR SMERAL

I used the last moments for a rapid survey of some of the interior departments of the Kremlin. That part of the Kremlin which served as dwelling and show apartments of the Czar's family, is in charge of a comrade who uses for its administration an entire office. In rooms adjoining his offices are the dwellings of the Red soldiers on guard duty in the Kremlin. Here it is necessary to procure a card of admission. A former lackey of the Czar is assigned to me as a guide. In addition to me, at least eight divisions of Red Guards are inspecting the luxurious halls of the former residence of the Czar. Each division is escorted by a woman comrade, who explains each object, each hall, each picture, to her soldier comrades. The guides explain and instruct with much zeal and very ably. They show them the luxury of the former Czar, combining with their explanation a lesson in Socialism. The monarch could live in this luxury only because millions were slaves. The revolution overthrew the Czar and today these mementos, as museum relics, belong to the people.

It is important to remark that all historical mementos and places in the Kremlin are very conscientiously guarded by the Soviet rule. Wherever there is a rare mosaic floor, it is covered with a coarse cloth cover, also costly carpets, chairs and lounges are covered. In the lower halls in this part of the Kremlin, there is a vast number of cases unopened, strictly numbered and provided with seals of the state. How easily it could be spread through the world, that these are the Kremlin treasures which the Bolsheviki are trying to steal and sell. Instead, they are the treasure of the Petrograd museums, which the government, with the greatest care, had brought over here into

safety, at the time, when it was not improbable that Petrograd might fall into the hands of Yudenich. Now, the Soviet Government feels itself so secure that it expects to transfer the cases, which were not opened here, back to their original place in Petrograd.

The one-time lackey who escorts us has been unable to shake off the atmosphere in which he has lived all his life. Although he does not use the words "His Majesty", whenever he pronounces the name of some monarch he uses the word "imperator", and you can feel with what reverence he speaks it. When he points to the vast number of gold and silver plates, upon which the cities were wont to hand the Czar bread and salt on the occasion of state visits, and when he notices my consternation that the Czar should have taken not only the bread, but the heavy plates also, the good old soul excuses him, saying: "Later, however, the Imperator realized that it was too costly and hinted that bread and salt be given to him on wooden plates," and he turns and calls attention to a collection of wooden plates. His sentiments are no obstacle for him to finish the rest of his life in the service of a proletarian republic.

To describe the luxury of the Czar's hall would be of no value. This description may be found in my guide-book. Upon the minds of the simple Russian soldier this luxury makes an unusual impression, when his attention is called to it in connection with the explanation of Socialism. I noticed the impression it made upon a division of the Red Guards, when shown the salons furnished with Babylonian splendor within the immediate proximity of the private apartment of the Czar's family, and when they were told that with the

exception of two visits, of a few days, by the Siamese King and the Persian Shah, these rooms have not been occupied for centuries. The most vivid impression, however, upon the simple visitors, is made by a picture by Ryepin, which the Czar apparently greatly treasured, for he had it hung in a very conspicuous place in one of the first halls, so that it drew my eye immediately upon the staircase landing. The Czar, after the war, receives representatives from the country. Around him, in the first rows, are official personages, in postures of official humility, with indifference in their faces. In the background are the representatives of the population, muzhiks. They are looking intently at their "gosudar", their eyes upon him as though they wished in advance to know what word he may say: a very old man, bent with years of inhuman toil, with his hand to his ear in order the better to hear what is said by him from whom he expects salvation. And the words are such that the Czar himself considered them of such importance that he had them engraved in the metal covers of this picture. "I am glad to see you once more. I am particularly grateful to you for your hearty cooperation in our victories, in which all Russia so valiantly participated. When you return home again, give my best thanks to all. Let yourselves be guided by the advice and leadership of your masters and the nobility, and do not be misled by the silly and ugly prattle that the land shall be divided among you, and other such talk. Such talk is spread by our enemies. All private property, including yours, must remain untouched. God give you happiness and health." This picture deserves to be exhibited in the largest square in Moscow. But nowhere could it be more effective than here amidst the luxury and pomp of the private life of the Czars, in a place where the Czar himself, so enchanted with it, had it hung. In the private apartments of the Czarine stood a lot of unusually hideous bric-a-brac and vases from Nuremberg and Frankfurt. By these intimate details it can easily be seen how close they were—those who ruled nations—and who drove them into international murder—how close were the Romanovs and the Hohenzollerns.

In the afternoon I visited a division of the Central Workers' School. "Raboche-krestyanski universitet imeni tovarishcha Sverdlova" (Workers' and Peasants' University in memory of Comrade Sverdlov), which is situated in several buildings. One of its chief parts is in the University building in the Minsk Square; the second is in the palace in the Malaya Dmitrovka 6. I shall visit this second division. A few days ago, Comrade Olbracht visited the Central Workers' School, during the forenoon lectures. He was present at a lecture given by Lunacharsky on the development of Greek culture. Lunacharsky, having been detained by his official duties, was late. Before his arrival, the students held a meeting, in correct form. Domestic affairs were brought up (linens, heating, etc.). One complained about food. He was over-

ruled by other students, who pointed out categorically that the students had the best food, the same as soldiers and factory hands. Lunacharsky lectured for three-quarters of an hour on Greek culture. His lecture was exhaustive, concise, objective, distinct. It was supplemented by stereoptical views, and followed by the recitation of Sapphic verses by an actress of the Moscow theatre. Then a ballet performed Grecian Dances, which finished the program. "In two such hours a student acquires more than if he sat bent over his books for days," Olbracht then said to me. I saw today worker-students in the afternoon, a time, which according to the school-plan is devoted to repetition and resume of material given by the professors.

I entered the building at five o'clock in the afternoon. In the doorway I encountered a Japanese with note books under his arm. In the conference room I am received by an intelligent woman-comrade of about twenty-six. She will immediately telephone to Nevsky. In the meantime she offers me tea. The room is simply furnished. Along the walls are portraits of thirty-six of the most renowned Russian poets, writers, scholars: Griboyedov, Ostrovsky, Uspensky, Korolenko, Chekhov, Pisarev, Goncharov, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Pisemsky, Dostoyevsky, Apukhtin, Dobrolyubov, and others. Above all, in a large frame, Pushkin and Tolstoy. The woman-comrade answers my questions about the building. This place was a club-house of the wealthiest merchants in Moscow. Here were held dinners, drunken bouts, and much was rumored in Moscow about orgies with women. Today, these halls serve for the socialistic training of the proletariat. In the first phase of the Revolution—which it is impossible to deny—there came to the surface much of the mob-element, and this building was captured by a group of well-armed bandits, numbering several hundred. They declared themselves to be anarchists. They were, however, people without any principles or ideals, who threatened the safety of the entire vicinity. There was no help, and our comrades were compelled to clean out this nest by means of bullets. When you walk through the halls, you will see in one of them two couches from which the velvet had been torn. This damage was not done by our people,—that was done before.

Comrade Nevsky comes in. He supplements what has already been said about the school. The division into two parts (a sort of faculties), party and soviet, is carried out practically in such manner that the first three months all students receive the same theoretical education. The other three months, they are separated. During the first three months they are obliged to learn the Marxian theory, the Soviet constitution, party program, the programs of other parties, history of the Russian revolution, history of other revolutions in Western Europe, history of the Russian Communist Party, important facts in the history of agriculture, history of culture, and statistics. In the practical course, the general party doctrine, its life and

agendum is adhered to. This course, which has this year 500 pupils (there are 1,200 altogether) is divided into seven sections: Organization, Propaganda, Work in the Rural Districts, Work Among Women, Work Among Young People, Journalistic Section, Military Section. The Second Soviet Department is divided into as many sections as there are commissariats in the Central State Administration. The students are delegated from the midst of political organizations, trade unions, and the Red Army, from all over Russia, and represent their most able workers. For each province there is assigned a certain number of places. The student receives lodging, maintenance and clothing and 1,600 rubles a month; if he has a family, the enterprise where he was employed pays him full wages. Besides the Workers' University, which for the time being must needs be organized only as a revolutionary substitute for the fast training of the working force, which the Revolution urgently needs, there is the general university, in which the theological and law faculties have been abolished.

We are walking through the individual halls. Recitations are in progress. In each room there are between twenty and twenty-five student-comrades, in front of them a black-board, and before it a male or female teacher. Teachers for recitations are workers, male and female, who had completed last year's course. One hundred of the best have remained with the institution. They receive maintenance for their assistance, and they educate themselves further. In each group there are several women or girls and a few Red Guards. Instruction is carried on in unconstrained manner, in the form of conversation. In some of the rooms, the students sit on school benches, in others around a table. In one room the twenty students, including their Red teacher, were crowded on a balcony, so that while receiving instruction, they might enjoy the sun which was beginning to be quite warm. Nearly everywhere

the students wear their overcoats and caps. It is a remnant from hard weeks, when it was necessary for them to sit in these rooms during the most severe frost. In all the groups instruction about the Soviet is given. Here the composition and jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress, elsewhere the jurisdiction of the Soviet People's Commissars is taken up, and, in other groups, the Soviet Congress, etc. I ask a woman-student: "In what way does our constitution differ from that of the bourgeois-democracy?" She gives the correct answer: "The Soviet Constitution is the expression of the will and power of the working people, laborers and peasants." These courses have not as yet text-books of their own, only a few possess very nicely illustrated readers for higher public school classes, which bear the title: "We will create a new world." I have seen, in special division, young comrades representing Asiatic nations: Siberians, Turkestans, Hindus, two Japanese and two Chinese. They cannot write Russian and in order to be able to read Russian socialistic literature, they were just then learning the Slavonic alphabet. The majority of these have no academic education from home, yet they are picked and seem to have sharp native intelligence.

We also inspected the economic arrangement of the building: a pantry, a kitchen, cellars. Beneath, masons are at work; they are installing tubs and shower-baths. The building ought to be painted. This year, however, there will be neither time nor funds for it. This improvement therefore will have to be postponed until the following year. Finally we walked through the lodgings of the students—large, barrack-like, yet clean. When we were leaving the building, the students were crowding into the kitchen as hungry as wolves. Although they receive precisely the same kind of food as is served in the house I live in, the young people are unable to wait until evening. They carry bread with them and tea is to be served to them.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**T**HE official statement of Kamenev, the Soviet Government envoy in London, concerning the complete defeat of the Wrangel armies, both in the Kuban region as well as in South Russia, has been confirmed by Trotsky. The Soviet War Minister stated that ex-General Wrangel's forces that landed in Kuban territory have been "wiped out."

On August 27 a Russian detachment landed two versts from Nizhnestiblevskaya, which was attacked at dawn and captured after fierce street fighting. "A large number of officers and three generals were cut down" the dispatch explains. "We captured over 1,000 prisoners, many guns and military stores. We captured technical stores and many other trophies, an inventory of which is being made. We also destroyed an armored car." And all

this was so quickly and unexpectedly accomplished by the Soviet raiders that they lost only twenty men killed.

In other parts, where the Wrangel expeditionary forces were in full advance into the Kuban region, they were surprised by a series of vigorous counter-attacks of the Reds and entirely defeated.

In commenting on this victory, Trotsky states that Wrangel's "hope of holding the Kuban territory, and after it, Northern Caucasus," has been destroyed at its root.

Being also defeated and vigorously pursued in South Russia, the Franco-Wrangel forces have fallen back in disorder towards the Crimea, and finally their front is now confined to the Crimean sector, where the fragments of the beaten White

forces will find a shelter, being protected by the Allied navy.

The Russian delegation in London officially stated that the reports of Wrangel's capture of Novorossysk and Yekaterinodar are "pure inventions."

This great success of the Soviet army over the counter-revolutionary invasion assumes major importance in view of the events in Persia and its probable influence on the Mussulman Congress, now being held in Baku. According to a dispatch from Teheran, Persia, (*The Christian Science Monitor*, August 3): "In the fighting on August 25, near Enzeli, the Russians landed heavy trench mortars, and four-inch howitzers. A long struggle was maintained where the road from Resht reaches the sea. Here the Persian cossacks (the reactionaries) suffered from mortar and howitzer fire and were also enfiladed from the ships." The retreat towards Resht is described as "somewhat disorderly." "British support, however, is close at hand," says the message, and adds that "in Persia some convoys have lately been attacked between Hamadan and Kavin." Taking into consideration this positive success of the Soviet arms in South Russia and in Asia, it becomes an easy matter to throw a little light on the mysterious circumstances on the Russo-Polish front.

Now, when once more the accuracy of the reports as to what took place during the so-called "battle for Warsaw," is absolutely compromised, and the "victorious" Poles are falling back under the pressure of the Soviet army along the Northern front, it is clear that the time has come when the real Russian offensive of the Red Army with Warsaw as its objective is only in its first stages.

The military news from Polish and French sources remains extremely obscure; the Moscow wireless reports are in part suppressed and in part censored to such an extent that it is scarcely possible to follow the movement of the Soviet army. But, in spite of this lack of information, the real state of affairs in the Russian army can be firmly ascertained.

An army that was able, within one week after a considerable setback, to restore order, and not only to stop the advance of its enemy, but counter-attack him and force him to give way, is an army which may be considered as physically and morally intact. And that is at the present moment the condition of the Soviet Army.

Therefore it may be said with absolute certainty that the morale of the Reds, as well as their military organization, must be on a very high level.

We were told by General Weygand that two-thirds of all Bolshevik fighting forces were absolutely annihilated during the Polish "pursuit", within six days. If so, how could the remaining one-third have been able to check the pursuers, defeat them and recapture such important places as the forts of Brest-Litovsk, situated on the western bank of the Bug, Grodno, and many other

towns and villages, which represent the defense-line of the Warsaw region?

General Weygand seems to be as poor an arithmetician as he is a strategist. If this French military leader saved Warsaw, which he did by forcing the Polish Government to massacre all the Polish Communists or sympathizers with peace with Soviet Russia, and, with the help of the Catholic clergy, forced the Poles fanatically to rush to meet the Russian cavalry, which had already broken into the city of Warsaw, he simultaneously led the Polish army into complete destruction, and finally condemned Warsaw to the inevitable occupation by the Soviet armies in the near future.

For a former chief of staff of Marshall Foch, who together with his chief planned the Polish campaign, it is unpardonable not to have understood the real significance of the Russian advance on the Polish capital. For he had at his disposal the American Kosciusko Squadron, and a huge number of French and Polish airmen, to aid in discovering the real strength of the advancing Russians, and to appreciate the strategical character of the movement, which now, after the defeat of the Wrangel armies, becomes as clear as day.

As far as we may learn from a summary of the general military situation since the failure of the Soviet forces to take Warsaw, there never was a decisive offensive on the part of the Soviet headquarters staff directed against Warsaw. The Supreme Russian Military Command, after the defeat of the Polish field army, considered the Poles as unable for a considerable period to constitute a serious threat to Russia. Therefore Budenny's cavalry was ordered to continue its pursuit of the beaten enemy, as far as possible. In order to make this pursuit more effective, a considerable number of the mounted infantry and some mounted and field artillery were added to this force. The movement was so perfectly camouflaged by its decisiveness and vigor that it was considered as an offensive of the bulk of the Red Army directed on Warsaw. In reality, it was only a demonstration staged on a large scale, while the real blow was directed by the Russian General Staff, not towards Poland, but towards Wrangel, who was gradually approaching the Donets industrial district, and becoming more and more dangerous, and more important than the defeated Poles, being an enemy in the interior who could be constantly supported by France, England and other sympathizing governments, without encountering difficulties in view of hostile railroad workers in Western European countries. General Weygand did not expect this, and also failed to foresee that after the Poles had defeated, in Warsaw, the Russians who had penetrated into the city, and then broken through the thin lines of the Red attacking forces, they would, instead of being able to force a decisive battle, be obliged to move on, almost without resistance by the enemy, as far as Brest-Litovsk and Grodno. They also did not foresee that along the river Bug the weakened

Polish army would then suddenly come upon fresh and formidable Red forces, the real bulk of the Soviet Army, which is in full advance to the West, being now capable of receiving reinforcements from the ranks of those Red troops which have so brilliantly accomplished their heavy task in South Russia.

When General Weygand understood the real dramatic situation in which he had put the "victorious" Poles, whom he had so eloquently convinced that the Russians were by no means able to counter-attack, he hurried to leave Poland with the idea that the approaching Polish debacle had better take place under the command of Polish generals rather than of himself.

That this French strategist has suddenly discovered the critical position of the Polish army, is proved by his sudden return to Paris, after which the Poles also suddenly were advised not to penetrate too far while "pursuing" their enemy, whereas they had been ordered only a short while ago by the same military adviser, to take as much as possible of the territory of Russia in order to establish themselves in "strong, strategical positions." Where these positions are was not mentioned. Then the Poles were advised to entrench themselves, using the old German trenches. This last suggestion naturally provoked a protest from Pilsudski. The famous Polish conqueror of Moscow, in spite of all his ignorance of military art, well realized that in order to hold a front of a length of about 400 miles, in the same way as the Germans had, one must have a German army, not a Polish army, which, according to Pilsudski's confession, is "far too small and poorly supplied."

"Our friends wish us to halt on the eastern front and maintain a solely defensive attitude," he says. "In my opinion, that cannot be done. How is it possible for a small army, not technically well equipped, to create a defensive line on a front of hundreds of kilometers?"

And in despair, and showing his complete lack of military training, Pilsudski continues "either to advance to complete destruction of the enemy or else to halt on our illusory frontiers, to conclude peace as quickly as possible."

The last suggestion is very safe and sane, but how poor Pilsudski is supposed to advance to a complete destruction of the enemy, when he does not find it possible even to maintain a solely defensive attitude, is rather difficult to ascertain. Such ideas, it seems to me, can only be explained by the Franco-Polish military experts; I do not understand at all.

Considering the total losses of the Soviet army during its "offensive" on Warsaw, Pilsudski continues: "It will therefore take the Soviets a long time to reorganize their armies, and I doubt whether they will even then be of great military value." (N. Y. *Times*, August 31.) The facts show us that the Red Army did not even require any reorganization, because it never was disorganized, and the gallant Polish military leader will certainly soon appreciate the military value of the

Soviet forces if he has not in the past been able to understand it.

The London *Daily Herald* of August 21 gives a rather interesting description of the development of the last Russian dash on Warsaw, which I consider as a very important piece of information for an understanding of the character of the whole Russian manoeuvre.

"After the crossing of the river Bug, the Bolsheviks appear to have advanced directly on Warsaw with about two corps, badly supplied with artillery, and at the same time to have made a great raid north of the city, between the river Vistula and the East Prussian frontier, into the Danzig 'corridor', through which alone supplies for the Poles could reach the front from the Entente powers.

"The main advance reached a line variously reported as seven to fifteen miles east of Warsaw, but the raid, doubtless made by the very efficient Red cavalry, was extraordinarily successful. One railway line through Mlava and Novogeorgievsk was cut, and that lying much farther west and running through Thorn and Graudenz was at least temporarily interrupted.

"The Poles in the meanwhile had apparently been forced by panic to accept the suggestion of General Weygand, the chief of the French mission. A more or less 'prepared' position had been constructed and garrisoned by the new Polish levies. Considerable forces of artillery and machine-guns were brought into play.

"Into this defended zone the two Bolshevik army corps bumped, and, having outstripped their artillery, recoiled after failing to rush it.

"At this moment Pilsudski, still acting under the inspiration of Weygand, launched a counter-attack, or, rather, two counter-attacks.

"He struck north along the railway towards Mlawa, and brought the Bolshevik cavalry tumbling back out of the 'corridor', their communication being now threatened in turn. And he struck also due east towards Siedlec in the hope of overwhelming the advanced corps of the Red Army before they were adequately supported.

"The Polish plan was, or seems to have been, to drive two wedges into a not very compact or thoroughly coordinated line. It has been so far successful that Warsaw reports the Polish army as having reoccupied Lukow, sixty miles east of the capital, and rather less from Brest-Litovsk. Lukow was captured by the Bolsheviks on August 11. To the north, the Polish counter-attack seems to have gone fifty miles, before, in its turn, receiving a check.

"The importance of the Bolshevik reverse lies, of course, rather in its political than its military aspect. Knowing the shifty people he has to deal with at Minsk, and that they were supported by even shiftier people at Paris and elsewhere, Trotsky took the risk to secure the valuable pawns of Warsaw and the Danzig 'corridor'. He foresaw that with these pawns in his hands, the course of

the peace negotiations would be smoother and more rapid.

"That coup appears to have failed, at any rate, temporarily. If the Bolsheviks really want to take Warsaw for its own sake, they can almost certainly do so, when their reinforcements and artillery have come up. But there is every reason to believe that what the Bolsheviks really want is not Warsaw, but peace."

Unfortunately, I do not see a stable peace with Poland unless Warsaw will be occupied by the Russians as a guarantee. Warsaw, as I have often repeated, is the political and strategical center of Poland, and, according to strategical principles, it must be struck at by all means. Warsaw is the

only place where a stable peace could be signed between Soviet Russia and a free Poland. At least this is the opinion of a military expert who still remembers the consequences of the failure of the Allies to reach Berlin.

General Weygand's relief of Warsaw from its occupation by the Russian cavalry without bombardment of the city and without bloodshed only caused the Polish delegates at Minsk to stiffen their peace terms and practically break off the peace negotiations, and there is little hope that they will limit their ambitions unless Imperialistic Poland is struck in the heart, as is the principle of strategy, and the heart of Poland is Warsaw.

## The Soviet Republic and Foreign Capital

By A. LOMOV

### THE PROBLEM OF CONCESSIONS

**T**HE economic life of Russia has always depended on that of Western Europe. Moreover, before the war it was foreign commerce that predominated.

In the last years before the World War almost thirty-four per cent of the finished products and the half-finished products in metallurgical production were imported from abroad. And the situation was exactly the same in all the other branches of industry.

The subordination of the economic life of Russia to that of other countries was not, however, the result only of the industrial situation in Russia.

Russia suffered particularly from lack of national capital and, as a result, offered a ready field for the importation of foreign capital. The Donets Basin, the most highly developed industrial district in Russia, was the most striking example of this, but not the only one.

In 1869 John Hughes formed in London a stock company with the object of organizing the first metallurgical enterprise in the Donets Basin. Since that time the metallurgy of Southern Russia, which developed considerably meanwhile, has continually attracted foreign capital.

At the time of the November Revolution there was not a single metallurgical enterprise in the South of Russia which did not employ foreign capital. Of 18 stock companies, 16 were quoted on the foreign exchanges. As for the stock of the two remaining companies, the foreign exchanges were closed to them, but German capital was nevertheless the principal stockholder. Thirteen (13) companies, embracing more than two-thirds of the total production, are enterprises supported almost exclusively by foreign capital. In six other enterprises of mixed capital, foreign capital also predominated.

Furthermore, foreign capital plays the same important part in the coal industry of the Donets.

In 1912, the total coal extracted amounted to 806.78 million poods (13,012,000 long tons). The

war it was foreign commerce that predominated. with foreign capital produce alone 769.46 million poods (12,410,000 long tons), that is, 95.4 per cent of the total amount of coal extracted.

Further, foreign capital was invested in stock companies owning coal-mines and coke ovens, producing 93.5 per cent of all the coke in Russia. Seventy-eight per cent of the total production of briquettes in Southern Russia was also in the hands of enterprises operating almost exclusively with foreign capital—which played just as important a part in other districts and other branches of industry. Before the war German capital owned the greater part of all the electrical enterprises, part of the railroads, numerous factories for chemical products, etc., etc.; while English capital had secured possession of most of the oil wells and part of the gold mining industry. According to the estimate by Neumark, England had invested in Russian enterprises and in the loans 4½ milliard rubles (\$2,317,500,000), and France 17 milliard francs (\$3,281,000,000).

Russia was especially important from the point of view of raw material.

In fact Russia exported to the markets of Western Europe immense quantities of wheat and numerous agricultural products and cattle, as well as wood, butter, etc.

It is evident that after the war, during the course of which Belgium, Serbia, and part of France, were devastated, immense quantities of raw material will be necessary for the economic restoration of those countries. After the war it will be necessary to reconstruct what was destroyed, and the need for raw material will be the more acutely felt according as the devastation was greater.

The scarcity of wood which mankind will shortly experience, which indeed it is already beginning to feel, will inevitably force Western European capital to seek reserves of wood for the markets of Europe. The forests of northern Russia will accordingly be given preference over the rest of

Europe; it is therefore natural that the world's capital should turn first to them.

Exportation of wood had, moreover, increased greatly before the war. This is shown in the following table:

| Years                  | Wood Exports       |                     | Percentage of wood exports as compared with total exports |
|------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---|
|                        | Millions of Rubles | Millions of Dollars |   |
| 1901-1905 (average) .. | 65.9               | 33.9                | 7.0   |
| 1906-1910 (average) .. | 116.4              | 59.9                | 9.6   |
| 1910 .....             | 138.2              | 71.2                | 9.5   |
| 1911 .....             | 142.4              | 73.3                | 9.0   |
| 1912 .....             | 153.4              | 79.0                | 10.0  |
| 1913 .....             | 164.9              | 84.9                | 15.8  |

Wood exports, just before the war, had increased much more rapidly than the total exports of Russia, or the exports of other articles. When war was declared, the wood exports of Russia were greater than of all other articles with the exception of wheat. It is interesting to see how our wood export was divided among the different countries. The following table shows per cent distribution of exports by countries of destination:

| Country           | 1901-05 | 1906-10 | 1910  | 1911  | 1912  | 1913  |
|-------------------|---------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Germany .         | 40.5    | 38.7    | 33.9  | 33.2  | 33.8  | 32.3  |
| Austria-Hungary . | 1.9     | 3.7     | 2.9   | 2.6   | 2.7   | 2.3   |
| Belgium ..        | 5.7     | 5.1     | 4.9   | 3.8   | 3.7   | 3.9   |
| Gt. Britain       | 33.4    | 32.8    | 37.3  | 39.8  | 40.0  | 37.7  |
| France ...        | 3.6     | 4.7     | 5.1   | 4.1   | 3.9   | 4.9   |
| Holland ..        | 12.4    | 12.7    | 13.3  | 12.1  | 11.7  | 16.2  |
| All Other.        | 2.5     | 2.3     | 2.6   | 4.4   | 4.2   | 2.7   |
| Total ....        | 100.0   | 100.0   | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Before the war almost half (45.6) of our exports by weight, and more than half (51.4) by value, went to the Entente countries. It is evident that the need for wood material after the war will compel the Entente countries to increase this percentage still further, the more that Russia in this respect enjoys a monopoly in Europe. (The forests of Sweden and Norway were exhausted before the war, and Russia alone has kept large supplies of superior qualities of wood.)

Moreover, it is because of such considerations that the capital of Western Europe looks to the other natural riches of Russia, which have been hitherto only partially exploited or not at all.

The scarcity of minerals in Europe, the lack of certain metals, may easily be overcome by an intensification of production.

In addition we possess a number of agricultural products which we do not even dream of exporting, given the present situation, but which we can send to various parts of Russia to feed the population. These products are of importance to Europe also. Butter, for example, was one of the chief products exported.

In 1910 Siberia alone exported about 4,000,000 poods (144,400,000 lbs.) of butter and, in 1912, 4,525,000 poods (163,352,500 lbs.), of which 1,500,000 poods (54,150,000 lbs.) went to England.

The economic life of Russia, closely connected as it is with that of Western Europe, will have

still greater need after the war and after the Revolution, of the products and capital of Western Europe; and foreign capital will more than ever demand Russia's raw material, which in the case of numerous products enjoys a world monopoly. Although Russia is now at war with almost all the capitalist powers of Europe, although the world's capital has established the economic blockade of Russia, we can say with certainty that this situation can not last long, and that the two parties will be forced within a short time to resume close economic relations.

The re-establishment of the economic activity of Russia implies the necessity for her breaking at all costs the chain which now blocks her economically. During the war not only did Russia not succeed in increasing her production, but on the contrary it decreased. In fact a great part of the machines and renewable parts came to us from abroad, and principally from Germany. Since the war the character of importation into Russia has changed radically. In place of machinery and articles necessary for the economic life of peace times, only articles for war have been imported. The revolution of 1917 did not, moreover, bring any improvement in this situation. After the Revolution in November, importation decreased gradually. The question of the re-establishment of commercial exchange with foreign countries is therefore of great importance for the economic life of Russia.

Foreign capital is offered two means to solve the question of economic relations with Soviet Russia.

1. Direct suppression of the Communist Revolution in Russia. This foreign capital tried to do, in the first phase of the revolutionary development, when Japanese, American, German, and English troops were sent against Russia. This first phase may now be considered ended. Today Lloyd George understands more and more the necessity of ceasing military operations against Russia, and seeking to enter upon an agreement with the Bolshevik government.

2. The Entente bourgeoisie, feeling that it is impossible rapidly to destroy Bolshevism, will inevitably seek another policy, that is, they will try to exploit, even under the authority of the Bolsheviks and under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the natural riches of Russia, in the hope of reaping great profits. Naturally this implies the necessity of concluding a precise arrangement with the Communist government.

The two parties will therefore hasten to establish a mutual agreement in order to end hostilities and renew friendly relations.

We know, of course, that foreign capital will agree to this solution only if the Russian Soviet Republic offers it sufficient compensation. It cannot permit that the Soviet Government, "to save the face of Socialism," should repudiate the debts contracted by Russia towards foreign capital, refuse to pay the interest and nationalize the mines and factories which it owned.

| Districts:   | AREA OF STATE FORESTS  |                   |                        |                   |                    |                     | REVENUE              |                  |                      |                  |
|--|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------|
|  | Total Area             |                   | Useful Area            |                   | Total              |                     | Total Area           |                  | Useful Area          |                  |
|  | Millions of dessiatins | Millions of acres | Millions of dessiatins | Millions of acres | Millions of rubles | Millions of dollars | Rubles per dessiatin | Dollars per acre | Rubles per dessiatin | Dollars per acre |
| European Russia .....  | 105.9                  | 285.9             | 84.2                   | 227.4             | 82.4               | 42.4                | 0.78                 | 0.15             | 0.98                 | 0.19             |
| European Russia (with the exception of 5 provinces of the North).....  | 13.5                   | 36.5              | 10.8                   | 29.1              | 64.0               | 32.9                | 4.72                 | 0.90             | 5.91                 | 1.13             |
| The 5 provinces of the North, Archangel (without the forest district of Pechersk and Mesensk), Vologda (without Pechersk), Viatka, Olonetsk, and Perm... | 70.8                   | 190.9             | 57.8                   | 156.1             | 18.4               | 9.5                 | 0.25                 | 0.05             | 0.32                 | 0.06             |
| Basins of the Dnieper and Dniester .....   | 1.6                    | 4.2               | 1.3                    | 3.5               | 14.7               | 7.6                 | 9.34                 | 1.78             | 11.39                | 2.17             |
| Poland .....   | 0.6                    | 1.6               | 0.6                    | 1.6               | 8.2                | 4.2                 | 13.47                | 2.57             | 14.74                | 2.81             |
| Niemen Basin .....   | 0.8                    | 2.1               | 0.7                    | 1.8               | 8.2                | 4.2                 | 9.97                 | 1.90             | 10.83                | 2.07             |

The whole question then is one of weighing coldly the advantages offered to us by the eventual lifting of the economic blockade, the cessation of hostilities and the resumption of international economic relations without which political rule in Russia is extremely difficult.

Foreign capital can come to us in two different ways, either in the form of foreign loans, or as concessions.

As far as foreign loans are concerned, given the present instability of the international situation, it is impossible to hope for them, especially since under the present circumstances one can hardly expect the acceptance of the conditions which the capitalists of Western Europe and of America would propose.

As regards concessions, it may be said that in the present situation they appear to be practically more convenient and more possible of realization. In fact, the interest which the powers of Western Europe took in Chicherin's note on the subject of the admissibility and possibility of concessions, as well as in the proposal for concessions presented by Borissov and Hannevig, prove sufficiently that this method is possible.

If one examines the projects for concessions which will tempt the foreigners and which the Russian Soviet Republic is able to accept, it seems, the most interesting are those which relate to our forests, our natural resources, our railroads and our waterways. We must not forget, even though it be a little beside the question, the exploitation of our cotton plantations, which is intimately connected with a whole series of irrigation works.

With regard to the concession of forest exploitation to foreigners, Europe must take into consideration not only her interest in getting wood from our republic, but also the fact that our country in this respect holds an altogether privileged position in Europe. In fact, the devastation of Belgium and of nine French districts, and the considerable falling off in construction during the war, will make much greater still the demand for this product.

The forests cover a colossal area of 1,080 million acres, of which 432 millions are in European Russia, which has 227 millions in the North.

In Archangel Province, of 43 million dessiatins (116 million acres) of forests belonging to the State, only 5 million dessiatins (13½ million acres) are exploited, and only 1,800,000 dessiatins (4,860,000 acres) are exploited in the Province of Vologda, whose forest area is 24 million dessiatins (65 million acres). The expression "exploited", however, far from signifies that the forests are exploited in the usual sense of the word.

The table, printed at the head of this page, which is taken from the reports of the Forestry Department, gives the figures for 1912 with respect to the production of the different districts:

Given the relatively slight revenue from forest exploitation, their development and output were very unequal. Whereas the area of the State forests in the basins of the Dnieper and the Dniester, in Poland, and in the Basin of the Niemen, represented 2.5 per cent of the area of European Russia, and the utilized part constituted only 3 per cent of the forests, the gross revenues from the exploitation of these forests nevertheless represent more than 35 per cent of the total revenue from the forests of European Russia. In the five provinces of the North, the output of the exploited forests was about 0.32 rubles per dessiatin (0.06 dollars per acre), while in Poland it was 14.74 rubles per dessiatin (\$2.81 per acre).

In all the provinces of European Russia an average of 27.8 cubic feet per dessiatin (10.3 per acre) of exploited forest area was cut, an insignificant figure, it is true. This is explained by the fact that there was almost no production in the provinces of the North. On the other hand, in the basins of the Dnieper and the Dniester, the cutting reached 241 cubic feet per dessiatin of exploited forest, or 89.3 cubic feet per acre.

Up to the present our woodworking industry has not been able to exploit all the wealth of our forests, or, rather, has ignored them. In 1905, in the provinces of the North, there were 164 saw-mills



and woodworking establishments (53 of them in the single province of Petersburg); in the central industrial district of Russia 222 factories, and in the central agricultural district, 230.

The exploitation of forests in Northern territory properly so-called, which, because of its geographical situation, descends towards the White Sea, was not at all developed in the provinces of Archangel and Vologda, but on the other hand, it increased in the countries towards the Gulf of Finland and Petersburg. In 1911 Russia exported through Archangel and the ports of the White Sea 66 million cubic feet of timber and manufactured wood, and 78 million through Petersburg and Kronstadt.

Under these circumstances there can be no fear that Soviet Russia would be injured by organizing rational exploitation of forests under the direction of the government and by granting concessions to foreigners.

The projects of Hannevig and Borissov were, to allow foreigners to exploit the forests in northeast European Russia, principally, which cover an area of 8 million dessiatins, 21.6 million acres). There are also in the same region of the northeast, in the district which extends towards Kama, and in the province of Perm, immense forests, almost untouched, and from 5 to 6 million dessiatins in area (13 to 16 million acres). In the province of Perm, notably, are the forest districts of North-Kolvinsk, Poluchinsk, Weshanchinsk, etc., as well as numerous other forests. All this region is immensely valuable to foreign capital. Naturally the exploitation of these forests is closely connected with the construction of railroads and waterways (Soroki-Kotlas-Obi Railway, and development of the Staro-Yekaterininski Canal).

Under the present circumstances the Soviet Republic is not able to undertake the construction of big railway lines, as its railroad system is absolutely impaired by the wear and tear, and all the rails which have been or will in the next few years be made, can serve only the big lines already existing or the projected railroads to be constructed in order to improve the supply service of Russia's industry.

The situation is the same as regards rolling stock. The Russian republic will not be able, therefore, to undertake the construction of large or small railways in the north of Russia within less than ten years.

It seems then under these circumstances that it is to the interest of the economic fabric of Russia, in addition to the necessity for her re-establishing commercial relations with the powers of Western Europe and with America, to conclude a special agreement relative to the construction of railroads and waterways, an agreement granting foreign capital the exploitation of our forests.

According to information in our possession on the negotiations begun with the foreign concessionaires on the subject of the proposals suggested by Hannevig and Borissov, we are to have a say on the conditions under which these concessions

may be brought about. Unlike former concessions, these will probably be of mixed character.

With regard to the railroads and the canals, the concessionaires are authorized to exploit the resources of the forests and the soil, which will be indicated explicitly. These concessions can be granted only on the previous condition of obeying, without evasion, all the decrees which have been or will, in the future, be passed by the Soviet Government. The concessionaires must observe rigorously all the Soviet laws concerning labor. The enterprise of the concessionaires is placed under the strict control of the Soviet Government, which has the right at any time to purchase this enterprise. The exploitation of the forests and the soil is permitted only after or during the time that the construction of a railroad is going on and rolling stock is provided. In case of violation of the rules which govern the construction of the railroads or in case of infraction of other conditions imposed on the concessions, the concession right is taken from the concessionaires for the benefit of the public treasury and without compensation. The concessionaires have the right to exploit the forests and export wood abroad. Nevertheless, the Soviet Republic has the privilege of buying all the material designed for export. The concessionaires are to pay to the public treasury, for every tree, a certain sum based on the price of the wood before the war, plus a fixed rate. The government can guarantee the entrepreneurs a certain rate on the profit realized, as well as on the capital stock.

The forest and railroad concessions must depend absolutely one on the other, that is, must proceed together, and be exploited by the same company. As for the forest exploitation, it must proceed in accordance with the plans elaborated by the Soviet Government.

Foreign capital thus acquires a certain guarantee on the profits realized in the enterprise. At the same time, the Soviet Republic is benefited not only because of the lifting of the economic blockade, but also by reason of the construction of new railroads which will open up the districts where the exploitation of the forests could not be effected hitherto because of the complete lack of transportation facilities.

The possibility of Soviet Russia's obtaining for herself an option on all the wood intended for export gives thus to the question of concessions, from the point of view of exportation, a particularly reassuring character for Soviet Russia, since it is under effective control of the government itself.

If we consider the railroad concessions, it must not be forgotten that the Soviet Republic has absolute need of an enormous railway system of which the following lines would be of particular importance for Russia:

1. Moscow-Voronezh railway to the Donets Basin (via Rostov), extending to Mariupol and Taganrog, Sawolschskaya-Mantorovo-Kazan-Bugulma.

2. Ufa-Perm railway.

3. Railroads from Embinskaya to the Amu-

Daria (the shortest route from London to the Indies).

4. Railways Koslov-Swytzi-Krest; Basin of the Kusnetz - Tomsk - Krasnoufmsk - Kostroma; Basin of the Kuznetz-Magnitnaya-Insa.

5. Ural railway: Slavgorod-Semipalatinsk-Vernyi.

It is at present impossible with the means at Russia's disposal to construct all these railways: it is necessary either to postpone their construction to a distant future or to seek foreign capital.

The situation is identical with regard to our waterway system. We have often enough in the past been shown the necessity of constructing the canals Riga-Kherson, Volga-Don, Onega-White Sea. Soviet Russia could not in the near future complete more than very little of all this work.

It is also of capital importance for Soviet Russia to organize the rational exploitation of oil and cotton, which at present leaves so much to be desired. But this work would be completed only in

years to come unless we have recourse to foreign capital.

In closing we will say a few words concerning our cotton program, which is, in the true sense of the word, our labor program. The territory which Soviet Russia can devote to the culture of cotton is in Turkestan, and the implements which have been sent there are intended for this work alone. In this region, moreover, are immense plains, all along the southern frontier of Russia; in the direction of Afghanistan and towards the Caspian Sea, which, if they were irrigated, would be best suited for these cotton plantations.

It has always been intended to divert the course of the Amu-Daria (from the Arad Sea on), towards the Caspian. This project will always be of immense importance from the international point of view, as the place where one could most easily divert the river's course is in Afghanistan, and the execution of this work depends first of all upon the consent of England and that of several other states.

## The Crimean Tartars and the Revolution

By N. B.

IN AN article in Nos. 48 and 49 of "The Life of Nationalities" devoted to an ethnographic review of the Crimean peninsula, Comrade Gaven writes:

"The population of the Crimea is extremely heterogenous. The numerically predominant part (about forty per cent) consists of Crimean Tartars, with an admixture (a small percentage) of Turks. Then follow, according to their numerical strength, the Russians and Ukrainians, Greeks, Germans (about 40,000), Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, etc. In the large cities of Crimea the Russians (including the Ukrainians) are predominant, but in the village and in small towns the Tartars compose from seventy to eighty per cent of the population."

As to the social differentiation of the Crimean population, "the Crimean Tartars are, in their vast majority, peasants who devote their labors to gardening, cattle breeding and agriculture. The Tartar bourgeoisie consists largely of small and middle artisans and merchants. The bourgeoisie is comparatively poor and not numerous, and is therefore of no importance as a social-economic force. But the numerically tiny class of Tartar landed proprietors (*mirzas*) possesses immense riches and owns large estates, enormous orchards and vineyards. The Crimean Tartar peasantry belongs to the poor peasantry. "Fisthood" is strongly developed, but in the role of "fists" (*kulaks*) there appear mostly Greek and Armenian merchants and usurers. This is one of the economic causes of the hatred which the Tartar peasants feel toward the "unbelievers", chiefly toward the Greeks. The cultural level of the Tartar peasantry is very low.

Until the October revolution they were in complete spiritual subjection to their priests (*mullas*), who are either ignorant and superstitious or conscious impostors. The class of city workers is still in the embryonic stage among the Crimean Tartars. This class is composed of a small number of proletarians of the shop-counter, office employes and laborers, that is, of that section of the proletariat which is the hardest to assimilate the ideas of the class struggle and of communism. The industrial proletariat—this vanguard of the proletarian revolution—is not to be found among the Crimean Tartars.

The division of the Crimean Tartars along political lines in 1917 was as follows: the liberals, chauvinists and social-nationalists united into a "people's party" (*Milli Firka*), which started among the masses of the Tartar population an extensive oral and printed agitation in favor of the formation of a Crimean-Tartar democratic republic. From the very first day of its appearance on the political scene with the slogan of national self-government, the *Milli Firka* party absolutely forgot the fact that over half of the Crimean population was non-Tartar. The *Milli Firka* party set out to agitate for the convocation of a representative organ of the Crimean Tartars, and the elections took place while Kerensky was still in power. The Tartar parliament, the Kurultai, assembled in the historical Bakhchisarai, in the palace of the Khan. In November, 1917, on a motion of the *Milli Firka* party, the Kurultai formed the so-called Crimean-Tartar Government, with Mufti Chelibeyev as premier.

This imitation government, uniting all the bour-

geois and nationalist elements of Crimea, became a reliable support for the international counter-revolution in Crimea. "As a result of sanguinary battles, the troops of the 'Crimea-Tartar Government' were destroyed by the revolutionary detachments of the sailors of the Black Sea fleet and of the Sebastopol workmen. The Kurultai was dissolved by the Sebastopol Military-Revolutionary Committee, which took over the power until the convocation of a provisional congress of Soviets." Such was the sad ending of the first adventure of the Crimean Tartar chauvinists. "The leaders of the *Milli Firka* party went into hiding and continued their black work. Creating conflicts between the unenlightened masses of the Tartar peasantry and the Soviet troops, they succeeded in raising a wall between the toiling Tartars, on one hand, and the workers and peasants of other nationalities, supporting the Soviet power, on the other hand." They roused national hatred, and, thanks to this, they overthrew the Soviet rule in Crimea. "But shortly after this insurrection a change began in the state of mind of the Tartar workmen and peasants."

In the spring of 1918, "together with the German troops, the leaders of the *Milli Firka* party and the members of the cabinet of the 'Crimean-Tartar Government', who had escaped from the Bolsheviks, reappeared in Crimea. They were so sure that the aims and plans of the German imperialists did not conflict with their own aims that they immediately took steps to govern the Tartar people. The second premier of the Tartar cabinet, Jafed Seydamet—an adroit adventurer who posed as a Socialist Revolutionist—delivered public speech in which he lauded the merits "of the great monarch, who, sword in hand, has defended the interests and rights of the enslaved peoples." A petition which was signed by the president of the Kurultai was presented to Emperor Wilhelm, in which the "elected representatives of the Tartar people" appeared in a disgustingly, cringing attitude towards the then leader of international reaction.

Soon after the occupation of Crimea by the German hordes, the Czarist General Sulkevich appeared suddenly on the scene and unceremoniously dismissed the Kurultai cabinet, declaring himself the ruler of Crimea. The rule of the "usurper" Sulkevich, which was supported by German bayonets and by the Crimean, including the Tartar, landed proprietors who returned to their estates and began to inflict punishments on the peasants who were involved in the seizure of the estate lands, was a better lesson for the Tartar poor peasantry than the Bolshevik agitation.

About the same time in the Crimea appeared a new oppressor in the person of the Entente imperialism, which based its calculations and plans on the victory of Kolchak and Denikin, who adapted the slogan "a united and indivisible Russia." The Kurultai was again left emptyhanded.

In the beginning of 1919, when the Soviet power was again established in the Crimea, a de-

cidated change in favor of the Soviet power occurred even in the views of the leaders of the *Milli Firka* party, thanks to the cautious policy of the Crimean communists, who tried to attract to active participation in their work of the Soviets the more conscious Tartar workmen and peasants, and one of the most eminent leaders of the *Milli Firka*, in an article in the *Krumsky Kommunist*, pointed out that the "Bolsheviki succeeded in appraising with mathematical precision the hopes and aspirations of the Mussulman people" and have thus shown "great statesmanship." At the June (1919) conference of the communist organizations of the Crimean Tartar delegates were present from seventeen units, representing a membership of over 400 and considerably more sympathizers.—Petrograd *Izvestia*, January 30.

### RUSSIA AND THE EAST

A delegation from Khiva arrived at Moscow. The delegation includes the People's Commissar of the Khiva Republic, Baba-Akhund-Salimov, who is greatly respected in Khiva, and the President of the parliament, which had been dispersed by the overthrown Khan. The delegation was elected by the *Kurultai* (Representative Assembly) and was sent to express to the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic the appreciation of the people of Khiva for the support in the struggle against the power of the despot and to give assurance of the eternal friendship of the Khiva people to the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic.

### POSTAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SOVIET RUSSIA

The Vladivostok *Krasnoye Znamya* of June 8, contains the following news item:

"The Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs reports the conclusion of an agreement between Russia and England with regard to the resumption of postal communication, including the dispatch of money orders not exceeding one thousand rubles."

### TO THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT: THE MODERN PROMETHEUS

By CARLETON BEALS

To steal white fire from Zeus were crime enough  
For all the lesser gods to shrink in fear  
From out the star-hewn mansions you might rear  
Upon the simple human soul-made stuff,  
And turn to cringe before the same rebuff  
Of master and of scorn as yesteryear,—  
And still in toothless hate grown old and drear,  
They would rechain you to wild cliffs as rough  
As those your patient might had through the past  
Of ages, calm endured. But now the chains  
Are forever snapped apart, and you are free  
To face the blinding sun of destiny  
That floods your troubled path with light at last  
And leads you on to final victory.

### IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

Next week SOVIET RUSSIA will print an announcement of the series of "Soviet Russia Pamphlets", in which a complete rearrangement of the series, including new pamphlets, will be described. But this is only one of the reasons why you should not fail to buy next week's copy.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the  
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU  
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**G**ERMANY, according to a statement made by her present Foreign Minister, Dr. Walter Simons, to the Reichstag Foreign Affairs Committee on September 1, was urged to "collaborate with the Russian bolsheviki as a means of breaking the bonds imposed by the Treaty of Versailles." Simons, according to his declaration, "rejected this course after mature reflection."

"If we had followed these exhortations" said the Foreign Minister, "Germany would immediately have become a theatre of war. Furthermore, the disastrous consequences which Bolshevism might be expected to bring with it would have fallen with double force upon Germany."

Dr. Simons said proposals also have been made that Germany cooperate with the western powers against Russia, which he considered an equally impossible course. "No power at war with Soviet Russia," the Foreign Minister added, "need count upon our support." (N. Y. *Globe*, September 2, 1920.)

Germany appears therefore to be between the devil and the deep sea. The Entente would have her enter the lists against Soviet Russia, exhausting her resources and population in the service of world reaction, while the German workers are not only determined that they will not be used for such purposes, but are actively preventing munitions from passing through their country, in many cases going so far as to destroy such consignments when they discover them. The reader will find a number of news items reprinted in this issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*, describing such incidents. It is not surprising that Dr. Simons cannot decide to plunge Germany without some hesitation into the civil war that would immediately result from an attempt to intervene militarily in Soviet Russia.

**S**WITZERLAND is reported to have declined to permit the transporting of munitions of any kind across her territory. Switzerland is frequently spoken of as the oldest republic in Europe; she might therefore be expected to have a sympathetic interest in the maintenance of other governments of the same type elsewhere in Europe. But the people of Switzerland seem to know that what goes by the name of "Polish Republic" is a reactionary country, manipulated by an unscrupulous ruling class, and surrendered by them body and soul to

the Allies, for use in the nefarious task of attempting to crush the Soviet Republic. And the people of Switzerland seem to have sufficient influence with their government to force it at least to publish a declaration forbidding the use of Swiss territory as a thoroughfare for the transportation of materials to be used in destroying the only workers' government in the world. The people of England have succeeded in forcing the government headed by Lloyd George to make a similar declaration. Of course, this has not prevented the English Government from assisting Poland, as well as Wrangel, in their imperialistic designs on Soviet Russia. Similarly, the Swiss Government, which was ready to precipitate its country into the Great War, and could not decide on which side to enter, may do its friends abroad a good turn by permitting occasional consignments to slip through. But it is interesting and encouraging to note that there is now not a single country in Europe, outside of the fireside of reaction which is now France, where the workers have not been able to force their rulers to promise to be neutral toward Soviet Russia.

\* \* \*

**I**N HIS latest book *The Brass Check*, Mr. Upton Sinclair sounds the alarm against the dangers involved in the great news agencies and the big newspapers, with their enormous circulation, for the formation of what is called a true public opinion. And in fact, no one possibly has felt so much the power for harm of these modern organizations, in shaping the mind of the general public, as the adherents and sympathizers of the Soviet regime in Russia. However, the same industrial development that has created this dominion of the news agency and the big press over the minds of the people, has made possible the existence, in this field, as in many others, of a corrective to this dangerous influence, in the fact that, owing to modern means of communication, such as railroads, steamships, telegraph and wireless, it is impossible completely to shut off the truth from the knowledge of the public, and sooner or later truth is bound to filter through to the interested community. We surmise that the same reactionary circles which are planning and bringing into execution their world-wide plans of dark and bloody reaction and which, by the way, are able to force their perversion of the facts on the public as information, or rather misinformation, would in many cases prefer to have none but medieval conditions of communication, in order that their black deeds might remain in the darkness for a considerable length of time.

We feel that such must be also the feelings of the Polish reactionaries, when they are compelled, for the sake of "western" public opinion, to whitewash their government and their nationals of the blot and odium of anti-Jewish pogroms.

A friend has provided us with a copy of a circular letter sent out by a Polish daily in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, *Kuryer Polski*, together with a clipping from this paper, apparently sent broad-

cast to the press in the country, which, because of its significance, we are reproducing below in full. Dear sir:

The enclosed clipping from the *Kuryer Polski* shows "Who are the Present Rulers of Russia."

Until recently the American public opinion was misled by the Bolshevik propaganda exalting the Red victories over the Polish armies.

Now, however, with the war tide decidedly favoring the Polish arms, we must prepare ourselves for the renewal of "pogrom propaganda."

In justice to the four million of Poles in America, may we not ask you to be on guard against the malicious Jewish-Bolshevik "pogrom propaganda"?

There should be expected some executions of the Jews in Poland, who, as the latest telegrams inform us, were captured with arms fighting on the Bolshevik side.

Would not our own government punish its American citizens for giving help and comfort to the enemy overrunning the U. S.?

Thanking you for your impartial stand in these trying hours for the Polish nation, we remain,

Respectfully yours,

KURYER POLSKI,

(Signed) S. LEMPICKI, *Editor*.

Out of consideration for the reader we refrain from reproducing the contents of the clipping, one of the clumsiest and most mendacious pieces of anti-Bolshevik propaganda we have ever come across. In the above mentioned list of the alleged "rulers" of Russia are gathered names of Russian political writers and workers, friends as well as bitter foes of the Soviet regime alike, whose only connecting link in this case is the fact of their Jewish descent. Possibly it may be the same list that was recently circulated by the American Society for International Conciliation. However, it is the letter which calls forth some necessary observations.

It is clear as day that those of the Polish reactionaries whose unenviable duty it is to "neutralize" the foul odor emanating from the Polish misdeeds know too well from the past—this has been the Polish reactionary practice since the year 1910—that anti-semitic propaganda and excesses are the frequent, and, unfortunately up to now the surest means, used by the reaction threatened in its very existence, to foster "patriotic enthusiasm," so necessary for the support of the tottering Polish state. They know that with the recent working up of a new "patriotic outburst," there "should be expected some executions of the Jews in Poland," or, more correctly, indiscriminate killing and pillaging of the Jews by inflamed and instigated legionaries and black hundred elements aroused by the civil war. To forestall the news of these heroic deeds, the Polish propagandists speak of a "renewal" of the "malicious Jewish-Bolshevik pogrom propaganda," forgetting—poor souls—that it was the Polish War Ministry itself which saw itself compelled to issue quite recently an order against anti-Jewish excesses. It is characteristic also that the alleged facts about the "Jews fighting with arms on the Bolshevik side," if true, refer, according to telegrams, to localities lying in White Russian or Lithuanian territories, whose inhabitants could only be considered as "Polish citizens" by the principle of "might is right."

It is really inadvisable for the Polish reactionary editors in this country to leave their literary dens, from which they are gladdening their not too fastidious Polish readers with humorous accounts of old Jews whose beards are literally torn out, or Jewesses fleeing from the drunken voluptuousness of an unbridled soldiery. After all, the thin veil of sham innocence and concern for civilization may, under the breath of publicity, easily melt away, displaying the hideousness that is underneath and calling forth its correct appreciation in line with the known maxim of Boileau: *J'appelle un chat un chat et Rolet un fripon*. We advise the Polish editors of such papers to restrict their public utterances to the columns that are read by their own reactionary readers, and not to court the exposure that they cannot escape if they appeal to masses that may really understand them.

\* \* \*

IS IT REALLY planned by the American Red Cross to send the Russian children from Petrograd, who are now in New York, to France, instead of to their homes in Soviet Russia? We have already called attention to the fact that sending them to France means sending them to an enemy, openly at war with Soviet Russia, an enemy who has savagely maltreated many citizens of Soviet Russia who had been sent to France by the Czar's government. The duty of the American Red Cross toward the children, if this plan should be persisted in, would be almost impossible of fulfillment. That duty would seem to be to forward the children at once from the port in France at which they arrive (assuming that the children *must* be sent to France), to Petrograd or to some other Russian port designated by the Russian Soviet Government. If this should be impossible, the American Red Cross will be faced with the almost insuperable difficulty of keeping the children from the clutches of the French authorities, who will of course, in pursuance of their vicious Russian policy, attempt to hold them as hostages of Soviet Russia, in order, perhaps, to use them for the collection of the Czar's loans. Assuming that the bulk of the children should thus be compelled to remain in France, under the protection of the American Red Cross, it will be the difficult task of that body to prevent the French Government from attempting forcible enlistments of the older boys into the counter-revolutionary forces of Wrangel (with whom the French Government is said to have made a criminal alliance, to cover a period of twenty years). That there is an almost certain danger of such an attempt on the part of the French Government is proved by its conduct in the past toward the Russian soldiers in France, as well as by the fact that already the group now in New York had been deprived, while in Siberia, of some of the older boys, who were recruited there for Kolchak's army. Of the 777 children in the group, 427 are boys, and 350 girls. We have prepared a list of the various age-groups in the colony (some of the girls have reached the age of 20), and find

that while there are fewer girls than boys in the number, the boys greatly outnumber the girls in all the year-groups from four to fifteen years, while the girls (whose total is less than that of the boys), are far more numerous than the boys in the age-groups of sixteen to twenty years, inclusive. The figures are these:

|                 | Age 15 and<br>Under | Age 16 and<br>Over | Total<br>all Ages |
|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Boys .....      | 310                 | 117                | 427               |
| Girls .....     | 168                 | 182                | 350               |
| Both Sexes .... | 478                 | 299                | 777               |

Some of the boys, after being recruited, escaped and traveled great distances on foot to return to the camp of the children's colony.

It will be necessary for the American Red Cross to prevent the French Government from repeating such lawless and cruel acts on the older boys of the group. But it would be very much better to send the children to Petrograd directly, and thus escape the arduous responsibility of answering for the savage acts of a government that has grown mad with imperialism.

As this issue goes to press, we are informed that Mr. Martens has received an answer to his protest from the American Red Cross. This answer, together with his reply, will be published in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

\* \* \*

**I**N OUR issue of August 31, we described a savage execution of civilian prisoners by Latvian White Guards. We are now in a position to give details of the manner in which news of this act was received in Latvia.

At the regular session of the Constitutional Assembly of Latvia, June 3, 1920, the Social Democratic faction introduced an interpellation:

"We ask the minister of defence, does he know this fact of the shooting down of prisoners without trial and if he knows what steps he is to take to avoid such murders and to call the guilty persons to account."

The motivation of this interpellation is stated by the speaker of the Social Democratic faction as: "this is not a single fact, but a well-known thorough system." He quotes other facts from his own personal experience on the amnesty commission where his attention was called to the fact that political prisoners who had been granted amnesty disappeared after they were rearrested without having committed any new offences.

A Latvian newspaper, reporting the event, adds the following editorial comment:

"We have here disclosed a part of the well-known, thorough system," through which in Latvia alone tens of thousands of alleged communists have already been murdered.

As we can see by the above facts this "thorough system" goes far beyond its limits in the territory of Latvia. Some of the murdered victims start on their way to Golgotha through the act of Deportation from London.

## The Revolution in Persia

By A. LEONTIEV

[An interview with Comrade Voznesensky, in charge of the Eastern Department of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, on the Revolution in Persia.]

Persia is on fire. A revolutionary Provisional Government has been formed in Resht. The entry of our troops into Enzeli seems to have given wings to the Persian revolutionists. They felt the proximity of fraternal support. In an interview with one of our collaborators regarding the significance of the Persian revolution for Soviet Russia the Director of the Eastern Department of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Comrade A. Voznesensky, said:

"At the head of the revolutionary government is Kuchuk-Khan. He was one of the most active among the Persian revolutionists of 1908. He is a nationalist, and has a burning hatred for the enslavers of Persia, the English, and the Teheran government which sold itself to them. When Persia became a field for military activities after the outbreak of the world war in 1914, and was invaded by British, Russian and Turkish forces, Kuchuk-Khan formed his own detachments, which were named 'forest brothers.'"

After the solemn declaration of Trotsky regarding the annulment of the former treaties, which was followed by the evacuation of our troops from Persia, Kuchuk-Khan inaugurated a definite orientation toward Soviet Russia, and began to act with more energy against the English. He captured Resht several times, and arrested the English consul. Strong forces were repeatedly sent against him, but they could never capture him, because he was hiding in the mountains and had the support of the broad masses of the people, who idolized him as a hero. The numerical strength of Kuchuk-Khan's forces fluctuated between one thousand and eight thousand men, depending on the extent of the revolutionary activity. At present, before the capture of Teheran, Kuchuk considers the uniting of all the Persians as the most important task. When the capital city passes into the hands of the revolutionists, social reforms will be inaugurated, and first of all the land reform, since side by side with many large land owners Persia has an enormous mass of destitute agricultural laborers. Kuchuk's program includes the nationalization of the banks and custom houses, and also the introduction of an income tax.

As early as the summer of 1918, Comrade Kolomeyev was sent to Kuchuk-Khan with a special letter addressed to the Persian people. The letter did not reach Kuchuk. Kolomeyev was captured by the English and shot. We nevertheless succeeded in establishing connections with Kuchuk.

Besides Kuchuk, in Western Persia, in the district of Kussan and Shyrvan, there is the insurrectionary activity of Dokhol-Khan, aiming at the

liberation of the sacred city of Meshkhed, which the English are using as their base. This movement also became stronger after the meeting at Enzeli. It may lead to momentous results. For the revolution will undoubtedly pass from Western Persia into Sestan over the railway line that is now being built, and thence it will inevitably spread to Afghanistan and Beluchistan. And when Afghanistan is aflame, the fire will spread to northern India. Kuchuk's insurrection thus acquires the importance of a world event.—Petrograd *Krasnaya Gazeta*, June 10.

### FROM WORKERS CONFERENCE

On July 12 the All-Russian Conference of workers in socialist agriculture opened at Moscow. The People's Commissar of Agriculture, Kurayev, read a long report on the immediate problem of Socialist agriculture. Comrade Kurayev pointed out that heretofore the process of organization of new forms of agriculture had been but a rudimentary one. But now we are in a position to make the first steps in the direction of conscious influence on the process of agricultural production. He emphasizes the connection between the Soviet farms, communal farms, and peasant farms. The methods of organization in these three forms of agriculture, which are connected by a single plan and policy, should nevertheless be different. The Soviet farms permit the direct execution of a definite production plan, while in the collective and peasant farms only measures of indirect regulation and the influence of education and demonstration can be used. The plan of production should be based on the division of Russia into agricultural districts, which should also be the basis for influencing the agricultural population in the desired direction.

The Conference then listened to the reports of the delegates. The reports show that immense work has been accomplished on the agricultural farms as well as in the agricultural communes and artels (cooperative teams). All of them are united in the All-Russian Union of Communes and Artels. Of late there has been a notable increase of the agricultural communes and artels in the border provinces. The exploitation area of the collectives has greatly increased. The general impression from the reports is that the Soviet Farms as well as the communes and artels have become considerably stronger in comparison with last year, despite the extremely difficult conditions for their development. Gradually the peasants are becoming friendly towards them.

### THE NAPHTHA SITUATION

*Economic Life* of July 27 contains the following report on the naphtha situation in Russia.

On June 12 the stock of naphtha products in the Baku region was represented by the colossal figure of 291,716,000 poods. This is three times as large as the stock in pre-war days (91,200,000 poods on June 1, 1913). There are no complete

reports on the production of naphtha in the Baku district.

As to the Grozny district, the production between January 1 and June 14 amounted to 10,641,000 poods. The small production of naphtha in Grozny, on the average a little over 2,000,000 poods a month, is explained chiefly by the fact that many wells have been closed since the end of 1917, owing to the overcrowding of the storage places and the small exports. The exports of naphtha products from Grozny on the railways increased in June, giving an average of 232 cisterns a day, as compared with 150 cisterns, which was the number set for the district according to the plan of the Supreme Naphtha Committee attached to the Supreme Council of National Economy.

Let us now take up the question of the transportation from Baku of naphtha by water. The export of naphtha products from Baku was 21,200,000 poods in June, which is an increase of thirty-one per cent in comparison with May (16,500,000 poods). The total export from Baku since the beginning of the operations (in May) up to July 1, amounts to 37,400,000 poods, which is fifty per cent of the quantity determined by the plan for the export of naphtha products from Baku during the current navigation period.

### RUSSIAN RAILWAY PROJECTS

A few months ago, a German Economic Mission went to Soviet Russia. A member of this commission, which has recently returned to Berlin, writes in a Berlin newspaper:

"At the present time, Russia is suffering most from a shortage of locomotives in good repair. Of the 35,000 locomotives which Russia possessed in 1914, only 1,200 are in good repair. The entire industry and economic life in Russia is, of course, harmed considerably by this shortage. Russia is now trying to remedy this evil by ordering machines in foreign countries. England and America are broadminded in this respect, at any rate, more so than Germany, for in spite of the agitation carried on in their countries against the cursed, Bolshevik Russia, they are, nevertheless, attempting to do business with Bolshevism. When we arrived in Petrograd, 200 brand new, highly modern machines were being unloaded, which had been manufactured in America and had been shipped to Russia. At present, the crisis in the shortage of machines seems to have been overcome. During the stay of the German Investigating Commission in Moscow, the representatives of English and American industries who were present there, were commissioned by the Soviet Government to carry out the gigantic project of electrifying the entire Russian railway system. The electrification is to be finished in ten years. Eight long-distance power stations are to be built, each of which is to produce 300,000 kilowatts. Soviet Commissioner Krassin, who is in London at present, has already made payments on this project. The gigantic plan was already concluded in March of the present year, during the sojourn of the German Investigation Commission in Moscow. At first the Soviet Government wished German industry to have the contract, but the German Government, as Herr Mueller has emphatically said, put up so many subterfuges that the negotiations came to nothing. It is a question of a contract worth 80 million dollars. Unfortunately, Germany has not received it, and the more astute, energetic English and American industries have skimmed the cream. Our biggest long distance power station at Bitterfeld produces only 200,000 kilowatts."—From *Die Rote Fahne*, July 1, 1920.

## Agreement between Soviet Russia and Latvia

The following agreement regarding the repatriation of refugees was signed at a session of the Russian-Latvian Commission on Saturday, June 12, 1920. Our readers will recall that a complete peace treaty has since been concluded between the two countries. We are in possession of the full text of this treaty, which will be printed in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

### TREATY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LATVIA REGARDING REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES

Russia, on the one hand, and Latvia, on the other, actuated by the desire to hasten the liquidation of the distress caused by the world war, to enable the refugees of both sides to return immediately to their fatherland, without awaiting the conclusion of peace between the contracting parties, and to facilitate thereby the establishment of peaceful, good-neighborly relations between the two parties have concluded, to this end, a treaty for the repatriation of the refugees, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic—A. A. Yoffe.

The Government of Latvia—I. I. Wesman, P. R. Bergys and Colonel E. U. Kalnin.

After the reciprocal presentation of their credentials, which were found to be of the proper form, the plenipotentiaries came to an agreement with regard to the following decisions:

#### Article 1

Refugees of both contracting parties who desire to return to their fatherland shall be returned to their former places of residence within the shortest possible time.

#### Article 2

The terms "refugee" shall apply to persons who formerly dwelt in the territory of one of the contracting parties and are now on the territory of the other, having left during the World War of 1914-1917, or during the civil war, the districts occupied or threatened by the enemy or having been exiled by order of the military or civil authorities from a district of military operations.

*Note.* The term "refugee" likewise shall apply to all war prisoners of the World War who formerly resided on the territory of one of the contracting parties and who are on the territory of the other contracting party after the present treaty shall have gone into effect.

#### Article 3

Refugees shall be sent to transfer (exchange) stations in echelons or in single cars.

The transfer of refugees to points whence they will be sent in echelons or in single cars shall, contingent upon local conditions, also be made in groups, if possible, or individually.

In all these cases each of the contracting parties shall bear the expense involved in the transport of the refugees and of their belongings within the territory of the contracting party.

*Note 1.* Russia shall send each week to the Russian-Latvian border not less than two thousand refugees.

*Note 2.* The following shall serve as stations for the exchange of refugees: the railway station Rozenovskaya, of the former Windau-Rybinsk railway line,

and the railway station Zhogovo, of the former Petrograd-Warsaw railway line. The exchange stations may be altered in the future by agreement between the respective organs of the contracting parties.

#### Article 4

Refugees have the right to export their belongings in accordance with the rules regarding the transport of baggage appended to this article.

### APPENDIX

#### I

Refugees returning to their fatherland may take their belongings with them.

The total weight of the baggage, besides that carried by hand, must not exceed eight poods for the head of a family or for a single person, five poods for each adult member of a family, and two poods for children up to ten years.

Among other things, the hand baggage of refugees going abroad may contain:

1. Clothing and underwear: clothing and boots—not more than two pieces or pairs of each kind (only one fur coat) and not more than six changes of underwear for one person.

2. Necessary travelling belongings in finished form, not to exceed in number the ordinary needs for the journey, such as, for instance, pillows, blankets, sheets, towels, tea pot, etc.

*Note.* Persons of special vocations, such as physicians, artists, artisans, etc., shall be allowed to take along implements necessary for their professional work.

#### II

Refugees shall not be allowed to export:

1. Printed matter, deeds and business documents, photographs and records of any kind, unless these carry marks showing that they were examined by the respective institutions.

2. Arms, products of military equipment, and field glasses.

3. Manufactured goods, fur goods, leather goods, dry goods and similar products, intended for trade and not for personal use.

4. Over twenty pounds of provisions for each person,—among these over eight pounds of flour or bread, five pounds of meat products, three pounds of dairy products and four pounds of other food products, including over one pound of sugar and one-quarter of a pound of tea.

5. Domestic cattle and fowls.

*Note.* Refugees who do not travel by rail should be allowed to export domestic cattle and fowls, in the same number as they brought with them when they evacuated their fatherland.

6. Automobiles, motor cycles, bicycles, any kind of carriages, carts or sleds.

*Note.* The note to (5) shall be effective with regard to carriages, of any kind, carts and sleds.





7. Precious metals in crude form, loose gems, gold and silver coins.

8. Gold and platinum products weighing over sixteen zolotniks (2.5 ounces) each, gold and platinum wares exceeding in total weight sixteen zolotniks for one person and silver products exceeding in total weight one pound for one person.

*Note.* Refugees shall be allowed to export gold or silver watches, marriage rings, silver cigar cases and silver bags—to the number of one piece for every grown-up person, and the weight of these shall not be included in the norm determined by the present article.

9. Wares of precious stones (diamonds, emeralds, rubies, sapphires), and also of pearls, the total weight of which will exceed one carat.

10. All kinds of machines or parts of machines, physical apparatus, surgical and musical instruments,—except those mentioned in the note to article two of the Appendix.

*Note.* One sewing machine for a family shall be allowed for export.

Musical amateurs shall also be allowed to export musical instruments, if it will be proven that they brought these with them when they fled from their country.

11. Tobacco products (over 500 cigarettes or half a pound of tobacco for every person over eighteen years of age).

12. Soap, over one piece of toilet soap for each person and over half a pound of plain soap for a family.

13. Paper currency of any issue, over 20,000 rubles of Russian or Latvian money for each person. The passage of a greater sum than that

determined in this article shall be allowed only by special permission of the respective organs.

14. Foreign bills, excepting bills of the contracting parties, without special permission of the respective organs in each individual case.

15. Any kind of interest or dividend drawing papers, mortgage deeds and coupons, as well as notes, transport receipts and insurance policies, save those the passage of which will be permitted by the respective organs.

16. Articles of artistic or antiquarian value, unless there will be special permission for their passage by the respective organs.

#### Article 5

First of all shall be repatriated those refugees the members of whose families are on the territory of other contracting party. The repatriation of refugees, with the observance of this provision, shall begin with districts which are the most unfavorable for them in food, housing or other living conditions.

#### Article 6

The present treaty shall not be subject to ratification and shall become operative immediately after it is signed.

As authentic texts shall be considered both the Russian and the Lettish texts.

In confirmation of which the plenipotentiaries of both parties affixed their signatures to the present treaty.

The original is in two copies.

A. YOFFE,  
I. VESMAN,  
P. BERGIS,  
E. KALNIN.

Moscow, June 12, 1920.

## Kolchakists on Trial

By A. GOYKHBARG

*[The following interesting revelations, from the pen of a talented official in the Commissariat of Justice at Moscow, were published in two instalments in Ivestia, in the latter part of June, 1920. This account is not complete in the present issue; the rest will be printed next week.]*

**T**HE Kolchak rule was liquidated in January last. Kolchak was captured near Irkutsk, with the gold which he was carrying away. Many of his ministers were seized in Irkutsk. A considerable number of his former ministers managed to escape under the protection of the Czechs and the Japanese.

And the trial of the Kolchakists by an extraordinary revolutionary tribunal took place in Omsk only in May,—four months later, when not a trace was left either of Kolchak's military forces, or of the forces of his successor, Denikin.

Nothing like this trial has ever occurred in history,—whether we judge by its external setting, or by the character of the defendants and the crimes of the perpetrators of violence, and of the representatives of the middle-in-the-roads, the wavering petty bourgeois socialist parties, as revealed at the trial.

The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia

should be informed of everything that was revealed at this trial. They should also know what becomes of respectable, "ideal", "socialistically" minded people, when they enter into a bargain with the undisguised bandits of capital.

We will begin with the environment of the court and a description of the defendants.

*The external environment of the court.* An immense new hall in the railway shops, with snow-white columns, lighted through the glass roof by dazzling sunlight. The hall is filled with about eight and a half thousand workmen, Red soldiers, students from different parts of Siberia and special peasant delegates from the counties that have suffered most. The hall was hurriedly fixed up to give it a better appearance and to make toilers attending the trial feel more comfortable.

A striking impression is made on the defendants by the self-control, the almost incredible discipline of the mass of toilers. "How was this ac-

complished, how did the Soviet power manage to change them so quickly!"—the defendants and their partisans whisper to each other. And indeed, this vast "mob" listens to a recital of horrible crimes, they see the very perpetrators of these crimes on the stand, they listen to the testimony of witnesses who but a short time ago shot with their own hands friends and relatives of those who are in the "mob", and yet this "mob" sits as if bewitched, firmly relying on its workers' and peasants' tribunal. During the days of the trial the chairman only three times had to call for order: when there was applause after the reading of the indictment, when almost all the audience shouted that the defendants ought to be shot, and when there was again applause at the conclusion of the prosecutor's address.

*And the defendants?* Almost all of them intellectuals. Some of them eminent scientists, former representatives of the left parties. And in this political trial they hardly ever tried to voice any political note. In the political trials of the Czarist regime the defendants always appeared morally superior to the power which tried them. But in this case the moral superiority of the Soviet power over the defendants was revealed in every word of the defendants, until, finally, they openly began to laud the Soviet power and tried to prove that they had been defending some of the Soviet achievements.

Let us give some individual characterizations.

The chief figure is A. A. Cherven-Vodali. At the end of the Kolchak rule he was acting President of Kolchak's council of ministers; he appealed for help to the Japanese troops and to Semionov's bestial bands, insistently urged the transfer of all the gold reserve "as all-Russian property to all the Allies." He found his way to Kolchak from Denikin. And to Denikin he went, through Kiev, in a "lawful" way, with *Soviet* documents. It was shown that for a whole year, from October, 1917, to October, 1918, he was an active organizer of the "National Center" at Moscow, "working" at the same time in the Soviet commission for the regulation of questions connected with the Brest treaty. In 1906 he organized in Tver a committee to combat unemployment, and in 1917 he was chairman of the revolutionary Executive Committee in Tver.

The second figure is Shumilovsky, Minister of Labor. He was called "a minister from head to foot." Was an elector from the Mensheviks to the second and fourth dumas, was a candidate for the Constituent Assembly from the same party; voted for Kolchak as dictator; thanked the Omsk garrison for the successful suppression and shooting of workers; thanked General Rozanov for the brutal suppression of peasant insurrections; resigned from the party to get a free hand; defended hospital funds (sick benefit funds). And when the Czechs were leaving the front, believing the Kolchak regime too reactionary, he was drafting democratic declarations for his "government."

Here is another one—Laryonov. A railway spe-

cialist. Evacuated toward the East the mining enterprises and all the railway stock. While holding the post of Minister of Communications, he was at the same time employed by the privately owned Altai railway. Copies of the applications to the "council of ministers", in which this road solicited certain privileges, were sent to its "minister", who was a salaried employe of the road. Over his signature he published in the Collection of Laws a decree granting lands to this very road. On the eve of Kolchak's fall he transferred to his personal account in Vladivostok and Kharbin, from his current account as minister, 5,000,000 rubles, and during the negotiations for the surrender of the power he appropriated another 50,000 rubles "for evacuation."

Then there is Professor Novombergsky. "For the 170 millions of the population of Russia there are only six such men as I" (Doctors of Constitutional Law),—he declared at the trial. He was a member of the Siberian regional Duma, took part in the election of its presidium, and, to win favor with the Kolchakists, he compared this presidium to a merchant swindler who would swallow a note of his creditor; voiced his approval of executions, and was rewarded for this by his appointment to the post of assitant minister. He reproached the Bolsheviki because they prevented, by their revolution, a separate peace with Austria-Hungary, and urged a fight against them for the Brest peace. He, a "Marxian", became an "informant" of the cossack troops, took an ikon from His Eminence (the Bishop) to bless cossacks for a battle against the communists, and, on March 18, 1920, he spoke at a meeting about the Paris Commune. He won the confidence of the students by this speech, and they elected him chairman of the Council of the Omsk Polytechnic Institute. And it is said that he planned to join a unit of "sympathizers" (of the Communist Party), but the trial spoiled this plan.

And here is Professor Preobrazhensky. He received a commission from the geological committee, which was financed by the Soviets. "The front passed over him,"—and he became a minister. Science takes no interest in gold, nevertheless he claims that as a result of his labors the next few decades will see an additional 30,000 poods of gold. And, with his approval, 10,000 poods of the stolen gold reserve were sent abroad, and his appointees demanded that the remaining 20,000 poods or more be also sent abroad. But he tried to carry into life the principles of a single school.

And here is the assistant minister of finance Khronovsky. Before he was appointed to this post, he was a Director of the International Bank, and under the Soviet power in Ufa he was chairman of the commission for the distribution of the Soviet levy.

Take State Controller Krasnov. He was entrusted with a certain task by People's Commissar Lander. But the front rolled over him, or he rolled over the front, and during "the forced year and a half of interruption of the Soviet work"

he held the post of State Controller with Kolchak. But he "was enforcing all the time only the decrees of the Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissaries)," and he asked to be taken into Soviet service.

Or take Zhukovsky, the assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs. He consistently followed "a liberal-democratic policy," and "supported the ideas brought forth by the revolution." But when he was in the train with Kolchak,—to whom he served as confidant—in December, 1919, he was writing verses to the effect that Russia could be saved only by a monarch crowned at Moscow by the Patriarch.

We could follow this up with a description of the rest of them. One cannot imagine intellectuals sinking lower than this, to greater corruption and lack of principles.

### THE TRUTH ABOUT POLAND

VIENNA, August 7.—Thomas Dabal, who is not a Socialist, but a representative of the left radical peasant party, made a speech in the Polish parliament that was completely suppressed by the Polish censor. In his speech Dabal spoke as follows:

In the name of the Radical Peasant Party I have the honor, as representative of the poor peasants and of the landless, to declare that I should like to espouse with all my heart the cause of a Poland of the people, and that its protection must be our highest aim, but I wish to observe that the destructive war-policy, which since the beginning of the Polish State has been followed by the Polish bourgeoisie, powerfully supported by those who are the gainers in war, the landowners and capitalists, falls squarely on the shoulders of the working people.

The war which is being waged against Soviet Russia has not in reality for its aim the protection of the independence of Poland, since this has been recognized by all the states of the world—by Soviet Russia earlier than by the Entente. The only purpose of this war is to overthrow by our bayonets, with the assistance of foreign capitalists, the internal regime of Soviet Russia. The Polish bourgeoisie, conjointly with foreign capitalists, out of fear of the victorious onward march of the world revolution, and in spite of the peace proposals of Soviet Russia, has continually, on the one hand, through the Polish Prime Minister Paderewsky, been clamoring for the overthrow of the present regime in Soviet Russia and, in conjunction with the blackest reaction, has challenged it to combat. Instead of putting the government in the hands of the country and city proletariat, and leaving to it the task of restoring economic conditions in the state, the people has been given over to misery and starvation, and every movement for its liberation has been met by reprisals which have often surpassed in cruelty those of the Czar. Two years of this rule have completely ruined economic conditions in Poland and have clearly shown to the people that they cannot expect a better future from such a government.

It is therefore no wonder that the people, who honestly desire peace and the beginning of constructive work, are unwilling to enter the army, inasmuch as they see in the war only the class interest of a handful of exploiters. The present coalition government, whose majority is composed of those who until now have been decidedly of the war party, cannot have the confidence of the people. The people, who wish to defend only a real Poland of the people, see their liberation not in a war with Soviet Russia, but in a lasting peace, in the bringing about of the necessary changes in present-day society, which is based on exploitation.

### THE HYPOCRISY OF POLAND IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

From Stockholm we received the following telegram: Comrade Sadoul makes public a statement concerning statements which were made to him confidentially in Moscow by the French Deputy Ernest Lafont, with regard to Pilsudsky and other leading Polish statesmen, with whom he had the opportunity to speak personally about a week ago in Poland. According to Pilsudsky's opinion the Polish army is not defeated, it is only obliged to retreat on account of lack of shells, because their transportation has been blocked by German and Czech workers, and is in need of a truce only to reorganize its forces.

Through the influence of the Entente, Poland would receive from Germany in exchange for necessary concessions in Silesia a part of the arms and munitions which Germany would have to deliver up to the Allies in accordance with the Versailles Treaty. As soon as these munitions arrive, the army, through enlistment of volunteers, will soon be in fighting condition again and will advance victoriously. Now it is only a matter of gaining time for that purpose, thinks Pilsudsky. Sadoul declares it to be unnecessary to emphasize the importance of this report, which shows with cynical openness that Pilsudsky and his government are entering into negotiations for a truce only in order to gain time, while the Soviet Government announces its honest desire for peace.

### POLES APPROPRIATE WHITE RUSSIAN FORESTS

MINSK.—The Polish Government has undertaken an energetic exploitation of the forests in the occupied districts of White Russia. It is also selling vast quantities of flax and hemp for export through large commercial firms. Recently timber, to the amount of two billion rubles, was sold to English lumbermen.

### KONI LECTURES TO THE SAILORS

A group of Petrograd sailors decided to take up the study of ethics. The People's Commissariat of Education invited the former Senator, A. F. Koni, a prominent lawyer, to give a course of lectures on this topic.—*Russki Golos*, New York, July 10, 1920.

## Recent News Items

### GERMANY'S NEUTRALITY, GERMAN WORKERS ON GUARD

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Simons, said in his speech of yesterday:

We must maintain our neutrality. It is to the interest of the Entente to send troops through Germany to the East. If it should turn out to be true that preparations with that end in view have already been made in the occupied area, then German neutrality would thereby have been violated. For whether unoccupied or occupied, German territory remains German territory, and no part of the territory of a neutral power may be used for the movement of troops. We shall try to protect our neutrality by all means at our disposal.

Thus Mr. Simon.

We received by telephone the following communication from Berlin:

In Kattowitz the railway management received a telegram from the Entente Commission, announcing the transportation of French troops through Upper Silesia. The railway workers of Upper Silesia have declared a general strike, in case the railway management yields to the demand of the Entente.

We see that the German proletariat has every reason to place no credence in the solemn assertions of ministers. It will take care itself that Germany will not be used by the Entente as a place for marshalling troops against Soviet Russia.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna, August 3, 1920.

### NO MUNITIONS FOR POLAND

From Woellersdorf there arrived yesterday at the Nordbahnhof (Northern Station) three cars of small-arm munitions, with the order to be sent on to Poland. The consignment, which had been announced by our comrades, was entered on the declaration as paper. Investigations revealed the contents of the consignment.

The constant holding up of consignments of munitions is a proof of how necessary it is for the workers to keep the closest watch, and how little they can rely upon any official declarations.—*Same source as above.*

### GERMAN WORKERS DESTROY WAR MATERIAL DESTINED FOR POLAND

STUTTGAERT, August 4.—“The new military automobiles, which had been destined for the Reichswehr and provided with guns and loaded on railway cars, were completely destroyed Tuesday afternoon in the Daimler Works at Untertuerken by Spartacan elements in those works.”

The *Rote Fahne* of Berlin writes as follows concerning this report:

The autos and guns, which were already on board the cars, were destined for Poland. Through their vigilance, the workers of Stuttgart thwarted the purpose of the shipment, which is now being

hurriedly declared to have been destined for the Reichswehr. This act of the workers of Stuttgart deserves to be ranked with the acts of the workers of Chemnitz, Marburg and Erfurt. It shows above all how the railway workers can be assisted in a practical way by other groups of workers in preventing the transportation of troops and war materials.—*Same source as above.*

### NO MOBILIZATION IN RUMANIA

VIENNA, August 2.—The Royal Rumanian commissariat in Vienna communicates the following:

With regard to a telegram from the South-Slavic Press-Bureau from Belgrade of July 31, 1920, we again deny most emphatically the report of a mobilization in Rumania.

According to a telegram arrived today from the General Staff in Bukarest, not a single Russian soldier has entered Bessarabia, and perfect quiet and order prevails in the whole country. Likewise, the report of a visit of the King of Roumania to Belgrade, for the purpose of asking for help against the Bolsheviki, is false. All reports in contradiction to the foregoing statement are inventions of interested circles.

### ATROCITIES OF THE POLISH WHITES

AT MINSK.—According to the *Izvestia*, of July 29, 1920, a resident of Minsk who had just arrived at Moscow reported that before they evacuated Minsk the Polish soldiers looted the city, perpetrated violence on the inhabitants and burned houses. On the day preceding the entry of the Red troops into the city, the workers and students organized a defence force, which courageously resisted the Polish bands. The entry of the Red troops into the city was welcomed by the whole populace. It has been established that the Polish bands at Minsk killed thirty-five Jews, raped 150 women, burned 1,500 houses, and looted all the stores and about 1,000 homes.

ALONG THE LINE OF RETREAT.—Reports arrive every day from the towns along the line of retreat of the Polish army from Vilna to Grodno, giving details of the Jewish pogroms perpetrated by the Polish legionaries. Especially brutal was the pogrom in the town of Rudzishai. There were many killed, among them old Jews; children were tormented, Jewish girls outraged. Actually all the inhabitants of the town fled into the woods, leaving their belongings to the looters.

The Vilna organizations of the Socialist parties organized a special investigation commission to inquire into these pogroms.

### A PRESENT FROM THE QUAKERS TO SOVIET RUSSIA

A Moscow wireless reports the arrival in Moscow of several railroad cars with medicaments, fats and sugar, which were sent by the English Quakers as a present to the Russian workers.

## Recent Russo-English Correspondence

[Unfortunately we have not a complete set of all notes passing between Soviet Russia and England during the past six weeks. We print below such as are in our possession, and hope to have occasion later to interpret the relations between the various documents.]

### I

*Radio sent by Chicherin on July 24 to Lord Curzon of Kedleston:*

The Russian Soviet Government expresses its willingness to meet the desire of the British Government in its proposal to convene a conference with the purpose of establishing a definite agreement between Russia and other powers which participate in hostile actions against her or support such, and is of the opinion that the said conference ought to be composed of representatives of Russia and of the leading powers of the Entente. The Russian Soviet Government agrees that this conference should be called together in London.

It makes known at the same time to the British Government that orders had been given to the military command to meet the Polish parlementaires and to begin with them pourparlers relative to an armistice and peace.

The Russian Government can not refrain from expressing its astonishment, in view of the demand of the British Government to suspend the trade negotiations after the adoption by the Soviet Government of all its proposals, which were the condition for the opening of these negotiations, since none of the said proposals has been violated by that government. And the latter thinks that the establishment of durable peaceful and friendly relations will be extremely difficult, if agreements once adopted are violated on the following day or left unheeded, or if conditions already accepted are, after the adoption of an agreement, supplemented by new and unexpected conditions not stipulated before.

The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the British Government will henceforth adhere immutably to the principles laid down in the British memorandum of July first and in the reply of the Soviet Government of July seventh and will in future abstain from any violations of this agreement or from adding to the latter new conditions not provided for therein.

The Russian Government on its part strictly adhering to its declarations, as laid down in its note of July seventeenth, expects that before the beginning of the above conference the surrender of ex-General Wrangel and of his military forces will have been carried through on the conditions of securing personal safety to him, his adherents, and the fugitives under his protection, and of the transfer to the Soviet power of all the territory under his control as well as of the war material, stores, means of communication, and vessels now in his hands.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, CHICHERIN.*

### II

*The reply of the British Government to the note of July 24 from the Soviet Government of Russia, which is printed above, was dispatched in the form of two notes. The first, dated July 26, reads as follows:*

The British Government is glad to learn that the Soviet Government has authorized the military command of the Soviet armies to negotiate an immediate armistice with the Polish military command, and that they are prepared to agree to a conference meeting in London for the purpose of establishing a definite agreement between Russia and the Powers which were engaged in hostile actions against her or supporting such action.

They note that the Soviet Government further proposes that the representatives of the leading powers of the Entente should attend this conference, and they are communicating with their Allies on this subject. Meanwhile they would suggest that Messrs. Kamenev, Krassin, and Miliutin should be authorized by the Soviet Government not merely to conclude the trade agreement between Russia and the Allied Governments, but also to discuss preliminary arrangements for the proposed peace conference, because communications by cable will involve delay and possible misunderstanding.

In reply to the latter part of the telegram, the Bri-

tish Government would point out that no trade agreement, even if completed, could have produced practical results if Soviet Russia had refused an armistice and invaded Poland, and had thus forced Great Britain and her Allies to give active support to the Polish people in defending their liberties and independence. They, therefore, thought it best to stop Messrs. Kamenev, Krassin, and Miliutin from making a journey which would be fruitless if no armistice were arranged.

In view, however, of the present reply, they have instructed the destroyer to bring Messrs. Kamenev, Krassin, and Miliutin to England immediately, or, if they prefer another route, the British Government will ask the governments concerned to facilitate their journey.

As regards General Wrangel, the British Government must declare that General Wrangel is not, as the Soviet Government have suggested, their agent, or in any way under their control. Nor have they had any responsibility for the recent offensive, while the suggestion that the British Government have any such designs with regard to the Crimea as the Soviet authorities appear to imagine is absurd. They have, however, communicated to General Wrangel the terms of the Russian Government's declaration.

### III

*The second note is dated July 28, that is, after the meeting between Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand at Boulogne. The text follows:*

The British Government, having consulted its Allies is now in a position to send the following reply to Chicherin's telegram of July 24:

The British Government which, on the assumption that an armistice is about to be concluded and that hostilities are about to cease between Soviet Russia and Poland, is proposing to its Allies that they should take part in a conference to be held in London, at which the Soviet Government of Russia will also be represented, considers that no doubt should be left as to the object of the meeting, as to the powers which are to be summoned to attend it, or as to the essential subjects which it is to discuss.

The two last telegrams from the Soviet Government leave some doubt upon these points. The telegram of July 19 seems to reject the participation of the Allies in the negotiations for peace between the Soviet Government and other neighboring governments of Russia. The last telegram, on the other hand, seems to admit this participation.

The British Government considers that, if the Allied Governments are to meet the delegates of the Soviet Government with any chance of success, the delegates of the Polish Government, and of the other border states who are concerned, must also be present.

The conference should have as its essential object the reestablishment of peace in Europe, and in the first place between Poland and Russia, upon conditions which would secure the independence of Poland and the legitimate interests of both countries.

The conference shall also consider the questions which are still outstanding between Soviet Russia and the border states which have not as yet signed a definite peace with Russia.

After the settlement of these questions the conference could proceed to deal with the matters in dispute between the Government of Soviet Russia and the Allies, and the reestablishment of normal relations between them.

### IV

*Copy of Note sent to Lloyd George by Kamenev on August 5:*

I have the honor to inform you that I sent last night to my Government an urgent telegram communicating the statement you made at our interview yesterday about the decision of the British Government to side

with Poland in her war with Russia and to renew the blockade in consequence of the invasion of ethnographical Poland by the troops of the Soviet Government. At the same time I am instructed by my Government in connection with the reference made in the British Note of August 3 to the delay in the negotiations between Russia and Poland to draw your attention to the following facts. In the Note to Chicherin of 20th of last month Lord Curzon of Kedleston informed him, that the Polish Government had been urged by their Allies immediately to initiate negotiations for armistice and for peace. On the 22d July a telegram over the signature of Prince Sapieha, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, was received at Moscow proposing in accordance with the suggestion of the Allies, to open negotiations for an armistice and peace. At the same time a telegram received from General Razvodovski, Chief of the Polish General Staff, mentioned July 30 as date of meeting of the delegates of both parties. On the very same day, namely, July 22, Mr. Chicherin, on behalf of the Soviet Government, informed the Polish Government of his consent to begin negotiations for an armistice and peace. The Polish delegates crossed the frontier on July 30 and met the Russian delegates at Baranovichi. It turned out, however, that contrary to the agreement reached by the previous exchange of messages the Polish delegates had only been authorized to deal with the military problems and that their powers had been derived solely from the military command. It is obvious from the above quoted facts that such limited powers did not correspond to the tasks with which the conferences of the delegates were to deal, in accordance with the proposals of both the British and Russian governments. It goes without saying, that the Russian Soviet Government have and never have had, any desire to combine the negotiations for an armistice with negotiations for a definite peace treaty between Poland and Russia: nevertheless, it is inevitable that negotiations for an armistice should include negotiations for certain conditions and guarantees over and above the strictly military domain. The history of the Polish attack against Russia, the patent facts of the systematic and uninterrupted assistance to Poland on the part of France and the presence on the right wing of the Polish army of the troops of General Wrangel, who is also supported by the French Government, render it a matter of necessity for the Russian Soviet Government to demand the inclusion in the terms of armistice with Poland of such reasonable guarantees as would prevent all attempts on the part of Poland to use the period of armistice for the renewal of hostile acts against Russia. Such guarantees would include partial disarmament, the cessation of recruiting and conscripting soldiers, as well as of voluntary enrolment and so on. It was the absence of authority to deal with such questions by the Polish delegates which compelled the Russian delegates to propose, that they should obtain powers. They agreed, at the same time, in order to accelerate the proceedings, to begin the negotiations for an armistice as soon as wireless communication had been received from Warsaw at Baranovichi that a courier had set out with new credentials. But the Polish delegates did not accept this suggestion and decided to return to Warsaw, thereby deferring the commencement of the armistice negotiations. International law and the customs of war know of no case in which the army of one of the belligerents has suspended military operations before the conclusion of an armistice, and it is therefore natural that the Russian Soviet army should continue its advance, which, being purely a military operation, does not in the least prejudice the nature of the peace treaty and does not constitute an attempt against the independence and integrity of the Polish state in its ethnographical frontiers. The Russian Soviet Government have more than once pledged themselves fully to respect the independence of Poland and the right of her people to political self-determination, and the intended terms of armistice and peace in no way include any restriction of the Polish people in this respect. The sole obstacle in the way of commen-

ment of the negotiations for the suspension of military operations is at the present moment the absence of the Polish delegates, and their return is being awaited by the representatives of the Russian Soviet Government in order immediately to open those negotiations. One is indeed justified in inferring from the conduct of the Polish delegates, who have preferred to return to Warsaw, that the Polish Government are speculating on foreign assistance and are delaying the armistice and peace negotiations in expectation of it.

The Russian Soviet Government will exceedingly regret, if any false hopes or exaggerated expectations on the part of the Polish Government of strong support from outside should cause the failure of the Polish delegates to present themselves for negotiations with the Russian delegates at the earliest possible moment. As for the suggestion of a conference in London the above mentioned British Notes of July 20 explicitly declared that the British Government had not the least desire to insist upon the inclusion of other states in our negotiations with Poland, if the Soviet Government adhered to their objections. It was on the strength of that declaration, that Mr. Chicherin in his Note of July 22 proposed a conference with the leading powers of the Entente. The only usefulness of such a peace arises from the fact that without the assistance of these leading powers other states could not wage war against us and such a conference would really guarantee the general peace of Europe. We are still of the opinion that direct negotiations with Poland for peace would serve the interests both of the Russian and the Polish peoples, and the Russian Soviet Government again declares that it is firm in its recognition of the freedom and independence of Poland and its willingness to grant to the Polish state wider frontiers than were indicated by the Supreme Council and mentioned in the British Note of July 20. Such a conference in London between the leading powers of the Entente and Russia would have for its object the regulation of the international position of Russia and the settlement of all outstanding questions between her and the Allies for the benefit of the general peace.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

KAMENEV.

V

*The following telegram was received in London on August 12 by M. Kamenev from the Soviet Government:*

It is obvious that the Poles try to protract preparations for negotiations and to delay the latter. On August 7 we sent our answer to Warsaw. The wireless station at Warsaw refused to give receipt, but several days later acknowledged having received this radio. On the same date this radio was communicated to the British Government and published in London.

In this radio we invite Polish delegates to cross the front on August 9 and begin negotiations in Minsk on August 11. When a representative of the Military Command, Piatnikov, went on August 9 to meet the Polish delegation the latter did not appear, but a Polish officer on the spot told Piatnikov that the delegation was coming; he sent to Siedlice, but did not find the delegation.

On August 10, in the morning, Piatnikov sent autos to Siedlice, but the Polish Delegation could not be found. Later on in the same day the Red Army took Siedlice and found there the Polish Delegation. Afterwards it was ascertained that the latter consisted only of a pair of the real Polish Delegation. They declared that the Polish Government had not received the Russian radio of August 7.

The delegates present in Siedlice had come to agree about the date of meeting. They proposed that the Polish Delegation should cross the front on August 14; this was accepted by the Russians, and thus the meeting with the Poles is once more postponed.

This thing has continued already for three weeks, and every time the delay comes from Poles.

It is obvious they have reasons for desiring the nego-

tiations to be delayed; probably they think that if Warsaw is taken it will force the Allies to intervene.

Behind them is France, which deliberately hinders peace and kindles war.

It is known that four billion francs for the restoration of the Northern Department of the French Government has been used for intervention in Russia lately.

On ships carrying Russian soldiers repatriated to Odessa hydroaeroplanes were found, undoubtedly intended for Wrangel. When Russian military authorities in Odessa, using their obvious right, declared they would not allow this war contraband to leave Odessa, a French squadron appeared outside the harbor and the French admiral threatened to shell the town.

France attempts to draw into the trap not only Russia, but also Britain, which desires conciliation. France tries to throw responsibility for the delay upon Russia, but it is clear who is the real culprit. France tries to protract war and to prevent Poland from reconciliation with Russia. The workers must put an end to this shameful policy of the French Government.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

*Mr. Lloyd George a few days later sent a Note to M. Kamenev protesting against the alleged wireless delays on the part of Moscow, which he accepts as the reason for the failure of the Poles to turn up!*

#### VI

*Kamenev to Lloyd George, August 15, 1920:*

M. Kamenev presents his compliments to Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George and has the honor to communicate to him the following statement:

The recognition of General Wrangel by France, made, as it was, after the declaration of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons on August 8, promising, in the name of those who took part in the Hythe Conference, not to give any support to Wrangel, has transformed the question of the former General Baron Wrangel into a question of international politics.

Owing to the decision of the French Government, the question of a general peace has become bound up with this question.

It is important, therefore, to fix the responsibility borne by England for Wrangel's attack and to put the question whether the British Government, in view of its earlier steps on behalf of Wrangel, will not deem it necessary to take some new steps which would facilitate the resumption of friendly relations between the English and Russian nations and their governments, and would remove all obstacles from the road leading to that goal.

The question of Wrangel was brought by the British Government for the first time to the notice of the Soviet Government in Lord Curzon's Note to Chicherin of April 14 last. In that Note Lord Curzon wrote:

"Having realized for some time that the military struggle in South Russia should not be indefinitely prolonged, and being convinced that its continuance could not but be attended by further loss of life and by serious set-backs to the recovered tranquility and prosperity of Russia, I have exerted my utmost influence with General Denikin to induce him to abandon the contest, and have promised him that if he did so I would use my best efforts to make peace between his forces and yours, and assure the safety of the rank and file of his followers and the population of the Crimea. General Denikin finally decided to act upon this advice, and has left Russia, resigning his command to General Wrangel.

"Therefore, I communicate with you at once to request you in the interests both of Russia and of humanity to issue orders for the termination of hostilities, and to grant general amnesty upon the disbandment of the volunteer army. If the latter are not assured of conciliatory treatment, they are, I understand, still able to maintain themselves in being, and to offer a stubborn resistance for some months to come in the Crimea."

In the same note Lord Curzon, not content with appealing to humanity and to the special interests of England in the fate of General Wrangel's army, de-

clared that there would not be much hope for the successful opening of commercial relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain, if the Soviet Government did not agree to this proposal.

After Great Britain's refusal to begin the direct negotiations proposed by Mr. Chicherin, for the solution of the fate of Wrangel's army (raised in the above-mentioned Note by Lord Curzon), the Soviet Government on May 5 declared:

"The Russian Soviet Government notes with pleasure the conciliatory spirit of the British Government's wireless message, dated May 4, and, being on its part invariably imbued with completely pacific intentions, is ready to meet in the largest measure the wishes of the British Government.

"In its earnest desire to accelerate the conclusion of a general agreement with Great Britain about all questions concerning both governments, the Russian Government, in compliance with the wishes of the British Government, is ready to negotiate immediately with the British Government, or with the Government or Group indicated by the British Government, a suspension of hostilities on the Crimean front for the purpose of a speedy conclusion of a special agreement with Great Britain concerning a general amnesty for those who are continuing still in the ranks of Denikin's forces the struggle against the Soviet authority and for the purpose of a bloodless liquidation of the Crimean front."

On May 18, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, noting the receipt of the Soviet Government's agreement to Great Britain's suggestion with regard to a peaceful solution of Wrangel's question, said:

"His Majesty's Government are anxious that hostilities should cease as soon as possible, and I am endeavoring to arrange for immediate opening of negotiations in South Russia, in which General Wrangel and any British military and political representative will participate."

On May 21 Mr. Chicherin declared as follows:

"Russian Government will consider in most friendly spirit proposals of amnesty for White Guard remnants, which the British representatives will put forward during the impending armistice negotiations."

In the meantime, under the cover of these negotiations, and taking advantage of the fact that the Russian Government, relying on the declaration of Lord Curzon, had taken no military measures to increase the strength of its army against Wrangel, the latter, with the British assistance, reorganized his army in the Crimea, and started an offensive against the Soviet Government. The British Government answered to this with a declaration disowning any responsibility for Wrangel.

After the demands which the British Government made to Russia in the interests of General Wrangel, and which facilitated General Wrangel's preparation of his military enterprise, the Russian Government was entitled to expect more active steps on the part of the British Government, and explained its view thereon in the Note sent by Mr. Chicherin on June 11.

In that Note it says:

"Though the declaration of Great Britain disowning any solidarity with Wrangel, and his attack against Soviet Russia, is to be welcomed, there still remains the fact that this attack is the result of the political protection secured for Wrangel's White Guards by the diplomatic intervention of the British Government and of the direct help given them by the Allies. If the White Guards prepared their offensive under the cover of the diplomatic protection of Great Britain, it must be admitted that this offensive is not entirely unconnected with the position taken by the British Government.

"Wrangel, Commander-in-Chief of the White Guards, in an Army Order of May 6, himself refers to the diplomatic intervention of Great Britain on his behalf as a means of securing for him the Crimea and the opportunity to prepare a fresh blow against Soviet Russia. The Russian Government is therefore unable to share the view of the British Government that the latter can

be held exempt from responsibility for this fresh attack against Soviet Russia.

"For this reason the Russian Government regards it as all the more important that it should be made clear in what actual form the British Government proposes to embody its present negative attitude to the aggressive action of Wrangel.

"Having regard to the fact that the British Government threatened us with new military operations by British forces against our armies and our territories, when it believed, on the strength of the non-reception of a reply from us (although this was held up by its own agents), that we were not inclined to accept the British proposal for an amnesty, we hold that we have the right to expect that similar measures will be taken against Wrangel when it is he alone who stands in the way of the desire of the British Government being successfully carried out.

"We should be glad to receive information on this point in due time, in order that we may be able to co-ordinate our measures in this matter with the measures of the British Government directed to the realization of the same object."

It is a matter for regret that the Russian Government received no reply to this communication. Only in the Note of July 11—i.e., exactly a month later—did the British Government return to the question of Wrangel. On this occasion, however, the point of view of the British Government showed a marked change—instead of the proposal to cease hostilities on the basis of an amnesty, the British Government suggested only that an armistice should be granted and that General Wrangel should be present at the London conference.

Thus, after the treacherous attack by General Wrangel, in defiance of the British proposal, the British Government again took upon itself the protection of Gen-

eral Wrangel and the defence of his interests, and deemed it possible that he should be present at the conference.

Despite the fact that this new proposal meant the open protection of Wrangel and was inconsistent with the earlier proposals already agreed to by the Soviet Government, the latter again expressed its willingness to meet the wishes of Great Britain, and declared itself as follows in its Note of July 17:

"... The Soviet Government is of the opinion that the greatest possible concession on its part, a concession which is the proof of its anxious desire to come to terms with the British Government, is its willingness to agree to the capitulation of the ex-General Wrangel and of his troops, with the guarantee of their personal safety . . ."

To this the British Government replied that it had no control over General Wrangel.

It will thus be seen from the documents quoted above that on every occasion the British Government has appeared before the Soviet Government as the guardian and protector of the interests of General Wrangel's army (by doing which it actually facilitated the preparation of his military plans), while on the other hand it refused to undertake any practical steps whatsoever to make it more possible for the Soviet Government to bring to an end quickly and peacefully the hostilities in the South of Russia.

Availing himself of this situation, General Wrangel has been enabled to wait for the moment when he has been at least given official recognition by Great Britain's ally, France. Having regard to these considerations, the Soviet Government would be glad to know the final decision of the British Government with reference to General Wrangel.

## THE NEXT ISSUE

of

# SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. *RUSSIA, by George Brandes, the famous Danish critic of art and literature; by many considered to be the greatest critic in the world; he strongly denounces intervention and blockade.*
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3. *REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.*
4. *THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF HEALTH. A concrete and up-to-date official account of all the activities of this important and necessary institution.*
5. *THE RUSSIAN RAILWAYS. Professor G. Lomonossov, formerly with the New York Bureau, who left for Russia in May, 1919, gives an interesting interview to a Swedish daily. Professor Lomonossov is now stationed at Stockholm.*

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## Nikolai Lenin

By MAXIM GORKY

VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN is an adherent of the theory which holds that the role of the individual in the progress of culture is insignificant, but he himself is, in my opinion, a source of energy without which the Russian Revolution could not have taken its present course.

I once compared him—conditionally—with Peter the Great. This comparison was ridiculed as an exaggeration, but it was, of course, a conditional comparison: to me personally Lenin's role as a social reformer of Russia seems less significant than his importance as a world revolutionist. He is not only a man on whose will history has imposed the awful task of arousing to the very bottom the variagated, clumsy, sluggish human ant-hill which is known as Russia,—his will is a tireless battering ram whose powerful blows shake the formidable capitalist states of the West, and the hideous slavish autocracies of the East which were stagnant for thousands of years.

I still think—as I did two years ago—that to Lenin Russia is only the material for an experiment which has been launched on a universal, planetary scope. At one time this thought, dimmed by the feeling of commiseration for the Russian people, made me indignant. But, observing how the course of events in the Russian revolution, widening and deepening, is ever more arousing and organizing the forces which are capable of destroying the foundations of the capitalist order, I am now of the opinion that even if Russia is destined to serve as the object of an experiment, it is unjust to hold as responsible for this the man who strives to transform the potential energy of the Russian toiling masses into a kinetic, active energy.

To each according to his deserts,—this is no more than just. A people which was rotting in the stifling atmosphere of the monarchy, a sluggish people, lacking will-power and faith in itself, not sufficiently "bourgeois" to be strong in resistance and not sufficiently strong to subdue in itself the beggarly but firmly held aspiration for bourgeois welfare,—this people, by the very logic of its stupid history, must obviously live through all the dramas and tragedies which are the inevitable fate of an inert being living an epoch of outspoken, brutalizing class-struggle, the most hideous expression of which was such a vileness as the war of 1914-1918.

I do not, of course, intend to compose a speech for the defense or vindication of V. Lenin. Neither I nor he are in need of it.

But I know him to some extent, and when the "objectively thinking people" accuse him of being the cause of cruel civil war, of terror and other crimes, I think of Lloyd George, who in 1913-1914, while delivering nice laudatory speeches about the German people to English teachers who were leaving for a visit to Germany, and to German teachers who were visiting England, was at that very time preparing bayonets and shells to be used against the Germans. All these "great men": the best—the most shameless cynic, Clemenceau; the Socialists who voted credits for the organization of the all-European slaughter; the scientists who invented poisonous gases and other abominations; the poets who cursed the Germans in 1914 and the English in 1918,—precisely all these musty and rotten elements of the decaying old order inflicted a deep, perhaps mortal wound on European culture, and they continue to torment

Russia, facilitating the continuation of the civil war, intensifying it by the blockade, and murdering little children by cold and hunger.

Mistakes—if they need be mentioned at all—are not crimes. The mistakes of Lenin are the mistakes of an honest man, and history knows of no reformer who has not made mistakes. It is different with Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Company. They commit no errors, they act as professional murderers, condemning a whole people to the tortures of hunger and cold, and facilitating the continuation of civil strife, which is absolutely senseless, for save the Bolsheviki there is no force in Russia capable of taking the power into their hands and arousing the exhausted country to the energetic effort which is necessary for productive toil.

\* \* \*

**R**ETURNING to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, I must say that my personal sympathies for him do not affect me when I write about him. I look upon him as an object of my observations equally with all other men and phenomena which interest me as an interpreter of the life of my country.

Take this man as he addresses an assembly of workmen. He speaks in amazingly simple words, a vigorous, iron style, with irresistible logic. But in his stern words I have never detected either crude demagoguery or the insipid foppery of beautiful phrases. His is invariably the same *leit-motif*—the necessity of destroying to the very root the social inequality of man, and the means to this end. This ancient phrase acquires on his lips a sharp, uncompromising sound: one always feels that his faith in it is unshakable, one feels the calm of his faith, leaving no room for doubt,—the faith of a fanatic, but a scientific and not a metaphysical or mystical fanatic. It seems to me that he takes hardly any interest in individualized mankind, he thinks only of parties, masses, states, and in this domain he possesses the gift of vision, the intuition of a genius, a thinker-experimenter. He possesses that extraordinary clearness of thought which can be acquired only through intense, ceaseless work.

A Frenchman once asked me: "Don't you think that Lenin is a thinking guillotine?" I replied: "I would compare the work of his mind to the blows of a hammer which is endowed with sight and crushes precisely the thing which it is high time to destroy."

To the smug and comfort-loving, to the philistines of all countries, Lenin must, of course, appear as an Attila, coming to destroy the Rome of their sluggish and comfortable well-being, based on slavery, blood-shed and spoliation. But just as ancient Rome deserved to perish, so do the crimes of the modern world prove the necessity of its destruction. This is a historical necessity which no one and no means can prevent.

There rises the plaintive babble of the value of European culture and of the necessity to protect

it from the assault of the new Huns. Only on the lips of revolutionists is this sincere and important; but it is a hideous lie on the lips of those who organized and assisted in the slaughter of 1914-1918.

The advancement of culture—if these terms signify the further progress of art, science, technology and the humanization of man, which goes along with and results from this progress—cannot, of course, be impeded by the new conditions which will make it possible for the masses, the many millions, instead of only tens of thousands, to participate actively in cultural work.

\* \* \*

**S**OMETIMES the audacity of the imagination, essential to all literary artists, urges upon me the question:

"What is Lenin's vision of the new world?"

Then there unfolds before me a beautiful vision of the earth, exquisitely shaped by the toil of free men, into a gigantic emerald. All men are intelligent and everyone has a feeling of personal responsibility for everything which is created by him and around him. Everywhere are beautiful orchard-cities filled with majestic buildings, everywhere the forces of nature, subdued and organized by the mind of man, are at work for his benefit, and he himself is—at last—a real master of the elements. His physical energy is no longer spent on rough, filthy labor, it has been transformed into spiritual energy, and all its power is directed to the investigation of the fundamental problems of life, against which the human mind has battered for ages without avail, shaken and torn as it was by the necessary effort to explain and to justify the phenomena of social strife and worn out by the drama involved in the recognition of two irreconcilable principles, which was unavoidable in a world of such phenomena.

Ennobled technically and comprehended socially, toil has become an enjoyment for man. The intellect of man—the most precious element in the universe—has, at last, become really free and really fearless.

Fearlessness of thought and keen penetration in the domain of politics are the fundamental traits of Lenin's mind. The world had never heard such language as is used by the diplomacy which is inspired by him. It is, to be sure, a language which tortures the tender ears of the diplomats, of cutaways and smoking-jackets, but it is a mercilessly truthful language. And truth will remain rough as long as we men will not ourselves make it as beautiful as our music, which is one of the finest truths we have created.

I do not believe that I ascribe to Lenin dreams which are alien to him, I do not think that I romanticize this man. I cannot imagine him without this fine dream of the future happiness of all men, of a bright joyous life. The greater the man, the more daring his dreams.

Lenin is more a man than anyone of my con-

temporaries, and though his thought is, of course, mainly occupied by such political matters which a romanticist would be constrained to call "narrowly practical", still I am certain that in his rare moments of repose his active thought soars much further in the beautiful future and beholds much more than I can imagine.

The fundamental aim of Lenin's whole life is universal welfare, and he must inevitably see in the far-off ages the end of the great process to the beginning of which all his will is ascetically and courageously devoted. He is an idealist, if we interpret this concept as a merging of all thoughts in one idea—the idea of universal welfare. His personal life is such that in an epoch of religious fervor Lenin would be considered a saint.

I know this assertion will make the smug philistines indignant, that many comrades will smile at this, and that Lenin himself will have a good laugh. "Saint" is really a paradoxical and strong term to be applied to this man for whom—as the ex-revolutionary Chaikovsky said—"absolutely nothing is sacred." Saint Lenin,—whom the well-bred and cultured leader of the British Tories, Lord Churchill, considers "the most ferocious and abhorrent man"!

But the honorable Lord will not deny that the saintliness of the church seldom excluded ferocity and cruelty. Evidence to this effect may be found in the bloody fights of the church fathers at the oecumenical councils, in the inquisition and in many of the other abominations. On the other hand, the domain of civic activity has always given a greater number of truly saintly men, if we assume this to signify unselfish and fearless service to the interests of the people, of freedom, of truth.

Lenin, the stern realist and keen statesman, is gradually becoming a legendary personality. This is as it should be.

From the obscure villages of India, many Indians who have felt the age-long oppression of British officials go secretly to Kabul, tramping hundreds of miles along mountain paths and in forests and risking their lives, they come to the Russian mission and inquire: "What kind of a man is Lenin?" And, at the other end of the globe Norwegian workmen say to an indifferent Russian: "This Lenin is the most honest of chaps. There has never yet lived such a man."

As I said before, this is as it should be. Most men must have faith before they can begin to act. It will take much longer for them to begin to think and comprehend, and the evil genius of capital is oppressing them with ever greater intensity by poverty, alcoholism and exhaustion.

It seems necessary to mention that the passion of friendship is not alien to Lenin, and that in general, nothing human is alien to him. I feel somewhat embarrassed and amused in speaking of this, but the smug and comfort-loving of the whole world are so sacred, and Lord Churchill becomes so exasperated and upset when he gazes toward the East. Being of kindly disposition, I

feel myself obliged to reassure somewhat the scared and irritated philistines and all the other enemies of the Bolshevik leader.

It sometimes happens that Lenin exaggerates the good qualities of certain people to their favor and to the injury of the cause. But almost without exception his negative appraisals—though they may have seemed unfounded—are inevitably vindicated by the men whom he appraises negatively before even seeing the results of their work. This possibly proves that the evil qualities of men are everywhere considerably more numerous than the useful qualities.

In this stern statement there sometimes appears a spark of almost feminine tenderness, and I am sure that the terror costs him unbearable, though very well concealed anguish. It is improbable and inconceivable that men condemned by history to the irreconcilable contradiction of killing some for the sake of the freedom of others, should not suffer soul-torturing pains. I know several pairs of eyes in which this burning pain has settled for life. I instinctively abhor any killing, but these men are martyrs, and my conscience will never let me condemn them.

I notice that in discussing Lenin I am involuntarily led to digress to other subjects. But it could not be otherwise when one speaks of a man who is in the center of everything and above everything.

Of Lenin himself one could, of course, say a good deal more than I have said here. But I am hindered by the modesty of this man who is absolutely free from any conceit. I know that even the little that was said in these remarks will seem to him excessive, exaggerated and ridiculous . . . Well, let him have his laugh, he does laugh so well. But I hope that many will read these lines with some profit to themselves.

I have spoken in these lines of a man who had the courage to begin the process of the all-European social revolution in a country in which eighty-five per cent of the peasants want to become well-fed bourgeois, and no more than this. Many consider this fearlessness as madness. I started my work as a provoker of revolutionary moods with a glorification of the frenzy of the brave.

There was a moment when a natural commiseration for the Russian people led me to look upon this frenzy as almost a crime. But now, after I have seen that this people is much better at patient suffering than at honest and conscious work, I once more sing the glory of the sacred madness of the brave.

And of these Vladimir Lenin is the foremost and the most magnificently mad!

#### ARTICLE BY GEORG BRANDES

For lack of space Georg Brandes' article on Russia, promised for this issue, has been postponed to next week's issue.

# The Work of the People's Commissariat of Health

By N. SEMASHKO, *People's Commissar of Health*

**G**REAT difficulty has attended the carrying out of the work of the People's Commissariat of Health. Epidemics, the general disorganization left by the imperialistic war, which was much increased by the civil war, and food difficulties, were among the serious impediments met with in the work of the institutions concerned with public health. One epidemic followed close upon the heels of the other, requiring the entire attention of the medical staff, and, as a result, even the most essential reforms and improvements were capable only of partial accomplishments, if they did not have to be postponed altogether.

The year 1918 was marked by a cholera epidemic. The People's Commissariat of Health undertook the most energetic measures to stop this epidemic and, in spite of very difficult working conditions, the outcome was a success: only 35,619 cases of cholera were recorded in 1918, while the previous cholera epidemic, in 1908, had more than 200,000 such cases. In the autumn of 1918, the "Spanish Influenza" swept over the country; more than 700,000 cases were recorded. In addition to the practical measures, the People's Commissariat of Health also undertook a far-reaching scientific study of this as yet little known disease; scientific staffs were organized and instructed to gather all possible information concerning the nature and the types of the disease; meetings were held and much material was collected. Now a special commission, including many experts, is digesting this material and preparing it for publication.

After the Spanish influenza came the typhus. This epidemic began in the autumn of 1918 and reached its climax in the Spring of 1919. During the eight months ending with July, 1919, the total number of cases of typhus registered was 1,299,263, of which between eight and ten per cent ended fatally. The cities, whose food situation was particularly grave, were most affected.

In July and August the typhus subsided, only a few cases still being recorded. In October, and more particularly in November and December, the typhus again began to increase. Its revival occurred about the time of the advance of our army in Siberia, and was due to the fact that all the districts that were being evacuated by the Whites were full of typhus. As a matter of fact, it was the friendly relations between our soldiers and the local population and the war prisoners that aided in spreading this epidemic in the army. Serious efforts had to be put forth to prevent it from reaching the rest of the country. When the epidemic subsided in the East, and our army was advancing in the South, the disease began to infiltrate from the South; other epidemics encountered by the advancing army were: intermittent fever, very serious typhoid fever and cholera epidemics. We did not succeed in putting down these South Russian epidemics until late in March,

1920. Other sections of the country had already been cleared of it by the beginning of the same month. No epidemic appearance of typhoid fever were still to be observed in May.

There was no cholera in the summer of 1919, only a few sporadic cases being recorded.

The People's Commissariat of Health also paid special attention to smallpox infection; from November 1, 1919, to July, 1919, there was 81,851 such cases registered. The most energetic measures were taken by the People's Commissariat of Health to oppose this epidemic. Former governments had never dared attempt to take such measures; by decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars of April 16, 1919, obligatory vaccination was provided for in Russia. Large credits were allotted and vaccine distributed with the purpose of exterminating this epidemic. Smallpox is now non-existent.

## *Details of the Soviet Medical System*

Owing to the extremely hard conditions of work, already suggested above, the People's Commissariat of Health could never have carried out its duties if the Revolution, which so completely altered the course of the Russian national life, had not also made considerable changes in this field of activity.

The great alteration in question was the complete reorganization of the public service. All medical services were united into a single institution which now exists as an independent department, or the People's Commissariat of Health.

Already before the war the European medical press was discussing the possibility of such a department. In 1913, a well-known French medical writer, Mirman, in one of the articles contributed by him to "Hygiene" asked what would be the source of information to answer a French deputy who might ask what measures the French Government undertook in order to fight phthisis, and arrived at the conclusion that four ministers would have to answer the question, the Ministers of Labor, Agriculture, Interior, and Public Instruction, possibly, in addition, the Ministers of War and of the Navy. Of course, the sanitary efforts of the hygienic service among various institutions produce clashes and endless expenditures of labor and funds. "The organization of a Department of Public Health," writes Mirman, "would bring order into this chaos." The honor of having established the first Commissariat of Public Health belongs to Soviet Russia. Furthermore, such unification was a necessity brought about by the situation, and made possible the task of carrying out a health service at all, by coordinating the work of the military and civil medical services, avoiding reduplication, utilizing in the most economic manner the limited medical staff (reduced by the mobilization and by the epidemics) and the very small

supply of medicaments (which could not be increased owing to the blockade).

We see, therefore, that the creation of the People's Commissariat of Health is important not only from the standpoint of principle, but also from the practical point of view.

There is an additional factor which much facilitated the work of public health. It is the watchword set up by the People's Commissariat of Health, which has been strictly followed from the very outset: "the workers themselves must take care of their health."

Everyone understands that in Russia all branches of government, including therefore the Commissariat of Health, are in the hands of representatives of the workers and peasants: "the Soviets of Workers', Peasants and Red Soldiers' Delegates." But the watchword of the Commissariat of Health means more than this. It means particularly that a great deal of assistance is received in the daily work of the Commissariat from the people themselves. In explanation, let us mention the Workers' Committees to Combat Epidemics, established in 1918 by the Soviet of People's Commissars. These committees functioned not only in the cities, but also in the larger villages, assisting the local sections of the People's Commissariat of Health. During typhus epidemics, the duties of such committees consisted in inspecting the baths, the supply of soap, cleanliness of lodgings, especially of public institutions (stations, jails, boarding houses, etc.), and in spreading among the population correct information and advice on hygiene. Such committees are appointed in all the important districts of large cities; the elected have representatives in the factories. The assistance of women (workers and peasants) is particularly desired, for, being housekeepers, it is easy for them to teach the population habits of cleanliness. We may say without exaggeration that the epidemics of typhus and cholera were stopped chiefly by the assistance of the workers' and peasants' committees. But this is not all. Not a single important problem has been carried out without the assistance of the workers. The question of systematic measures to combat social diseases, such as phthisis and venereal diseases, was discussed with the representatives of trade unions, Women's Organizations, Young People's Unions, etc. The organization of sanitary protection for workers was carried out by special inspectors, elected from among the workers themselves: inspectors of dwellings were organized in the same way. Not only from the standpoint of organization, but also from the standpoint of its practical value, this system was of great importance. It is a fact that the People's Commissariat of Health can only overcome the numerous difficulties met

with in this impoverished and devastated country by assuring itself of the support and assistance of the population.

The third peculiarity of the Soviet medical organization is this: it is now operating on an entirely different social basis. Formerly, necessary sanitary measures for the benefit of the poorer classes always met with obstacles. For instance, sanitary protection of labor in factories always interferes with the profit of the capitalists. Motherhood and childhood could not be fully protected, even though such protection may be provided for, owing to the merciless necessity of increasing the production of the plant. Private property rights also interfered with the improvements of housing conditions, etc. In Soviet Russia, sanitary reforms do not know such obstacles.

The above circumstances played a very important part in combatting the so-called social diseases. The name "social disease" was derived from the social conditions in a capitalistic state, as even the bourgeois medical service recognizes the fact that diseases, such as phthisis and venereal diseases, are an outcome of these conditions.

The betterment of the economic conditions of the working class, the abolition of the system of exploitation, the establishment of protection of labor, motherhood and childhood—all these measures formed a strong foundation for success in combatting social diseases, this evil of humanity.

Purely curative measures, however, are only one of the links in the long chain of measures for combatting tuberculosis and venereal diseases. A great deal of work has been done in this field: in the year 1919 we had 17 summer sanatoriums with 876 beds; 54 permanent sanatoriums with 4,750 beds; 5 infirmaries for the tuberculous, with 310 beds; 5 children's sanatoriums with 280 beds and 9 dispensaries.

This summer (1920) beds are installed much more rapidly, as large private estates are used for this purpose, and there is, therefore, sufficient reason to believe that at the end of this year the number of beds will have increased fifty per cent.

For combatting syphilis alone, 3,363 special beds and 29 ambulances were available in the period from January 1, 1919, to May 1, 1920, in addition to 11 laboratories performing the Wasserman test.

In addition, the work of instruction in hygiene has been directed very methodically along the line of combatting these social diseases, thus making the fight particularly against infantile tuberculosis and syphilis effective. Also, the protection of motherhood and infancy has attracted particular attention on the part of the Soviet Government. At present, the following institutions are available in Soviet Russia:

|                        | Homes for Babes in Arms | Institutions for Children 1-3 years old | Day-Nurseries | Consultations | Milk Kitchens | Houses for Mothers and Children |
|------------------------|-------------------------|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| Total for Russia . . . | 115                     | 56                                      | 24            | 72            | 4             | 4                               |
| Total for Moscow . . . | 3                       | 8                                       | 36            | 21            | 14            | 1                               |

The above table shows that most of the institutions are scattered in the provinces.

*What the Soviet Government Has Done for  
Public Health*

In examining the results attained by the People's Commissariat of Health, the difficult conditions under which this work has been carried out must again be emphasized. Numerous diseases were called forth by the war and by the starvation conditions. Under these awful conditions, which are serious even for people in good health, it was impossible to employ good, systematic treatment. It was only the methods introduced by the Soviet Government that made it possible to move effectively against these conditions.

We have spoken above of the work done in suppressing epidemics; the money spent in this endeavor during one and a half years by the People's Commissariat of Health was over one milliard rubles (about 1,200,000,000 rubles). Never before had so many patients been admitted to hospitals shortly after their infection.

At present there are 150,000 special beds for civilians suffering from epidemics. In addition, there are 250,000 beds for soldiers.

The organization of treatment has made great progress. The report of the All-Russian Conference of Health Boards shows that during two and a half years the number of treatment beds for civilians increased forty per cent (we must point out that the figures include only permanent beds in therapeutic, surgical, special and other hospitals; special beds for the infected, as above indicated are not included); there are now four provincial physico-mechanical-therapeutic organizations at Kazan, Saratov, Orel, and Kostroma. No fee is taken in any Soviet hospitals or medical institution for treatment. The ambulatories and the hospitals deliver medicaments free of charge. The drug stores are nationalized and all medical goods are distributed in the most economical and systematic manner.

Special forms of medical attention are perhaps best illustrated by the example of the development of dentistry.

Before October, 1917, free dental ambulatories were very few in number and were found only in the large cities, particularly the capitals. By May 1, we already had 1,406 free national dental ambulatories, uniformly distributed throughout the Republic, including even institutions in villages, which employ 1,776 dental surgeons for free dental care of the population. In addition, 160 dental ambulatories have been organized in the Red Army, for which purpose 1,500 dentists have been mobilized. There is also a free dental ambulatory in each provincial capital. The expenses for the organization of dental treatment in 1920 are about 352,000,000 rubles.

The government has been particularly effective in the work done in health resorts. Before the October revolution the health resorts were under the direction of various departments and institutions, such as, for instance, the Ministry of Trade and Commerce, Home Office, The Irkutsk Mountain Department, local government of the Cau-

casus, military direction of the Cossack Army, and even the clergy. At present, however, all health resorts without exception are under the direction of the People's Commissariat of Health. Formerly, health resorts existed only for the rich; now not only treatment, but board and lodgings at these health resorts are at the expense of the government. For 1920, the estimated expenses allotted for the maintenance of health resorts are about 2½ milliard rubles.

At resorts where formerly there appeared the members of a capitalist society in order to cure their bloated stomachs and gouty limbs, the working people are now restoring their health. According to the statistics of one of the big health resorts, that of Lipetz, the patients were distributed last year as follows: Workers and working members of the intelligentsia, 70 per cent; Red Army soldiers and invalids, 25 per cent; others, 5 per cent. The People's Commissariat of Health has made considerable efforts to broaden the work connected with health resorts, and now that the Crimea has been cut off by the White Guards, we have in Central Russia 20,000 beds at these health resorts, in Ukraine 35,000; in the Caucasus 40,000; on the coast of the Black Sea, 30,000; in Siberia, 18,000; total, 143,000 beds.

Special attention is paid to health in general. Free feeding of children below the age of sixteen was decreed by the Council of People's Commissars. Thousands of children in winter, and many more in summer, enjoy a stay in the children's colonies and sanitariums, for which purpose the estates of the former landed proprietors are used. The People's Commissariat is particularly interested in children. It is about to install special institutions, to be called "Institutions for Defective Children," in all provincial capitals. The decree of the Council of People's Commissars stipulates that children below the age of eighteen are not subject to trial in court. Their cases are examined by a special committee composed of officers and teachers, which decides either to send them to an educational or a medical institution of the People's Commissariat of Health, or the People's Commissariat of Instruction.

*What Could Not Be Done*

There are many problems still remaining unsolved in spite of the two and a half years of work and the results which have been already obtained. Under the rule of the czar, every inhabitant paid about one ruble in health taxation. Of this sum ninety-five kopeks went for purposes of general treatment, and only five kopecs for sanitary prophylaxis. In other words, all effort was directed toward curing diseases, while only a very insignificant labor was devoted to their prevention. Furthermore the appropriation for health protection was quite insufficient. Of course, this ridiculous condition continued even under the Kerensky Government, where more attention was given to cure than to prophylaxis. But all this now is changed. More than sixty per cent of the appropriation of

the People's Commissariat of Health for 1920 (the total appropriation for the Commissariat runs into several milliards) will be spent for sanitary prophylaxis. The People's Commissariat of Health will consider it its duty to combat unsanitary health conditions, ignorance, dirt, lice, those wretched vestiges of Czarism and slavery; the Commissariat will do all it can to accustom the people to cleanliness, to improve the sanitary conditions of living, particularly the housing conditions, to

put an end to the terrible infant mortality (under the Czar one child out of every four died before the age of one year), to improve the medical systems and make it really accessible to the population and of a nature to be useful to the population. Such are the aims of the People's Commissariat of Health. The economic disorganization, the war and the mobilization, to be sure, have offered very serious obstacles to the full realization of this program.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

September 7, 1920.

**L**ITHUANIA is fighting the Poles. Armed by Great Britain, organized militarily by British officers, and financed by the British treasury, the Lithuanians have turned against the Polish army nursed by the Entente.

This is a real triumph of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Government; it is a great support to the strategy of the Revolutionary General Staff of Soviet Russia. Henceforth the right flank of the Russian Red Army will be fully protected by the Lithuanians, and this is happening at the most important moment of the development of the general Russian offensive towards Warsaw. On the other hand, a revolution in Italy appears to be in progress, which may develop into a general uprising of the Italian proletariat against its government.

From a purely strategical point of view the Italian revolution has come just in time for the Russian strategy, as it certainly will destroy the carefully prepared plan of the Entente, first, to use Italy as a base against the Russians, and secondly, to establish a route through Italy for material support to the Poles. Had Italy remained passive to the situation in Soviet Russia the Allies would have overcome the difficulties in Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, and finally succeeded in one way or other in forcing these small nations to open their gates not only to cargoes directed into Poland, but even for the actual military support of the Polish army, by consenting to the transport of troops to the Polish battle-front. Now this looks quite different. The Italian movement may be a long and very serious one, and the Italian proletariat will never support the strategy of the enemies of the Soviets.

Isolated from the imperialistic Entente, the small Balkan States, especially Rumania and Hungary, even if they do not follow the Italian example, will certainly remain at peace, well knowing that if their conduct is unfriendly to the Russian Soviet Republic, they will become the object of the Soviet strategy and pay dearly for their hostility.

Summing up these political circumstances of the central and southern part of Europe, and taking into consideration the seriousness of the re-

verses of Wrangel's army north of the Crimea and in Georgia, I am brought to the conclusion that the left flank of the Soviet army operating against the Poles is also absolutely secured, and that the present moment may be considered as very favorable for the great Russian offensive against the Poles.

I see that in the near future the Polish armies will have to meet the bulk of the Red Russian forces somewhere between Brest-Litovsk and Warsaw, where the Poles will be completely defeated and will again seek shelter beyond the Vistula. The Russian cavalry army, in spite of its alleged "annihilation", is still holding the enemy in check in Galicia and is continuing its raids in the rear of the Polish front, thus threatening the operative lines of the Poles.

It is ridiculous to suppose that the Allies will be able to save Poland from the disaster towards which the Polish imperialistic leaders of the Pilsudsky type are pushing their people. Danzig, with its "corridor" now is still at the disposal of the Polish supporters and unfortunately for them this "corridor" has by no means been cleared of Red elements. From a purely military standpoint, I do not consider Danzig as a strong and safe base for the supply of the Polish battle-front, and very soon it will be seen that I am not mistaken.

A corridor with too many rooms on either side is a very dangerous thing, especially if these rooms are filled with elements hostile to those who are moving through the "corridor".

Practically the Polish supporters will have to face a serious problem, to repeat what they have already tried so abortively to execute, namely, to start once more an armed intervention in Russia, with a strong Allied army. If they still have in view such an absurd adventure, so much the worse for them, for it is not necessary to be a military expert to prophesy a complete collapse of such a foolish enterprise. And only by a strong and active military support, namely, by reinforcement of the Polish army with a very strong contingent of Allied forces, the situation of the Polish army can be temporarily improved. Any capable military student certainly should realize that landing operations on a large scale would be an absolute impossibility for the Allies, especially at the pres-

ent moment, when one part at least of Europe is ablaze with revolution.

Let us not overlook the fact that in 1917 and 1918, there was practically no definite military organization in Russia. The new-born Soviet Republic had still to fight the German invasion, and had to meet its counter-revolutionary enemies within, supported by the Entente. Then the general intervention began, and, in spite of all the efforts of the Allies, it failed. Nor should we overlook the fact that in those days the Soviet army was not yet popular among the working people of the world, or rather, the greater part of them, thanks to the "anti-bolshevik" propaganda of the Entente, supported by its reactionary press. We must not neglect the truth that in those days the revolutionary movement in Europe had not attained its present proportions.

Quite different are the happenings of the present moment. The Russian Soviet army is considered by the foremost military experts as perhaps the strongest army in the world, with an extraordinarily able General Staff, well equipped and brilliantly led, in the field. This same Red army, which was two years ago an object of the most bitter mockery and criticism on the part of the newspaper correspondents, had now acquired wholesome respect of its former mockers. The series of most striking victories of the Red army over its numerous and powerful enemies has inspired the complete confidence of the workers of the world in the strength of the proletarian army of Russia and there is no means left in the hands of the imperialistic coalition to persuade them to the contrary.

Therefore I take the liberty to declare firmly and confidently that the Russian Soviet Republic is not much concerned about the possibility of a future war against Russia or about any kind of support that Poland may or may not expect from America or from elsewhere. The military strength of the Soviet Army is growing with noticeable rapidity, and, in spite of the expected disorganization of the Russian fighting body, after the alleged "defeat" of the vanguard of the Russian cavalry army on Warsaw, which the Polish and French military experts predicted so firmly, the Russians are now moving towards the west, having seized the initiative, which proves that the rear of the Soviet army is in complete order and that the check which they received before Warsaw was only of tactical importance, without the slightest effect on the general strategical situation of the Soviet army.

"Under-estimating the Bolsheviki strength is a great mistake," said General Rozwadowsky, Chief of the Polish General Staff, to Colonel Henry J. Reilly (*The Philadelphia Press*, August 30). "We know," continues General Rozwadowsky, "the Bolsheviki had organized seventy odd divisions. Their total loss in killed, wounded, prisoners, and other casualties, approximates 250,000. However, their man power virtually is unlimited, and makes replacement only a question of time. As an example,

Budenny's cavalry in the south lost probably half its strength during its advance to its present position before Lemberg. Now practically it is at full strength, due to replacements easily accomplished."

In other words, this Polish strategist is openly confessing his conviction of the impossibility for the Polish army to fight the Bolsheviki in the future, and it is absolutely certain that had the Poles freed themselves from the destructive tutelage of France or any other capitalistic country, they would have established a peace with Soviet Russia long ago. The autumn now is at hand. The rainy season in Poland will favor the Russians, because the Poles who are basing their tactics mostly on technical warfare, will be handicapped by the bad roads, which are the greatest obstacle for an army which is using all the modern machinery of destruction, such as tanks, armored cars and heavy artillery. During the rainy season, the activity of the aviation service is also paralyzed to a certain extent, and at last it is becoming known that the Poles generally do not stand either rain or cold. Finally, their resistance must weaken. Quite different is the case with the Russians, who are waging war with limited resources in heavy artillery and the other technical machinery of modern war. Their chief weapons are their numerous cavalry and their infantry, which know no obstacles, and which would be supported by their field artillery. It is well known that the Russian soldier can stand rain and frost with equal firmness, and from his boyhood he is accustomed to the most severe climatic conditions. So the approaching autumn and, later, the severe winter, do not frighten him, especially when he realizes that the seasons always were and will be faithful allies to the Russian people.

I must say that if the war is prolonged another winter, the Russian people will have to suffer much, but however terrible these sufferings may be, Soviet Russia will overcome them both at home as well as in the field, while imperialistic Poland must collapse, in spite of all the endeavors of her supporters to save her existence.

Napoleon often repeated: "He will be victorious who can suffer a half-hour longer than his enemy."

Russia's trials began in 1914; what can it mean for the Russian people to suffer one winter more?

But can the Poles stand the approaching winter? The Allies think they could, but I can assure them without any hesitation that with the next winter the end of the Polish army will be a *fait accompli*.

#### LITHUANIAN AND LATVIAN TREATIES

The texts of the treaties of peace signed between Soviet Russia and these two border states, are in our possession, and will be published as soon as space permits. Do not miss the October issues of SOVIET RUSSIA.

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## “Psychological Imagination”

IN A recent speech in parliament, Mr. Lloyd George quoted Mr. Thomas Shaw, an English labor leader, who returned a short while ago from Russia, to the effect that “the people (in Russia) are submitting not only to military conscription, but to industrial compulsion which the workers of Britain have never dreamt of.”

The allegation is clear. The poor people of Russia, kept down, as others allege, by the “force and cunning” of a handful of Bolsheviki, have to “submit” to every kind of compulsion. It would seem that men who, only a short while ago—during the great war—were either themselves, like Mr. Lloyd George, instrumental in bringing about military conscription in their own country, or, as Mr. Thomas Shaw, were “submitting” to it, should not have the temerity to express surprise at the introduction of military subscription in a country attacked on all sides and compelled to wage war against ever new hosts of enemies, a war which Mr. Lloyd George himself has done much, for his part, to foster, and which, if not for the “submission” of Mr. Thomas Shaw and his friends, would probably have long ago reached its end. However, it was the “industrial compulsion” that has seemingly most shocked the mind of the English visitor. For, has not “English life ever since 1688” been based on “kindliness and tolerance” (Bertrand Russell)?

Had the adherents of the Soviet regime felt the necessity of adapting themselves to the mental processes of their intellectual opponents, they could easily hire some learned men of the professorial guild, who with citations from many recognized authorities on constitutional law, would compose an “Apologia” showing the supreme rights over the individual that are vested in the “state”. We are sure many an intellectual opponent would be overawed by such learned quotations. Or they could bluntly point to the “necessity” that “knows no law”, not even—remember the war—the supreme law of a country’s constitution. Fortunately for revolutionary Russia, it needs no apologists, as the Russian revolutionary masses themselves, in their constant struggle for the maintenance of the Revolution and its achievements, offer more than enough argument for the soundness of their government and its policies. It would possibly surprise the opponents of the Soviet regime who are constantly raving about “compulsion”—if arguments, generally, could find weight with them—to hear that it was the worker and peasant soldiers themselves—those mobilized in the Third Army of the Ural—who advanced the idea of transforming their army into a labor army, in order to utilize the period of military calm—it was after the defeat of Kolchak—for the improvement of the industrial situation in the Ural region. Nor would it suit men with preconceived judgments, to learn that the matter of compulsory labor and the formation of labor armies have been discussed

in thousands of meetings, in the various Soviet departments, sections and sub-sections, local and provincial soviets, at the congress of the councils of national economy, trade union conferences, peasant congresses, and no less in the assemblies of the Red Army soldiers themselves. At all of these meetings the opponents of the measure, by no means all of them drawn from the Soviet Government’s political opponents, the Mensheviki and the Social-Revolutionaries, but who, more often than not, were genuine “hundred per cent” Communists, discussed the situation with a liberty, candor, and seriousness which would do honor to many a western democratic assembly where the “will of the people” is being coined. There also the advocates of the government measure, who most of the time are men equipped with the training received through their Marxian schooling, and who besides have passed through the hard and convincing school of two revolutions, were obliged to explain and defend the proposed measure by explaining the “material causes” (material causes in the Marxian sense, of course, which does not exclude such a “cause” as the “submissiveness” of some labor leaders in some countries) which necessitate the adoption of the measures. Shall we add that these numberless gatherings of the Russian workers and peasants, taking place all over Soviet Russia during the entire period of the revolution, which, after a thorough discussion of all government measures and policies, usually end with the adoption of a corresponding resolution, are the places where the will of the Russian people is being formed and expressed, in order later to be carried out by the executive organs of the Soviet Republic?

This being so, we cannot abstain from devoting a few lines to the working of the petty bourgeois mind so far as its judgment of Russia and the revolution is concerned. With its disdain for all “doctrinarism” (Bertrand Russell, for example, has an almost inborn dislike of Marxism, with its “stressing of material causes”) and with its instinctive fear of great mass movements, the petty bourgeois intelligentsia is at a loss to understand the live connection that binds, at a time of a revolutionary upheaval, the masses of the people with their revolutionary leaders, making both, as it were, the organs of one will that is behind them. Having no clue, owing to his superficiality and class prejudice, to the undersanding of the psychology of the revolutionary masses of Russia, and having consequently arrived at the vain and ridiculous idea that the people of Russia are but an object of the Soviet Government’s measures and experiments, the petty bourgeois intellectual, in order to solve his problems, follows at once his mental habits: he employs “psychological imagination”, that is, he emphasizes the national peculiarities of the Russians (“Oriental traits in the Russian character”) which, according to his view,

produce in the Russian leaders a fatalistic fanaticism with which they cling to their communistic doctrines, while in the Russian masses they express themselves in the fatalistic passivity with which they submit to their leaders.\* Side by side with this accentuation of the national peculiarities of the Russians, goes his conviction—based apparently again on “psychological imagination,” that these peculiar Russian national traits are completely strange to the nation to which he happens to belong. However, this insistence on the psychological and other peculiarities of the other nation as contrasted with one’s own is not original. It occurs with regularity whenever the petty bourgeois defenders of an old order try to vindicate it against the onslaught of progress. It was so in Russia years ago, when the *narodniki* insisted that Russia need not enter the path of development of western Europe. Similarly in Germany, a few decades earlier, the German counterparts of the Russian *narodniki* insisted that Germany must not at all follow the steps of England.\*\* And in the same manner the sweeping remark of Mr. Shaw regarding “industrial compulsion” in Russia has this—though concealed—meaning that what is called “Russian methods” would generally be entirely impossible of adoption in England.

A very illuminating historical comment on this kind of allegation was given by Professor Charles A. Beard in the *New Review* of June, 1914, in an article entitled: *The Key to the Mexican Problem*. We quote from it, because of their timeliness, the following paragraphs:

Contempt for other countries and scorn for their incredible follies are two characteristics that have always accompanied the development of nationalism. In the seventeenth century, when the English Whigs were laboring with might and main to establish parliamentary supremacy and had to execute one king and drive out another in order to accomplish that high purpose, Torcy, Louis XIV’s cynical minister, remarked with ill-disguised amusement on the inherent disability of the Anglo-Saxon to conduct himself with decency and self-respect. The half-century of turmoil in the British Islands was looked upon by less-informed continentalists as a battle of kites and crows arising from a temperamental opposition to order and settled social life. The

\* This obvious contradiction is but a result of the fact that such “psychological” assumptions are devoid of any actual value. In a somewhat different connection, the well-known German psychologist, Prof. Hermann Ebbinghaus, passed the following remarks on the popular supposition that the “views” (or religion) of men influence their way of action:

“A sluggish and comfort-loving man with deterministic views may cross his hands and say: let things pass as they are destined to; there is nothing further to be done here. But what leads him to this is not his views, but his independently existing tendency to laziness. For an active and energetic man with similar views is possessed of the consciousness that he is the means selected by the destinies of the world, through which they come into realization. This is also confirmed by historical experience. Fatalistic Islam is losing quite inactively one piece of its power after another. Still, originally, it has with the same fatalism conquered a world in a quick onrush, and kept the peoples of the West in terror. And has perhaps the modern belief of the Boers in predestination—which is not, however, identical with determinism—made them any less active and less energetic than the orthodox belief in freedom has made the Spaniards?”—Hermann Ebbinghaus, *Abriss der Psychologie*, p. 153.

\*\* The problem is discussed with great ingenuity by the late Russian socialist writer, George Plekhanov, in his work entitled: *K voprosu o monisticheskoi vzglyadye na istoriyu*, published under the pseudonym of N. Beltov. Plekhanov thus characterizes the sociological views of the petty bourgeois intellectuals: “If there is anything original in their views it is their naive ignorance as to how little original they are.”

Frenchman, who then laughed at the Englishman’s expense, of course prided himself upon his own good sense and innate devotion to properties under the beneficent rule of the Grand Monarch.

Long afterward, for reasons similar to those which had disturbed England, the land of Torcy and Louis XIV was torn with civil discord which ran a course almost identical with that across the Channel. The English had executed Charles I. The French beheaded Louis XVI. The English had instituted a Protectorate. The French experimented with a Consulate. The despotism of Cromwell was matched by that of the Corsican adventurer. The English had welcomed their restored and flattered Charles II. The French endured their Louis XVIII. The English had driven out James II, the Stuart who forgot and learned nothing. The French ousted Charles X, the Bourbon who, like James II, forgot and learned nothing. And for William III, there was a bourgeois Louis Philippe.

Strange as it may seem, the French contest for parliamentary government, which almost paralleled that of the English, was regarded by the descendants of those Englishmen whom Torcy held beneath contempt for their political imbecilities, in exactly the same spirit and with the same degree of penetration. Who does not recall Burke’s stately and vindictive diatribe (for in spite of its lofty airs it was nothing more) and the many lesser diatribes against the poor, weak, and vacillating Frenchman wanting one thing today and another tomorrow, and in general acting like a spoiled baby? Chesterton has sagely remarked that to the average Englishman the French Revolution is still something like a huge bye-election.

Illustrations of the opening statement of this article might be indefinitely multiplied, if there were no limit to the patience of printers and readers. But one more reference will bring the principle closely home to the citizens of the United States. A little more than half a century ago, the people of this country engaged in a desperate fratricidal conflict, testing whether the republic founded by their fathers could endure. For four long years they waged such a civil conflict as the world had never seen. Property totaling into the billions was destroyed in the South (including millions owned by Englishmen) and under the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in the North the rights of persons were everywhere put in jeopardy. Wiseacres in Europe laughed loud in their scorn for a slave republic which had forever demonstrated, on a stupendous scale, the failure of democracy.

These lines were written before the Russian Revolution. Today it is Russia, that is the Russia of the workers and peasants, that is the center of philistine scorn. Mr. Thomas Shaw draws a picture of the Russian people as living under manifold forms of compulsion, and declares that the English working class never dreamt of similar conditions of compulsion. To us the “voluntary” sale of labor power to an employer in whose enterprise the worker is not interested in the least, but to whom he is compelled to sell his labor power by the force of economic relations, seems also a kind of “industrial compulsion,” though not decreed by the force of law. Moreover, the Russian “compulsion” seems to have the advantage that despite its greater duress, the workers somehow feel and realize that it is the Russian people as such who will reap the advantage from their sweat and toil, and not a small privileged group. However, as a labor leader, M. Shaw ought to be acquainted with the history of English labor, which would tell him that it needed the draconian legislation of the early English labor statutes to “induce” the ex-

propriated English peasants and artisans to adapt themselves to even this "voluntary" compulsion of the normal process of capitalist production. A brief review of these statutes containing such punishments for beggary and vagabondage as "tying to the cart-tail and whipping until the blood streams from their bodies", or "branding with an R on the left shoulder and setting to hard labor", or even, in case of repetition of the "crime", execution would convince many an English ideologist that not only in Russia life was "fierce" and "cruel", while the history of the English strike and trade union movement up to 1825 would more than prove that life in England, even after 1688, was not all based on "tolerance and kindness". But above all, the perusal of the English practice of the past would show that the capitalist class did not always depend on the working of the law of "supply and demand", but that, when it was necessary, it used the power of the state to hold down the workers to the drudgery of factory work. Many of these compulsory labor laws existed until the end of the nineteenth century, as the law (act of 5 Eliz., repealed 1875) compelling all persons able to work as laborers or artificers, and having no other means of existence, "to work upon demand", or the law permitting a criminal action against a contract-breaking workman, though allowing only a civil action to the worker against the contract-breaking master.

It is comprehensible that a statesman, like Mr. George, would not keep in memory the history of the English people some centuries or even decades ago. He even forgets what he himself did only a few years ago, during the war. Did not Mr. Lloyd George, when he assumed the office of Minister of Munitions, insist that it was necessary for the civil authorities to have the same control over the men in the workshops and the factories as the military authorities possessed over the men in the trenches? But that a labor leader of Mr. Shaw's reputation should allow to slip out of his memory the past martyrology of his own class, and moreover, that he should forget that recent bit of "industrial compulsion" known as the "work or fight" order that had to guide the English trade unionists during the war, is more than regrettable. Or does he perhaps think that revolutionary Russia is at present not engaged in a bitter war for existence?

We do not know much about the national psychology of the English, but we do remember the reactionary uses made of the stereotyped psychological observations pertaining to the Russian "plain" people. Thanks to them, an average French (or other) investing *rentier* beheld in the Russian people before the revolution gentle and humble semi-barbarians, willing, in the simplicity of their minds, and out of devotion to the Czar, to toil and sweat in order to secure the interest on his Russian investments. Similarly, even a

\* As quoted by Robert Williams, *The Soviet System at Work*, London, 1920, p. 16.

few weeks before the revolution, the American public was deluded by ingenuous correspondents with tales of the peculiar "psychology" of the Russian *muzhik*, whose mind was preoccupied with the sole desire to please the Czar, and whose devotion for the "little father" had no parallel in the other nations. Today all these investors behold in every Russian of the "lower classes" an image of laziness, disorderliness and faithlessness.

However, if lessons are to be drawn from history, one such lesson is the outstanding fact, clearly demonstrated during the last few years, of the ease with which these so-called national differences yield to the fundamental social antagonisms. Symptomatic in this respect is the talk of "general human civilization," indulged in by the reactionary "bearers of civilization," in countries that were but recently warring with each other. Confronted by the new rising proletarian culture in Russia, the English and French forget completely their vicious diatribes against the "Deutsche Kultur" that had to be destroyed for the happiness of mankind, while the Germans have ceased their scurrilous attacks on the French culture of *decadence* or the English shopkeepers' civilization, presumably an abomination to mankind, to be preferably supplanted by the "healthy and harmonious" German *Kultur*.

But the "psychological imagination" that imagines it beholds national "resemblances", for instance, between Winston Churchill and Robert Smillie, or between Lenin and Kolchak, disregards entirely the fact that this sort of thing is at best hardly capable of recognition, and is particularly concealed whenever elementary problems of social nature come seriously into play. After all, it was not to Mr. Smillie that Mr. Churchill looked for inspiration, or for advice in his bold and bloody plans of assailing the Russian revolution, but to Kolchak and Von Ludendorff. Therefore psychological points of "resemblance" of this sort, being incapable of affecting one's attitude, or even one's frame of mind, have to be relegated, it seems, to the domain of transcendent psychic monads, to act there as they list. As for itself, this "psychological imagination" must be given its real name, which is, the "feeling of nationalism", even though it be unconscious. *For it is just where ideas are lacking that a word will be a splendid substitute* (Faust).

#### INCREASED BREAD RATIONS IN RUSSIA

In spite of all reports of the bourgeois press, according to which Russia has no bread supply and is starving, the council of workers of Petrograd has decided to increase the daily bread rations on June 25 to two pounds for group A, 1.5 pound for group B, and 0.75 pound for group C. Children without exception receive a daily bread ration of one pound.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the  
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU  
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**T**HE FRENCH LOAN has been placed. The mysterious financial operation that is designated in the financial pages of the newspapers as "a \$100,000,000 refunding loan" was successfully put over, as New York newspapers of September 10 put it, in the course of one hour. No doubt France's credit is now somewhat too promiscuously associated with that of Poland, and no doubt Poland's is pretty far gone, as the "no market" comment opposite the word "Poland" in the Foreign Exchange Quotations would seem to indicate. But it was not impossible, as the event has shown, to find purchasers for these new securities, after the public "mind" had been assiduously belabored for weeks with accounts of Polish "victories" and "Bolsheviki" collapses, and after even Wrangel had been prevailed upon—with an eye to the fact that some bond-purchasers are Jews—to utter a rather mild and condescending disapproval of pogroms. The fact that both he and the Poles are at present indulging in veritable orgies of pogrom activity is one that will not transpire until long after the so-called "refunding" operation has become long a thing of the past. Meanwhile *Kuryer Polski*, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, may continue with impunity to let the cat out of the bag as to prospective pogroms in Poland, as they did in a letter sent out by them which we reprinted in our last issue.

**D**ESTRUCATION is the dominant fear of the capitalist press when it alleges to discuss the situation in proletarian countries. The reader will recall the howl of indignation that was raised in the newspapers about the reconstructional activities of the Hungarian and Bavarian Soviets last year. Of course, when Russia is under "discussion", the "destruction" assumes proportions so "alarming" as to encourage the counter-revolutionary press to cherish wayward hopes of a speedy overthrow of the Russian Soviet Government. Regret is expressed in at least one quarter, however, that in spite of the serious "plight" of the Soviet Government, there is a probability that it may yet hold out for another year, and readers are warned not to be too hopeful of the destructive effects

of forest-fires said to have been raging in many parts of Russia. Who kindled the forest-fires, we are not told—it is only the dismay that is expressed at their failure to accelerate the "ruin" of Soviet Russia that leads to a conjecture that perhaps they were of incendiary origin, and that perhaps the incendiary was not a mere amateur, but was well paid for his act.

The people of Italy are about to be subjected to similar "interpretation" in the columns of the counter-revolutionary press. They appear to have taken peaceful possession of many factories, and to have made a serious beginning at production under proletarian control. We are given amusing accounts, in hostile newspapers, of the inefficiency of their management and the resulting ridiculously low production, occasionally coupled with confessions that the owners of the factories had locked up the raw materials and hidden the books, to prevent a proper running of the establishments. All this we have already heard in connection with Russia, and it may be some time before we get authentic information as to what has really occurred in Italy.

Meanwhile, let us call the attention of the reader to two of the articles appearing in the present issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*, which throw considerable light on the causes of whatever destruction the Soviet Government has had to cope with. One is the article by the jurist, Goykhbarg, "Kolchakists on Trial," which gives some indication of the manner in which the counter-revolutionists in Siberia squandered the property of the Russian and Siberian populations. The other is the interview with Professor Lomonossov, now a prominent official in the Commissariat for Means of Communication, who points out the extent to which the railroads were run down and wilfully destroyed by the beasts who have conducted the White invasions into Soviet Russia's territory. But their day is nearly over, and Soviet Russia will soon be able to devote herself heart and soul to the work of reconstruction. If the case of Italy is parallel to that of Russia, the revolution in Italy is not nearly so wasteful as is alleged.

**B**ONAR LAW or some other British politician said the other day, in reply to a note by Commissar Chicherin, that while he had no doubt of the ability of the proletarian dictatorship to make rich men poor, he was not at all certain that they could do much toward making poor men rich. There is no doubt an appearance of truth in Mr. Bonar Law's remarks, as far as the present condition of Russia is concerned. It has thus far been very difficult to do much toward making poor men rich, thanks largely to the intervention by France and England in Russian affairs, and to the counter-revolutionary activities of the Russian hirelings of those governments. It would be interesting to reflect on what better modes of administering Russian affairs would have been introduced—had they remained in power—by those friends of the Entente diplomats who succeeded in arrogating

control to themselves as soon as the proletariat of Petrograd and Moscow, in March, 1917, had overthrown the Czarist Government. To be sure we should not have heard much of the sufferings of the peasants had Kerensky maintained his hold; we were not told much about these things when the Czar was in power. The Entente would have considered all to be well with Russia if the few bourgeois and reactionary Russians in control of the country had merely succeeded in keeping the country at war, in hurling one peasant army after the other into destruction in order to keep certain bodies of German troops engaged on the "Eastern" front, in holding down the rising resistance of the population and continuing to rule Russia as a dependency of the Entente, a tributary who must furnish cannon-fodder even though it remain itself unsupplied with cannon. If certain portions of the upper layer of Russian society could be kept in sufficient comfort and strength to hold down the lid—that was all Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Churchill, and Mr. Lloyd George wanted. But their friends in Russia lost power, and these three gentlemen, and the newspapers who echo their views, have an entirely different tale to tell. Now that the effort is being made in Russia to give to everyone who works—in other words, to all but these few friends of the Entente—an opportunity to share equally in the distribution of food and comforts, the present difficulties encountered in this task are hailed with glee by the counter-revolutionary world. And their exultation is not hard to understand, for much of the occasion for it is directly due to their own machinations.

\* \* \*

**P**OLAND'S claim, expressed while the Soviet Government was attempting to persuade the Polish delegates to the Armistice Conference to report for the negotiations, to the effect that the Soviet wireless station was refusing to receive Polish wireless communications, is somewhat weakened by a revelation made recently in the columns of *Humanite*, of Paris. *Humanite* says that the following wireless message from Carnarvon was picked up by the Paris station:

"By order of the British Government the Warsaw station is asked to cease its boycott of the Moscow station, and to take a message of extreme urgency."

*Humanite* goes on to report that while Warsaw remained silent, emitting no answer, remaining apparently in a broken-down condition, it displayed perfect efficiency an hour later, when it called up Prague and began sending out stock exchange quotations.

\* \* \*

**S**IX MONTHS is the period commonly allowed for the persistence of the tottering Soviet Government. And this period is allowed rather indiscriminately, whether it begin in January, 1919, or September, 1920. And always the source is official and confidential and awe-inspiring. And yet, gift sources must always be looked carefully in the mouth. We refrain from pursuing the origin of the latest six-months' scare, but cannot resist

the temptation to look more closely at the sources of some of the other "news" trickling out of Russia or belled from the seats of counter-revolutionary news services.

The latest "documentary" evidence that Russia is no place to live in, and advising workers not to travel to Russia in order to live and work there, comes from Stockholm, Sweden. It appears that a delegation of Swedish workers, who had gone to Russia in order to investigate conditions of life there, returned recently to their homes and published an unfavorable account of their observations in Russia. But it is interesting to note that this report, to judge by the accounts of it given in the New York daily press, was published in the Stockholm *Social-Demokraten*, a right-wing Socialist organ, which, like all of its counterparts in European cities, is furiously opposed to the Soviets. We shall probably receive copies of other Swedish papers in a few days, in which the truth on this matter is revealed.

Another hostile account is that printed in the New York *Times* of Sunday, September 12, full of details as to the savage treatment alleged to have been accorded the population of Kiev on the occasion of the recent occupation of that city by the Red Army. The source is again very illuminating: "The report is certified by the Central Committee of the Russian Red Cross." Who is the Russian Red Cross? Is it the Red Cross Organization of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, which always encounters the utmost difficulty when it attempts to get in touch with Western European authorities, or the Czarist "Russian Red Cross", to which all avenues of communication, all gates to the news services, are opened on demand? That is the only question to which an answer is required by him who seeks enlightenment as to the trustworthiness of these latest accounts of "Red Terror."

\* \* \*

**W**HILE Western Europe is completely accessible to any communication the counter-revolutionary Red Cross may have to make—and we regret to say, America is also available for such purposes,—it should interest readers to reflect for a moment on the standing of this organization in Russia. Here is an organization of enemies of the Russian people and of the Soviet Government, who spread lies about Soviet Russia and the practice of justice in that country, but who are permitted to spread such lies only in countries whose governments are hostile to the government that was set up by the Russian people themselves, and has remained in power for three years, in spite of alleged drownings of commissars in the Neva at Petrograd, in spite of the "nationalization of women"—and, we may add seriously—in spite of the hardships of one of the most trying military situations in history. The American reader, when he is a reasonable man, will be moved only to greater respect for the Soviet Government, by each new fabrication its enemies place before him.

## Correspondence with the American Red Cross

[The following letters exchanged between Mr. Martens and the American Red Cross are, it is hoped, the conclusion of the episode of the Petrograd Children's Colony, which sailed for Europe on September 11. Next week we shall print a resolution of the Colony expressing hope that they may go directly to Petrograd. We strongly share this hope.]

September 7, 1920.

Mr. Frederick P. Keppel,  
Vice-Chairman American Red Cross,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of September 3 and note with satisfaction that the American Red Cross is considering my protest against the taking of the 780 Russian children to France. I feel sure that upon careful deliberation you will decide against an action which would be an obvious injustice to the children and their parents.

I urge you, however, as soon as possible to make a public statement that the children will not be sent to France and that they will be sent to their homes without delay. I know from reliable reports that the children are in a most unhappy state of dread lest they be sent to the unfriendly atmosphere of France, thus greatly delaying their homecoming and making them the innocent victims of international political enmity. A clear statement from you that it is not the purpose of the Red Cross to send them to France will relieve the fears of the children and make them better able to bear their impatient longings for their parents and their homes.

Yours very truly,

L. A. MARTENS,  
*Representative of the Russian Socialist  
Federal Soviet Republic.*

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS  
National Headquarters  
Washington, D. C.

September 3, 1920.

Mr. L. Martens,  
110 West 40th Street,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of August 30th has been received and carefully noted.

I am taking the matter up with my associates both in this country and abroad with a view to determining just what action should be taken, and we will be glad to communicate with you when we have arrived at a decision.

Yours very truly,  
(Signed) F. P. KEPPEL,  
*Acting Chairman.*

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS  
*Atlantic Division*  
44 East 23d Street  
New York, N. Y.

September 9, 1920.

Mr. J. K. L. Martens,  
Russian Soviet Bureau,

110 West 40th Street,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Confirming our telephone conversation I enclose herewith a copy of a statement given to the American and Russian press for tomorrow morning's issue, relative to the destination of the Petrograd Children's Colony.

Yours very truly,

H. J. ROGERS, *Manager.*

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

*Atlantic Division*

44 East 23d Street

New York, N. Y.

*For Immediate Release*

The American Red Cross yesterday authorized the following statement regarding the Russian children who are being transported to their homes under its care:

The American Red Cross announces that, in accordance with its original plan, the Petrograd Children's Colony will be taken from New York direct to a Baltic port; from there, the children will be sent to their parents in whatever part of Europe they may be residing.

When the S. S. *Yomei Maru* left Vladivostok with the children and their attendants, no other procedure was contemplated. While the boat was en route to New York from San Francisco, the conditions in Northwestern Europe forecast the possibility that such a course would result in taking the children into another war zone. Solely for the safety and comfort of the Colony, the advisability was discussed of holding the children in Western Europe in Red Cross buildings and property until actual health and political conditions could be clearly known, and preliminary arrangements were made to use an American Aviation Field in France near Bordeaux.

By the time the *Yomei Maru* had reached New York conditions had again changed, and the reasons for apprehension for the health and comfort of the children were less urgent, and no longer outweighed the convenience in debarking and forwarding them home from a Baltic port. It has therefore been decided, after cabled consultation with the Red Cross Commissioner to Europe, to adhere to the original plan. In arriving at this conclusion, the wishes of the children, their teachers and attendants, have been considered, as well as the almost unanimous opinion of our Russian residents of all shades of political belief.

The Red Cross considers its prime obligation to be the restoration of the children to their parents. The *Yomei Maru* will probably sail early Saturday morning, the 11th of September.

## Kolchakists on Trial

By A. GOYKHBARG

### II

What crimes of the Kolchakists were revealed at the trial? It took six days to present the evidence of the prosecution, and a complete account of the evidence would require more than one tome. Only the most important points can be briefly stated in a newspaper article.

Almost all the material of the prosecution was taken from declarations (secret and public) of the defendants themselves, or of their co-partisans, from their official secret documents, telegrams, long distance conversations and decisions of the Kolchak government. We practically refused to call our own witnesses or to present our evidence. We merely made public the secret acts of the "regenerators". And the result of this was such a vile chain of treachery, betrayal, spoliation, petty, grand and colossal larceny, destruction, cruelty and murder, that many of the defendants were constrained to declare at the trial (perhaps, hypocritically): had we known all this, we would have refused to have any connection with that government.

We will begin with the right socialist parties. Theoretically, we are convinced that the right socialist parties participating in the government act only as the servants of the bourgeoisie, as its valets, that the bourgeoisie and the military use them as a democratic fig leaf, covering their ugly nakedness from the eyes of the toiling masses. This theoretical conviction of ours was dramatically corroborated at the trial by the amusing and horrible picture of the bourgeoisie and military removing this fig-leaf.

At the beginning the reaction was impotent. Hence the democratic and socialist fig-leaf was prominently put forward. Hence the cabinet of the Socialist-Revolutionist Derber, who, testifying at the trial, admitted that at a secret conference he had been elected as the first premier for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet power. His comrades composed the council of ministers at Omsk. His friends, L. Mikhailov and Markov, signed the first "laws" abolishing Soviets, annulling the nationalizations, abolishing the whole Soviet system. They appointed "efficient" men, from the circles connected with industry. But the "efficient" business men were not serving the socialists. On the contrary, they merely tolerated the socialists as long as these served their cause.

But it became necessary to create the eastern front to "aid" the Allies, and it was not certain that the Socialist Revolutionary "ministers" would consent to this. Then the most accomodating Socialist Revolutionary minister, Vologodsky, speaks on the long distance from Vladivostok to Omsk: the Socialist Revolutionary ministers, Krutovsky and Shatilov, should be removed, and the Derber minister Novosselov should be given to understand, through the proper people, that his

appearance at Omsk would be out of place. Two days later, Novosselov was arrested and killed by officer Semenchenko, who went unpunished. While Krutovsky and Shatilov were arrested by order of the Chief of the Omsk garrison, Volkov, were taken to the home of certain officers, and, with guns aimed at them, were forced to sign an illiterate statement of their resignation. The "efficient" men accepted these resignations of the "ministers", falsely recording in the minutes that the resignations were considered in the presence of Krutovsky and Shatilov. Then these "efficient" officials asked Gratzianov, a friend of the arrested ministers, to convey to the latter their sympathy, and after this Judas kiss, the "ex-ministers" were forced to sign their consent to leave Omsk within twenty-four hours.

But trouble came from the Czechs. They threatened to leave the front if too right a course should be taken, and the "efficient" men perforce agreed to turn over the power once again to the Socialist Revolutionary (somewhat more right) Directory, with Avksentyev and Zenzinov, and removed them to Krassilnikov's camp. "In view of the absence of any governing power," the ministers led by the Socialist-Revolutionist Vologodsky elected Kolchak as dictator. After which they sent the Minister of Justice, Starynkevich, a member of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party, to express their sympathy to Avksentyev and Zenzinov. He took them to the city, where he put them under guard, alleging afterwards that he did this at their own request, and then they were forced to sign a statement declaring that they would leave for abroad within twenty-four hours, and promising to abstain from any agitation against Kolchak.

The culmination of these events was the horrible drama of the thirty-one men, enacted in January, 1920. In December, 1919, during the insurrection against Kolchak at Irkutsk, the Kolchakists seized at a secret meeting thirty-one men, including the creators of Kolchakism, L. Mikhailov and Markov. These thirty-one men were turned over, through General Sychev, and not without the assistance of the ministers who were originally called into the service by Mikhailov and Markov, to Colonel Sypailov, the aide of Attaman Semionov, who boasted that he personally, with his own hand, had "got rid" of 3,000 persons. "By hand and stick" the thirty-one were forced to sign a statement that they were leaving for abroad. After this they were brought up to the side, murdered by a mallet blow on the head, and all of them, including P. Mikhailov and Markov, were thrown under the propeller of the steamer, which cut out a layer of ice six inches thick.

Thus history completed her circle.

### III

It was shown at the trial that the Socialist-Revolutionists and the Mensheviks, who organized their

governments at Samara, Ufa and in Siberia, instigated the insurrection of the Czecho-Slovak troops, and that they executed workmen in Samara and Ufa. Their favorite hero and "liberator", the Czech General Gaida, devastated the Russian city of Perm, for which, incidentally, he received a telegram expressing appreciation, from the chairman of the eastern section of the "Cadet" party, Mr. Klafton, who "loved his fatherland with the ardor of a true Russian." This same Gaida issued orders to shoot every tenth striker.

Despite all this, the Kolchakists soon began to take summary measures not against alleged Bolsheviks (the term "Bolsheviki"—Kolchak stated in his testimony—was very indefinite), but also against Socialist Revolutionists and Mensheviki. Thus, Kolchak ordered the arrest of many Socialist-Revolutionists, members of the Constituent Assembly. Together with these, many other Socialist-Revolutionists were seized. And when it was ascertained that the arrest of the latter was a misunderstanding, and when Kolchak asked the Minister of Justice, Starynkevich, a Socialist-Revolutionist, what should be done with them, he replied: "Let them stay in prison for a while." By order of the council of ministers, passed with the consent of "former" Social Democrats, including Shumilovsky, the Social-Democrat Kirienko was imprisoned, as was also the Social-Democratic editor, E. Mayevsky.

On December 21, 1918, an unsuccessful insurrection of workers occurred in Omsk. The insurgents first of all went to the jail and liberated not only the Bolsheviks, but also all the other political prisoners. One cannot read without a feeling of repugnance the testimony given by the Socialist-Revolutionists of the Constituent Assembly, to the Kolchak Commission of Inquiry, in which they stated that they left the jail because they feared punishment at the hands of the "perpetrators of violence, the Bolsheviks," but that on the next day they voluntarily returned to the jail of the freedom-loving democrat Kolchak.

On the evening of the following day the Kolchakists began to remove from jail for execution, not only the Bolsheviks, who had been seized by force, but also the Socialist-Revolutionists and Mensheviki, who had returned voluntarily. Officer Cherchenko came with a personal order of Kolchak to remove for execution the Social Democrat Kirienko, the Socialist-Revolutionist Devitov, and the Internationalist Popov. Kirienko and Devitov were shot in the street. Popov was sick with spotted typhus. They therefore tried to lower him into the sewer, but were prevented by "technical conditions"—the passage was too narrow. Officer Bartyshevsky, of Krasynnikov's force, took fifteen prisoners for execution, among them the Socialist Revolutionary member of the Constituent Assembly, Bruderer, and E. Mayevsky. All the "removals" were managed by the head of the school for non-commissioned officers, Rubtzov, by whose order forty-four "Bolsheviki" were shot *at three o'clock in the morning*. And after this the following entry

was made in the minutes of the military court under the chairmanship of General Ivanov: *at six o'clock in the morning*, forty-four defendants (they had already been shot at three a. m.) were informed of their sentence, as well as of the *time allowed for an appeal*. And who is this Rubtzov? Not long before, on June 8, 1918, *at a meeting of the Right Socialist parties*, directed by the Socialists Revolutionists, he was elected chief of the *revolutionary* staff which was organized for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet power in the city of Tare, and was at the same time promoted by them to the rank of a captain. For shooting the "Bolsheviki" and Socialist-Revolutionists, he was promoted by Kolchak to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, dating from December 22, 1918. The other executioners were sent by Kolchak to the detachment of Attaman Annenkov, to avoid the formality of a trial, although before they were sent away, the work of these executors was characterized as "beyond all praise" by all the ministers, including the members of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party and the former members of the Social Democratic Party.

The cossacks of Annenkov's detachment were distinguished by the skull and crossed bones worn on their sleeves, and this signified the fate that awaited any one who fell into their hands. They had "death-cars", which they used for summary executions. According to Kolchak's own testimony, Kalmykov's men were seizing people on the roads, robbing and murdering them; and if these acts were discovered, they claimed that their victims were Bolsheviks. Attaman Semionov's lieutenants killed by their own hand as many as 3,000 persons each. And not only did these braves go unpunished, but they were even rewarded for this brutality.

Particularly at the end of the Kolchak regime, it became a common practice to take prisoners from the jails and shoot them. This was the fate of thousands. On a motion made by the "former" Social-Democrat, the Minister of Agriculture Petrov, the council of ministers adopted a resolution "to prevent the captured Bolsheviks from settling on the territory of Siberia." And in Omsk alone we buried so many people who were tortured to death, that their coffins formed a line over half a mile long. There was not a city or town where these horrors were not enacted.

The number of persons killed by the Kolchakists, not in the course of battles, is enormous. The Kolchakists were active in sixteen provinces. And in the province of Yekaterinburg alone, according to the underestimates of the official data, at least 25,000 persons were tortured to death, shot, or buried alive.

Besides murders, the Kolchakists used mass floggings, chiefly with rods. They flogged young and old, men, women and children. In the province of Yekaterinburg, not less than ten per cent of the two million population were subjected to floggings.

Kolchak and General Rozanov issued order to



raze to the ground whole villages,—not for military-strategical reasons, but solely through brutality. This was confirmed at the trial by Colonel Syromyatnikov, former chief of General Rozanov's staff. In only a few of the Siberian provinces, over 20,000 farms were destroyed, and over 10,000 peasant houses were burned down. The same General Rozanov issued orders to shoot ten hostages for every Czech or officer killed. The Kolchakists destroyed over a hundred large bridges. They blew up almost all water stations. On the morning after the entry of the Soviet troops into Omsk, the Kolchak General Rymisky-Korsakov was arrested *while he was on the way to his office*, and in his portfolio was found an order to blow up the Omsk powder stores, which would have meant the destruction of the whole city, except perhaps the outlying districts.

There was hardly any foreign government, not excepting the German, which the Kolchakists did not beg for military aid, whose military forces they did not call up to aid them against their "ardently beloved fatherland." In payment for this aid they sold "their country", as much as it was in their power, to foreign governments. "The matter of concessions to the Japanese"—Vologodsky wrote in a secret communication to Rozanov,—"has been arranged on a broad plan, and it may be hoped that it will develop." All the Siberian railroad lines were placed under the unrestricted control of foreigners, that is, of the Inter-Allied Commission. But this was not all. They protested against workers' control, but they agreed to the unrestricted control of foreign generals. In a note addressed to the chairman of the council of ministers, and dated December 26, 1919, General Janin wrote: "The agreement signed on January 14 by Admiral Kolchak, General Stefanik, General Knox and myself, stipulates that I, as commander-in-chief of the Allied armed forces and as representative of France, *shall have general control both at the front and in the rear.*"

They turned over to foreigners about 10,000 poods of gold—one-third of the gold reserve stolen for them by the Socialists-Revolutionists and Mensheviki—amounting at the pre-war valuation to 240 million rubles. They tried also to turn over the remaining 20,000 poods of gold, as "all-Russian property,"—to "all the Allies."

To secure some sympathy abroad for their cause they needed a corrupt and libelous press, and they spent tens of millions for this purpose. Their agents in foreign countries were energetic,—they worked on a salary and did piece work in addition. Alexinsky and Savinkov were paid for piece work. In the second half of 1919 they sent a half million francs to Burtzev at Paris, 33,000 dollars to the "Liberation Committee" (Milyukov and Struve) at London, and similar sums to Mitarevsky at Tokio and to Sack at New York. The supreme governing board of the Church, financed by the government, sent to the Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to other, "reliable" reports to the effect that the Bolsheviki had nation-

alized the women, and the "socialists" of the Omsk government sent the same "reliable" reports to the ex-pope of Marxism, Kautsky. And yet, in one of Kolchak's pockets, when he was captured, was found a copy of the lampoon regarding the nationalization of women—the "Decree of the Free Anarchist Association of Saratov." This, however, did not hinder the Kolchakists from trying to seduce two popes by this plain falsehood.

In addition to the foreign "financial policy", they had an internal one: steal as much as you can. Every day they granted subsidies to enterprises, amounting to over a billion. They gave to the "Cadet" military-industrial committee many millions, all of which went into the pockets of the latter, as was admitted in the report of Kolchak's inter-departmental commission to the council of ministers. They established an "emigrant" bank and appropriated for this purpose hundreds of millions in gold currency, to be used in loans to various establishments and individuals, to enable them to buy shares of this bank. They purchased for the government at double the price (sixty million rubles) the Cheremkhov mines, which had been nationalized by the Soviet power and was "denationalized" by them.

In comparison with all this the individual thefts (with or without permission) of individual ministers seem insignificant. Three days after it had been decided to evacuate Omsk, the council of ministers resolved to give to Kolchak an appropriation of three million rubles for the moving of the offices and for the maintenance of the garage (at Omsk!) and its guard, and 75,000 rubles to purchase furniture for the dining-room of the Supreme Ruler. Pissarev was given an appropriation of 100,000 rubles for "patriotic agitation"; of these he spent 20,000 for the moving of an echelon, 20,000 he gave as a subsidy to the refugee popes, 5,000 he sent to his wife. Larionov transferred many millions to his personal account. On the eve of their fall, about the end of December, they gave an appropriation of 100,000 rubles to the charge d'affaires of the council of ministers, for the needs of the library. At the same time, they gave 100,000 rubles to the ministry of foreign affairs (which had only one official and one typist) to purchase wood for the office of the ministry. "To relieve the situation" of the ministers and their assistants, the council of ministers decided to supply them with Japanese yens at a special exchange rate—ten rubles for a yen, that is, to give them fifty rubles in exchange for one. The ministers Zefirov, Mikhailov, von Goyer and Sukin simply stole, and did not even trouble to cover up their traces. Their thefts were discovered, but they were not brought to trial, because the judges themselves had their hands in the pie. And then, was not the whole rebellion against the rule of the workers and peasants organized with the aim of securing the possibility to speculate, to loot and steal, *on the basis of private property?*

## Nastya Terentyeva

*A Pen-Picture: A Proletarian Type*

By DR. BOHUMIR SMERAL

Nastya Terentyeva, twenty-two years old, charming, pretty, an exceptionally intelligent comrade. A factory hand, seamstress,—today a propagandist and organizer in that trade. About a week ago Olbracht and Vajtauer escorted her home from the theatre—her home lies in an obscure city suburb. She considered this to be a bourgeois habit and was offended. "Why, I travel alone all over Russia, why couldn't I walk alone in Moscow?" She did not show herself for a week. They met her yesterday and brought her to Gani for tea. Here I met her personally. Her first glance, the pressure of her hand, confident and friendly, like that of an affectionate sister. At Olbracht's suggestion, I offered her a box of bon-bons I had brought for myself from Reval, a rarity, and, because of shortage of sugar, almost a necessity. She looks at me with a proud, childlike reproach. She will have none. When pressed, she puts them down on the table before her and during the entire evening does not take any. Then, perhaps, during the whole evening she did not look at me directly even once, and when she left, the box of sweets remained behind. Such is the proud disdain that the proletarian has of our Western European customs, which apparently make upon them a bourgeois impression. And how she speaks! She is still a child, but when she discusses the revolution or the most technical details of the trade movement, she speaks with such accurate knowledge, with such logic, with such fervor and tense interest, that Olbracht dropped a remark that not even his wife at home nor Marka Mejerova could measure up to this twenty-two year-old girl. I say: In fact, in thoroughness, depth and understanding of her sphere, not even Hampl. Quietly, and in an even voice, with sincerity and earnestness, she explains the history of the factory in which she works. Factory committees in the first phase of the Revolution during Kerensky, the sudden springing up of trade organizations, the conflict between the two, the passing of factory control into the hands of the workers, dissent between the officials and the workmen about this control, sabotage of the capitalist, and the realization that he could no longer hold the factory, his flight with money into the ranks of the counter-revolutionists and to Denikin; the workers run the factory, put through its municipalization, the nationalization of industry and its subordination to the Supreme Council of National Economy. Today, the factory is managed, under the supervision of the state, by three members. One member is elected by the factory workers, one is appointed by the Soviet Government. Wages were formerly paid by the piece, during the revolution the minimum wage was placed at 250 a month. Later it was raised to 300;—now it is according to the tariff. And she explains the general application of the tariff in her trade. Out

of the thirty-five scales of the tariff, twelve are in actual operation. The others apply to officials and state employes. Regular wages of workers range between 1,200 and 2,100 rubles per month. In placing the workers in these grades, the nature of the work is considered: dangerous, harmful, the length of learning the trade, experience after learning it, dampness, mental exertion, physical exertion, heat, etc. Each of these conditions is supplied with a numerical value, the total of these values is divided by the number of grades and the result is the tariff classification. Our comrade draws a system of squares, on which these numbers are marked, so that the result is immediately seen, as well as the method of derivation. Each worker receives such a diagram, showing his tariff classification, which is made by a commission of his co-workers. Should he have any objections, he can appeal to the tariff commission of the trade organization. To this regular wage are added: premiums for higher production, job-work, overtime, etc.

Never before have I heard anyone speak about these technicalities of the movement with such fervor and love as the twenty-two year-old Nastya Terentyeva. Her pretty cheeks are aglow, her eyes would like to impart to you all she herself feels. What God and love are to others—the working class is to her. When she speaks of her youth and tells how her father beat her, it seems but trivial to her. In telling that her brother ran away from home because he was in danger of moral corruption, she says simply: "He learned the tailoring trade. Tailors were, in the capitalistic past, one of the most exploited trades, class-consciousness was small, and they had no representation anywhere, and they drowned their sorrow in alcohol. Brother fell into such company." Socialism and revolutionary ideals took hold of her brother upon the very edge of the chasm, and to socialistic and revolutionary ideals she too fled from the home, which could be no home, when she was eighteen years old. Today she has behind her four years of activity, and what the last four years have been in Russia is well known. But she is not tired. Her sweet face is quietly cheerful. The results are giving her satisfaction and joy. I almost think that she has a longing to be a martyr to the cause. Here the hardest work has been done. She tells you frankly that she would like to come to us in Bohemia, to work among those strange people who do not know that every communist is good, people who have all sorts of ideals which to her seem trivial, where the working classes do not really know what the class struggle means, where the name of Lenin is an insult; who are so benighted that they do not know that there is such a thing as class-consciousness, and that there is no higher ideal, no higher hope than the

working class, communism, revolution. And how she sings in a low voice the Russian revolutionary songs. Olbracht says: "Sweet." But I see before me a saint of early Christianity. Czecho-Slovaks, you who were deceived and who fought in Siberia—it would never have come to this tragic conflict, had you but for one brief hour seen this Russian child, felt the pulse of her heart, listened to her

talk, calm, ardent, humble, yet ringing with the joy of victory. Yesterday Nastya expressed herself to the effect that she would like to go and work in Bohemia. I thought it was but a fleeting thought. Today when she appeared at Gani, she had with her a Czech grammar and was learning to spell the Latin alphabet.

## Wireless and Other News

### FROM THE REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF THE JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, MR. MAX PINE AND JUDGE H. FISHER

*[Mr. Max Pine and Judge H. Fisher spent several months in Central and Eastern Europe, whither they were sent by the Joint Distribution Committee to investigate the situation of the Jews and to organize the relief to the Jewish war and pogrom victims. The following is a short citation from their official report to the Joint Distribution Committee, which was published in the Jewish newspapers on August 24.]*

"It will take months before we shall be able to arrange all the materials which we have collected and to submit a detailed report on the pogroms. But from the materials on hand it is obvious that the leaders of a people who could perpetrate such acts as had taken place in Ukraine have not the slightest desire to establish law and order. The worst criminals would be ashamed to be known as the leaders of such a country as the present Ukraine. And yet the leaders of the Ukrainian bands have been trusted by the civilized countries, and have received from them material as well as moral support. Regardless of whether we are or are not in sympathy with the present form of government in Russia, it would be an ignominious cowardice on our part were we not to state openly that Soviet Russia is the only power in Eastern Europe that has honestly, earnestly and energetically combatted and used all her moral and physical power to suppress the monster of anti-semitism, which thoroughly contaminated the White armies. Every counter-revolutionary group in Russia bathed in innocent Jewish blood. Every counter-revolutionary movement showed its first sign of life by pogrom agitation in proclamations, leaflets and newspaper articles . . .

"In its attitude toward the formerly oppressed peoples the Soviet Government has shown such a free and humanitarian spirit, that nothing like it can be found in any of the countries of Central or Eastern Europe. And sad as it may be, the fact remains that the Allies supported its enemies, who were just as brutal and inhuman as the Soviet Government was sincere and sympathetic. The position of the Soviet Government in this respect is brought into even greater relief if on considers its attitude to the Jews. Despite the fact that the Jewish masses were anti-Bolshevik and opposed

to the Soviet Government, the latter gave billions of rubles and immeasurable humanitarian aid to the Jewish pogrom victims . . ."

### GERMAN - AUSTRIAN BOURGEOISIE IN FAVOR OF COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

Only some months ago the actual restoration of commercial relations between Russia and German-Austria would have been a revolutionary act. At that time the Social Democrats hindered it in every way, and in that respect they have kept with the bourgeoisie, which was still hoping for the overthrow of the Soviet Government. Today it is all done with this hope, even the capitalists favor the resumption of economic relations between German-Austria and Russia. Hence the following report:

At a meeting of the Russian division of the Chamber of Commerce, presided over by the Vice-president of the Chamber, Councillor Etsinger, which took place a few days ago, it was pointed out by many who were present that notwithstanding the numerous peace treaties the beginning of commercial relations with Russia, so important for our industries and the whole economic life of Austria, is still impossible; that the restoration of our ruined commerce and industry is unthinkable without renewing our connections with the Russian markets, disrupted by the war, and utilizing again, to the advantage of Austrian industries and commerce, the numerous Austrian funds which at present lie buried in Russia. It was expressed as a certainty that other states would try all means of entering into commercial relations with Russia, and that we should once more come too late, unless we should succeed in concluding as soon as possible economic peace with Russia. On a motion made by the head of the Zisarsky firm, the wishes of the meeting were summed up in the following resolution: "The industrial and commercial circles of German Austria, represented in the Austro-Russian division of the Chamber of Commerce, consider the speedy official resumption of commercial relations with Russia an absolute necessity, inasmuch as the economic reconstruction of Austria is urgently in need of the Russian market, and, according to reliable reports, other states are already beginning, if only unofficially, to seek the Russian market, in so far as it is within reach at present. The government is urged to take, as soon as possible, any steps that will lead to an

eventual economic peace with Russia. The questions as to in what way and under what guarantees commerce with Russia may be begun, what the owners of Russian securities may expect, what position the Soviet Government takes with regard to the pre-war Austrian creditors and what has happened, and is to happen, to liquidated Austrian property in Russia,—these questions are extremely urgent and in need of speedy solution. The admission of an official commercial commission for the purpose of studying the economic conditions in Soviet Russia should be striven for by all means." The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Thus the Social-Democrats have happily lived to see the day when a demand of the revolutionary proletariat has changed to a demand from the profit-greedy bourgeoisie. Now the Social-Democrats in the government will be able to approach with untroubled conscience the establishment of economic relations with Russia.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna.

#### RUSO-LETTISH PEACE

Moscow, August 16 (by wireless).—*Vestnik* reports in a communication according to which peace was concluded with Latvia, that Latvia had demanded that Soviet Russia cede to it the eventual German indemnities awarded to it in the Treaty of Versailles. Since the Soviet Government does not recognize the Treaty of Versailles, and since, therefore, this treaty does not exist for Soviet Russia, the Lettish demand was rejected and the peace treaty signed without reference to the Versailles Treaty.

#### THE RUSSO-FINNISH ARMISTICE

Moscow, August 16 (by wireless).—The armistice agreement with Finland, which originally had been concluded for thirty-one days, was extended indefinitely. The present front between the Red troops and the Finns will probably be the future frontiers.

#### AMERICA AND RUSSIA

Moscow, August 7 (by wireless).—People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has informed the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, through Frithjof Nansen as intermediary, that the Russian Government is ready at any time to grant American citizens on Russian soil all rights and liberties, but that the United States must change their treatment of Russian citizens. Chicherin finally calls attention to the inconsistency in the fact that Russian citizens, on account of their protest against the military activity of the United States against Russia, that is to say, against a country with which the United States was not and is not at all at war, have been sentenced to twenty years in prison. All those who have been thus sentenced would have to be set free, in which case the Russian Government would adjust the matter suggested by Nansen in a friendly spirit.

#### BELA KUN IN MOSCOW

Moscow, August 16 (by wireless).—Bela Kun has arrived in Moscow. He was greeted at the station by representatives of the Communist Party, the President of the Soviet, the trades unions and the Red Army. Polidorov, of the Central Committee, recalled in his address Bela Kun's assistance in the battles of the November Revolution in Moscow, when he was in that city.

#### IN THE LAND OF WRANGEL

STOCKHOLM, August 15 (Rosta, Vienna).—From Kherson has been received the following report: Refugees from towns occupied by Wrangel relate that half of Wrangel's army is composed of mobilized peasants, who are continually deserting. Officers and soldiers frequently clash, there is marked disintegration in the army, and a slackening of discipline is to be expected. The arbitrariness of the military toward the population shows no sign of abating.

#### CIVILIZED FRANCE AND BARBAROUS RUSSIA

Moscow, August 7 (by wireless).—On the French ships bringing the Russian prisoners of war to Odessa were discovered twenty-eight fully equipped hydro-planes, destined for General Wrangel. The hydro-planes were declared contraband and will not be permitted to leave the harbor. The fact that the conveying home of prisoners of war under the protection of the Red Cross is being used by the French Government as a means of delivering implements of war to counter-revolutionaries has created the greatest bitterness.

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## Lomonossov on the Russian Railways

[Professor George Lomonossov, who came to the United States in 1917 as a member of Keren-sky's Railway Mission, and who was forced out of that mission in 1918 by counter-revolutionary influences, was appointed head of the Railway Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York in April, 1919, when the Bureau was opened. He was called to occupy a post in the Commissariat for Means of Communication, in Soviet Russia, in May, 1919, and left New York for Stockholm, Sweden, whence after many adventures he finally reached Russia. He is now again in Stockholm, on official business, and has given the following interesting interview to "Folkets Dagblad Politiken," a Stockholm daily, which was printed in a recent number of that periodical.]

**P**ROFESSOR LOMONOSOV first of all pointed out that the reports contained in Swedish newspapers (such as *Dagens Nyheter* and others), that he had been appointed head of the Soviet Commercial Delegation at Stockholm are "absolutely misleading".

"I am a member of the collegium in the Commissariat for Means of Communication," said Professor Lomonossov. "At present I am commissioned to assume the chief management of Soviet Russia's railway purchases abroad, for which purpose I discharge the functions of a People's Commissar. But I am constantly acting in close touch with Mr. Krassin," added Lomonossov.

"As for the general situation of the Russian railroads, I must point out that the figures given in *Dagens Nyheter*, in its interview with me, are unfortunately somewhat incorrect. The deliveries of anthracite coal, for instance, are a thousand times as high as that newspaper says.

"Before the war the Donets Basin furnished 5,000,000 poods of anthracite per day (*Dagens Nyheter* says only 5,000 poods); now they deliver 500,000 poods per day (according to *Dagens Nyheter*, only 500; one pood is equal to 16.38 kilograms, or 36.7 pounds).

"The railroads in southern and southwestern Russia as well as in Siberia, burn anthracite, in southwestern Russia naphtha, and north of Moscow wood. The circumstance that Soviet Russia came into possession of 500,000,000 poods of naphtha after crushing Denikin made it possible to rebuild a number of locomotives for naphtha fuel instead of wood, which means that the populations of Moscow and Petrograd will get more wood for warming their houses during the coming winter."

Passing on to the question of the actual functioning of railroads and transportation in Russia, Professor Lomonossov said:

"People abroad have no conception of the damage that has been done by the Whites. These bandits have thrown hundreds of locomotives into the rivers and destroyed countless railroad bridges. They have not only burnt down entire railroad stations, but even systematically wrecked all brick structures on the station grounds. Thus, for example, on the railway line from Borisoglebsk to Tsaritsyn (over 350 kilometers in length) all station structures have been destroyed. The tracks have been torn up and special machines have been used for the purpose of twisting them so as to make them completely worthless. The Whites blew up

all electric power stations; under every machine that they could not take with them they placed dynamite cartridges. They also blew up all water works, so that for instance Tsaritsyn not only lost all its railway connections, but also its water supply, and the whole population was deprived of water.

"When they lay in path over which the Asiatic hordes of Tamerlane passed, these regions could hardly have been in a worse condition than they are now. Nor could I refrain from pointing out the horrible cruelties that were perpetrated by Denikin's robber hordes on his retreat,—"this honorable defender of the German nobility and of private property." With the officers at their head, these bandits destroyed the dwellings of the prosperous and violated women in the streets. They suspended communists by the feet, with their heads hanging downward. A conception of the number of such executions may be gained by considering the following example: In the little watering place of Kislovodsk, 156 persons were hanged publicly in the market place. The shamelessness of these 'heroes' went so far that General May-Mayevsky, sat in an armchair and kicked the dying victims in the head (they were hanging with their heads downward).

"It is of course clear that under these circumstances, to which must be added a lack of building materials, the question of reconstructing the railways is not one to be solved in days or weeks, but rather in years. I conjecture that, assuming all our orders placed abroad to have been filled, the Russian railroads may be restored to the condition of before the war, by the first of January, 1925. Of course, no such task could be accomplished at once as by a miracle, but will be solved gradually by hard systematic work. To form a proper conception of the present condition in Russia it is important to consider not only the present state of the railroads as such—that is very bad to be sure—but also the certainty that this condition is being improved daily: We have already restored passenger traffic; we are restoring the operation of our railway machine shops; we have succeeded brilliantly in transporting our troops to the Polish front, etc. Already the fact that the condition of the railways has been perceptibly improved without any external help gives me a right to maintain categorically that even if political conditions should take such a turn as to prevent us from buying locomotives either in Sweden, Germany or America, this would not mean the de-

struction of the Russian railway lines—for we have already learnt to adapt ourselves to any circumstances that may arise—but under such circumstances the Russian railways could not be repaired by the year 1925, but would require until 1935. The chief sufferers—as has been the case also under the blockade—would not be the Bolsheviks, who are hated so by the European bourgeoisie, but principally the so-called peaceable population, chiefly consisting of women, the aged, and children, thousands of whom have perished as a result of hunger and cold, the consequences of the disorganization of the railways.”—From *Politiken*, July 27, 1920.

### THE RAILWAY SITUATION

*Economic Life* prints the following data regarding the situation of the railway transport of the Soviet Republic in June, 1920.

The average daily loading for a hundred versts in June was eighteen cars as against nineteen in May. This small decrease in the daily loading in June, as compared with May, is not due to the deterioration of the work on the railways, but solely to the weaker delivery of the freight departments.

The average daily run of the locomotives and cars in June was 74.7 and 41.4 versts respectively, as compared with 72.8 and 39.1 versts in May. Of healthy locomotives for every 100 versts of exploitation length, there were 11.2 in June against 11.0 in May. The number of healthy cars in June had also increased in comparison with May. In June there were 773 healthy cars for every 100 versts of exploitation length as compared with 548 in May.

Thus, despite the extremely grave situation of our railways, a slow, though as yet inconsiderable, improvement is to be recorded.

### SWEDISH DELIVERIES OF LOCOMOTIVES TO RUSSIA

The director of the Russian railways, Prof. Lomonosov, who is at present staying in Stockholm, has brought to final conclusion the negotiations with the Nydquist machine works in Holms, Trollhattan, which have been in progress until now. The factory pledges itself to deliver one thousand locomotives to Russia in the course of six years. The first consignment is to be ready in from eight to nine months. Within a year and a half 100 machines are to be ready for delivery. The prices are not fixed, but are made variable in accordance with the fluctuations in the value of money. According to information obtained by the *Goeteborgs Stadsblad*, the amount of the entire contract is from 300 to 400 million crowns. The filling of the order will probably require a considerable addition to the works. Other arrangements with other companies are in prospect.

### RECONSTRUCTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Russian representation in Berlin, at the head of which is Comrade Victor Kopp, has put at the disposal of the German press, in connection with the sensational declarations of Simons, some statistical data from which we take the following examples, illustrative of the energy with which the work of reconstruction is being conducted in Soviet Russia. The figures for the output in the Moscow coal-district, which supplies Moscow with electrical power, are as follows:

|                | Thousands of poods (1 pood—16.38 kgrs) |        |
|----------------|--|--------|
|                | 1916                                   | 1920   |
| January .....  | 2,226                                  | 2,245  |
| February ..... | 2,537                                  | 2,861  |
| March .....    | 2,669                                  | 3,515  |
| April .....    | 1,640                                  | 1,989  |
| Total .....    | 9,072                                  | 10,610 |

The output has thus already exceeded the pre-revolutionary figures.

The number of locomotives available for use, for each 100 versts of the railway system, is, in 1920:

|                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| January .....  | 8 locomotives |
| February ..... | 7 “           |
| March .....    | 8 “           |
| April .....    | 9.6 “         |
| May .....      | 11 “          |

### TRADE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

#### Import

The border line with Esthonia is so far the chief artery through which trade is carried on between Soviet Russia and the outside world.

To watch the export and import of goods, three control custom stations were established near the Esthonian border—at Yamburg, Gdov, and Pskov. However, the last two stations are not yet in operation.

Almost all merchandise that comes from abroad passes through the Yamburg control station. This station opened on April 5, but at that time trade relations with Esthonia and other countries were just beginning. Therefore there was hardly any activity at the control station during the first two weeks.

The first shipment of merchandise (thirteen cars of garden seeds) passed through Yamburg only on April 18. This day really marks the beginning of actual trading. After April 18 the work of the Yamburg control station began gradually to develop. Between April 18 and June 1 the total imports into Russia consisted of 976 cars of various products, the total weight of which was 859,000 poods.

The largest part of the import consisted of seed potatoes—785 cars, whose weight was about 780,000 poods. Of garden seeds up to June 1 were imported sixty-two cars, weighing about 40,000 poods.

The import of paper amounted to 16,231 poods, paper began to arrive only about the end of May. Likewise, only on May 30 the first shipment

of agricultural implements passed through Yamburg, fifty cars arriving in the two days before June 1.

#### *Export*

Flax is one of the chief products of our export. The shipment of flax abroad has already commenced. Between April 1 and June 7, 54,950 poods of flax (127 cars) were exported from Russia.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, June 16.

### THE FIRST EXPERIMENTAL ELECTRIC STATION

On July 25, in the Shaturusk peat district, province of Ryazan, about 110 versts from Moscow, occurred the opening of the first experimental electric power station of 3,000 kilowatts per hour, which will supply electric power to Moscow. This is the first experiment of an economic organization of vast importance, carried out exclusively by the effort of the working class.

Until the October revolution the Shaturusk district, which has the richest peat deposits, was hardly exploited at all. From the very first days of its existence the Soviet power directed its attention to this district. An area of about a thousand dessyatins (2,700 acres) was cleared, common roads were laid along fifty versts and a railway line built—broad-gauge, two and a half versts long, and a narrow-gauge forty versts long; a telephone system, twenty-eight peat machines were mounted, shops and several settlements were built as homes for workmen, whose number at the Shaturusk works has at present reached over 3,500. These settlements have schools, a hospital and an emergency medical station, a People's House, a hotel, lunchrooms and so on. In two years over 5 million poods of peat was obtained in these peat bogs, and also over 630,000 cubic feet of lumber. At present this erstwhile uninhabited district has become a broadly laid-out labor town, where one sees at every turn amazing results of the persistent efforts of the emancipated proletarian toil. It should not be overlooked that the immense work which the Shaturusk workmen have accomplished in two years was carried on under the conditions of our food crisis and our economic disorganization. If the obstacles due to these conditions have been overcome by the Shaturusk workmen, if they have attained in their work eighty per cent of the productivity of the pre-war days, it was accomplished solely through their exceptional proletarian energy and discipline.

At the Shaturusk electric power-station a special system of steam boilers, which were removed from submarines, was used for the first time. This experiment is of great importance for the industry of Soviet Russia, since it is still extremely difficult to get steam boilers from abroad.

The Shaturusk electric power station is the first of a set of similar stations which are planned for the largest industrial districts.

Work has now been started on the construction of a more powerful electric station, of fifty thousand horsepower.

### OFFICIAL RADIOS ON THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH POLAND

August 18.

Yesterday, at first sitting at Minsk conference, Russo-Ukrainian delegation had insisted that second sitting should take place today, eighteenth, and should not be delayed until the nineteenth as the Polish delegation desired. Nevertheless, through the fault of the Polish delegation today, the eighteenth, the sitting did not take place. The Russo-Ukrainian delegation sent through its secretary an official protest to the Polish delegation.

Today the second session of the Minsk conference was held. A resume of the Russian conditions was handed to the Poles. These conditions are in the main those that had already been published by the Russian delegation in London.

August 22.

Yesterday, August twenty-first, Danishevsky sent to Dombosky, Chairman of the Polish Delegation, the following letter:

"I earnestly request to give as soon as possible opportunity of fixing day of following sitting. A new delay in negotiations contradicts your declaration of August nineteenth, to the effect that Polish Delegation wishes as soon as possible to terminate work of conference. Responsibility for further protraction is laid by Russo-Ukrainian Delegation fully upon Polish Delegation.

DANISHEVSKY."

August 24.

Yesterday, August twenty-third, Polish Delegation gave answer to Russian proposals. It was simply a complete refusal, a declaration "non possumus". Eastern frontier fixed on December third by Supreme Council, and confirmed in Curzon's note, December eleventh, is described by Polish Delegation as line of Poland's third partition, as arbitrary, and as based upon nothing Polish. Delegation added: Numerous Polish elements live outside this line, and must be considered. Poles flatly refuse limitation of army, and delivery of war material. They described workers' militia as impossible to discuss. Poles declared Russo-Ukrainian Delegation must first take back principal points, whereas Danishevsky demands to go over to discussion in detail of points. If Poles remain by their demand of immediate withdrawal of principal Russian points, it would mean immediate rupture of negotiations.

August 24.

Polish and French wireless spread false news about Polish victories. In reality, Russian forces are intact. Some number of prisoners inevitable, but this time not considerable. Russian army had executed rush to Warsaw, with swiftness unexampled in history. During this, a rapid movement of the Poles compelled the army to retreat, their retreat being executed in full order. The Russo-Ukrainian army is ready for a new advance, when moment will be considered favorable. Polish

radios about great victory belong to the domain of fable.

August 24.

Fundamental trait in Polish answer to Russo-Ukrainian proposition is that it contains only criticism, and nothing resembling positive proposals of their own. The Poles only criticise, only demand withdrawal, but themselves they give no basis of peace, no programme, nothing business-like; they reject flatly frontier fixed by Supreme Council, but they oppose this frontier only by vague generalities about the existence of a Polish element that must be taken into consideration, and about the self-determination of White Russia, Lithuania, Galicia, Ukraine, all these being countries which the Poles themselves had subjected to military occupation, and frightful oppression; they only reject Curzon's line. Polish Delegation avoids businesslike declarations; avoids all that refers to real substance of question; they generalize, they criticise, that is all.

#### MILITARY DICTATORSHIP IN POLAND

VIENNA, August 14 (Special report from Cra-cow to Rosta, Vienna).—General Latinik, the former commander of the Austrian Regiment No. 100, is today Governor-General and dictator in

Warsaw. As such, he immediately proclaimed a state of siege in the Warsaw radius. The severe regulations of the military dictatorship are directed almost exclusively against the workers, a revolt of whom is feared. Numerous arrests were made recently, chiefly among representatives of trades-unions, regardless of whether they were communists or socialists. Thousands of workers are in prison because of political offences. Particularly brutal is the treatment which the military regime accords to Jews. All newspapers printed in Jewish, socialistic and bourgeois, have been suspended by the censor. The population is openly incited to pogroms by the official organs. The temper of the Jews in Warsaw is much aroused. Daszynsky therefore expressed his anxiety in a speech, for there are in Warsaw 400,000 Jews who are still in possession of arms for their own protection against pogroms. This armed body of Jews is now feared by the Polish Government.

In Poland today all free discussion is suppressed, even that of the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly, the editor of the bourgeois satirical periodical, *Dyabel Warszawski*, Witold Koszutsky, was sentenced to three months in prison, because he had written, in an article, that the friendship of the Entente had brought Poland the loss of Vilna, and hunger, misery and typhus.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna, August 17, 1920.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. THE SOVIET POWER AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FAMINE, by *A. Svidersky*.
2. RED RUSSIA, by *Vincenzo Vacirca*. *An eye-witness from Italy gives his impressions of Soviet Russia.*
3. THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE, with statistical tables showing the growth of agricultural communes in Soviet Russia.
4. EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by *William W. Dambit*.
5. AGRICULTURE IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by *U. Larin*.
6. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by *Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek*.

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## Agriculture in Soviet Russia

By U. LARIN

Seven-tenths of our population are peasants. The question arises: what has been done in the two and a half years of Soviet rule in the domain of agriculture, and how has the latter changed since the beginning of the imperialistic war in 1914?

The most important thing in farming is seeds. From the variation in the amount of land devoted to seeds in recent years one can estimate the rise or decline in agriculture. In all the countries of Europe the imperialistic world war has since 1915 to a greater and greater extent brought about a reduction of the amount of land devoted to seeds. The same was true in Russia. If we place the amount of seeds in the year 1915 at 100 per cent, then in the following year it went down to ninety-four per cent. In the year 1917 it was only eighty-seven per cent of what it was in 1915. If this reduction in agriculture had continued at the same rate, we would have had in 1920 only sixty-nine per cent of the usual amount of seed-land. And if the Soviet Government were increasing disorder, as ignorant Philistines will maintain, the amount of seed would be still less.

But the revolution of November, 1917 played a great part in saving Russia from final economic downfall. To be sure the war, with its bad effect on the economic life of the nation, continued, but the new conditions which victory created for the active workers, the enthusiasm which seized all workers and peasants at the thought that they were from now on the masters in Russia, inasmuch as all misery would then only be temporary, and that it was therefore worth while to suffer—that is what worked the miracle which in a bourgeois state is unthinkable, that is what helped to bring it

about that disorganization made no further progress.

When people complain of hard times, disorder, etc., under the Soviet Government, they must first all of consider what would probably have taken place if the Soviet Government had not come into existence. Only then will it become clear whether it is approaching destruction, or, on the contrary, in spite of all difficulties, is holding it off, and has created the possibility of change for the better. In the matter of transportation, a marked improvement has taken place in the last two years, in spite of the reduction in the number of cars and locomotives, which meant such hardship to us, in spite of the fact that shortly before the November Revolution of 1917, the representatives of the Kerensky Government reported to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet that railroad traffic would positively have to be discontinued if the process of decay should continue at the same rate.

Similar were the prospects in the domain of agriculture. In 1919 we would have had only sixty-nine per cent of the seed-land of 1915 if the decay of agriculture had continued at the same rate as under the Czar and the Kerensky Government. But the Soviet Government did not allow this decline in agriculture to continue. The peasants threw off the political and economic yoke of taxation. With a quite different feeling did they approach the working of the soil, and the result was that in 1919 the seed-production was eighty-one per cent of what it had been in 1915. It was eighty-one per cent, although from 1917 to 1919 the seed production of the landed proprietors,

which formerly amounted to seven per cent of the total seed production in the territory of present-day Soviet Russia (exclusive of the Ukraine, the Don, the Caucasus and Siberia), has disappeared and has been replaced only partly by communes, Soviet farms, while in 1918 a considerable part of that land still lay fallow.

Accordingly, the yearly diminution in seed production under the former government amounted on the average to six and a half per cent; under the Soviet Government, on the other hand, to only three per cent. The Soviet Government has succeeded in retarding the decline of Russian agriculture by one-half, and that under the most unfavorable conditions that any country has ever had to endure. That has been brought about by

the intrinsic driving force of the mere fact of the existence of the Soviet power and Soviet policy. That the Russian worker, the Russian citizen is able to get bread at all is only due to the fact that, thanks to the Russian Revolution, our seed production amounts to not sixty-nine per cent, but eighty-one per cent. Millions of farms were saved from ruin.

Of course we must not rest satisfied with these results, but must strive to restore agriculture completely. The Russian peasant, who is now fighting in the Soviet Army against the Polish land-owners, knows and sees what the Soviet Government has already given him. He knows that he is not fighting in vain, but for his own interests.

## Russia

By GEORG BRANDES

*[The aged Danish critic, in a recent issue of the Copenhagen newspaper "Politiken" (a bourgeois paper, not to be confused with "Folkets Dagblad Politiken," of Stockholm), discusses the blockade and the intervention, both of which he opposes. While his conclusions, particularly as to the alterations possible in the character of the Soviet Government, are not invariably our own, we present this article to our readers with the comment that in the main it is one with which we agree.]*

**I**F, in these days when important events are hidden in clouds of triviality and fumes of falsehood, we should ask ourselves the question—"Which of the countless occurrences that encumber the mind of the reading public are not only valuable but decisive for the present and for the future?" the answer would very likely be as follows:

Of decisive moment is the fact that all the armies which the Entente—without a formal declaration of war—had equipped, furnished with officers, arms and ammunition, and let loose upon the Russian Republic, hoping thus to overthrow its government, that all these armies have been crushed. First the armies of Denikin and Yudenich, then Kolchak's army, and now the Polish army led by Pilsudski. Of decisive moment is the fact that while the statesmen of England and France show an amazing arrogance which corresponds to their lack of ability and constant miscalculation, and while Germany and Austria are constrained to hand the reins of government to inexperienced men of doubtful abilities, who certainly have to face quite intolerable economic and political conditions, Russia has her civil affairs directed by an indisputable genius—Lenin—who skilfully selects his objectives and chooses his means, and against whom the newspapers can find no sharper weapon than that his real name is Uliyanov; her military affairs are directed by another genius, Trotsky, who took charge of the Russian armies when they were defeated, utterly weary, and desiring only peace, and who starting from the bottom, has seemingly out of nothing created the one army which is more victorious than any other, while the world press can find no sharper weapon against him than that his real name is said to be Braunstein.

The world press is always an imposing power, but when it begins to indulge in wit and unveils pseudonyms, then it is simply irresistible,—although not in quite the same sense as the armies of the Russian Republic.

After this long chain of defeats the Entente will have to try something new. So far, the Entente have this one indisputable triumph to their credit,—that the blockading of the Russian people has caused a famine almost equal to that in Austria, and the spread of epidemics, which take an enormous toll, while the absence of means of transport renders the resources of the great republic inaccessible.

While a large number of young men have been kept at the enormous front, farming, trade, and industry have lacked hands. Distress grows as fast as confidence of victory and hatred toward the wily politicians of the hostile governments. These governments have consistently fought Russia in an underhand manner; they egged on against Russia Czech deserters or reactionary czarist volunteers, or Poles intoxicated by nationalism. And every peace offer of the Russian Government was rejected by the united European reaction, which officially poses as the champion of self-determination of peoples.

This reaction has no leading idea. There is, however, a leading all-dominating basic feeling—*fear*. They fear that revolutionary ideas may spread from Russia both to Asia and Europe.

The coalition against revolutionary Russia resembles in many respects the coalition against revolutionary France, which was formed 130 years ago. But it has done much more harm to the general welfare, because, more than anything else, it is the cause of high prices, (which are still ris-

ing), lack of fuel and housing, and all the dire misery of the human race.

All the constantly offered reasons for the misery since the so-called termination of the war count for very little in comparison with the insane foreign policy of the Western Powers. It has made impossible the resumption of trade and shipping, the restoration and improvement of transport. It caused the system of constantly soaring taxation and the paralysis of every peaceful initiative, which weighs upon all of us, but which is felt most keenly by the largest nation of Europe, counting over 150 million human beings. Even the most fanatical shouters for what is called civilization, independence and justice, ought to understand that the famine in Russia steadily augments the misery in Germany and Austria. Hence, what is needed *politically* is not to send sandwich-baskets southward, or to take a few hundred poor children northward,\* but that people shall at last turn a deaf ear to phrases and open their eyes to the truth.

On the day when not only the workers of England and France, but also the middle class—in spite of its fear of Socialism—will understand that a hazardous and inappropriate foreign policy is the real cause of the evils undermining the vitality of Europe, on that day a gleam of light will appear in the gloomy chaos in which we stagger along.

But—it may be said—will not socialization, nationalization, will not Communism come and turn everything upside down, rob us of what we own and turn us from comparatively free individuals into slaves?

It is useless to send armies against ideas.

Nobody knows what the future carries in her womb. Yet we know that what is expedient for one country will not do for another. Every country has its past, its social differences, its special culture. Never yet has any idea gone from one country to another without being transformed to suit the needs of that country. Even the parliamentary idea, at one time very strong, was taken up very slowly and adapted to the peculiarities and conditions of the different countries. The Reformation meant a seizure of the property of the Catholic church, but it had a different course in England, Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. The French Revolution brought along the confiscation of the noblemen's estates. But though most of the ideas of the French Revolution were adopted little by little even in conservative Germany, the Germans copied only that which they considered useful for themselves, and the German noblemen kept their estates.

The more absolutely Europe leaves Russia in peace, the more it allows the Russian Republic to settle its external affairs in accordance with the advice of its leading men who are backed by the

\* Georg Brandes alludes here to the work of some Scandinavian and other organizations which have thus tried to do their best for suffering Central Europe, especially for the children of Vienna.

people, the more calmly will the Russians regard the rest of Europe, and let the European nations arrange their own affairs as they may desire.

Historical experience tells us that a political movement which is let alone by the surrounding world may assume milder forms, lose its violent character, and change from within until it reaches a certain equilibrium in its relations with surrounding countries.

There is one certain course to propagate Communist ideas in their crudest form, and that is the one which the Entente has adopted: ceaseless intervention in the affairs of Russia, continual rejection of appeals for an understanding, the equipping of all kinds of free-booters and newly-formed nations with English cannon, Czecho-Slovak non-commissioned officers, and French officers.

It is therefore high time now, after six years of war, to lift the blockade and to make peace.

It ought to be done, not necessarily for humanitarian reasons, but because it is in the interest of the Western Powers. They will soon have their hands full revising the peace treaty with Turkey. Or in case they should not revise this treaty, they will be a hundred times busier with the seventy million Mohammedans in India, who very passionately protest against the partition of Turkey and against robbing the Caliphate of its worldly power. The Western Powers will soon find themselves engaged to the utmost in defending civilization (which translated into English means oil-wells) and culture (in English, coal). Asia Minor and India offer so much material for thought that these powers cannot too soon establish friendly relations with Russia.

The lessons in religious psychology which the Mohammedan will soon—gratuitously—give their excellencies Lloyd George and Millerand will require all the attention that these statesmen may be able to spare. Anatolia is as stormy as Ireland. Only the Armenians will not need any attention; for them nothing has been done. They have neither coal nor oil, and they are therefore necessarily the step-children of Christian love.

## “Moscow in 1920”

Under this title, Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt, a brilliant writer who had contributed many articles on economic topics to German periodicals before the Revolution, and now a member of the Delegation of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany to Russia, has contributed to recent German periodicals a full account of his journeys and impressions in Russia. The first instalment of this important series, which has been translated especially for *SOVIET RUSSIA*, will appear in our next issue.

The first instalment deals with the steamer trip to Helsingfors and Reval, as well as with the arrival in Petrograd and the railway journey to Moscow; Dr. Goldschmidt arrived in Moscow on May 1, 1920. Do not fail to read this important series, which will run through six issues of *SOVIET RUSSIA*.

# The Soviet Power and the Struggle Against Famine

By A. SVIDERSKY

[The following is a resume of an article which appeared in "Izvestia" (Moscow) on June 22, 1920.]

THE Soviet power is making headway toward victory over famine. Encountering thousands of difficulties, the advance toward this end is slow, but steadfast.

In order more or less tolerably to support the Red Army and to feed the populace of Moscow, Petrograd and other cities, industrial districts and the consuming provinces, the Soviet power must provide every year not less than from 4,821,000 to 6,429,000 long tons of grain. Actually it provided only: in 1917-1918, 482,100 tons (in ten months—from November, 1917, to August 1, 1918), in 1918-1919, 1,768,000 tons, and in 1919-1920 (for nine months, between August 1, 1919, and May 1, 1920), 2,845,000 tons.

True, the Soviet power is unable under the present conditions to provide as much grain as is required to satisfy all the needs of the population. But in the second year of its existence it provided almost four times as much grain, and in the third year (there is no reason to expect that the total for 1919-1920, ending August 1, will equal from 3,214,000 tons to 3,375,000 tons) seven times as much as in the first year of its existence.

Though the geographical boundaries of Soviet Russia were not the same at different moments, the territory in which the Soviet organs actually carried on the food campaign during the whole period of two and a half years did not vary to any serious extent.

The current food campaign began when our republic had moderate territorial limits, and extended only to ten producing provinces which largely provided the grain in the preceding years. A notable increase of the number of producing provinces, which would be sufficient for the food storing activity of the Soviet power, took place only in the second half of the grain campaign. But owing to the inevitable slowness in the organization of food-storing organs in the districts devastated by the Whites, the grain campaign in the newly acquired provinces has been and still is carried on but feebly, and hence they should not yet be taken into account.

The above mentioned 2,845,000 long tons of grain do not include grain obtained in Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Don. If we subtract from this figure the 252,500 tons of grain obtained in Siberia, we find that "basic" Soviet Russia furnished during the nine months of the current campaign 2,592,500 tons.

Thus, the improvement of the storing activity of the Soviet power in the domain of food is incontestable. This success appears even more clearly and vividly if we compare the results of the

allotments in the last campaign with their result in the current campaign. Last year the allotments were carried out at the end of the year to the extent of 41.6 per cent; while in the current year the allotments, which were considerably higher than last year's, have already been carried out to the measure of 53.8 per cent, and in some of the producing provinces the percentage of the allotment already realized varies between 53.8 and 91.4 per cent.

In the present grain campaign there are villages, townships and counties in the producing provinces, and provinces in the consuming districts, which have already completely filled their allotments even before the end of the fixed term. Reports to this effect have so far come from the provinces of Vologda, Kostroma, Vladimir, Penza, Simbirsk, Viatka, Kazan, Ekaterinburg, Samara and Ufa. For the consuming provinces the allotment was set at 187,500 long tons, and the result already obtained equals 194,700 long tons, that is, over 100 per cent of the allotment.

And yet one can hear reproaches among the toiling masses that the Soviet food administration does not provide any more food at the present time than it did last year. This is both just and unjust. It is just, because the consumer really does not receive from the food administration any more than he was receiving from them before at the most meager norm. It is unjust, because before the Soviet power from its small stock furnished meager rations to but several million consumers—only to the populace of the capitals, the Red Army and some famishing industrial centers, while now, having a larger stock, it furnishes meager rations to tens of millions of consumers, giving starvation rations also to that mass of consumers whom she was constrained to ignore before. While the stock obtained in the last grain campaign is almost twice as large as the stock obtained last year, the number of consumers provided by the provision organs has increased in even greater proportion. This justifies only one conclusion: the Soviet power does not provide better food, but was enabled to provide bread crumbs for a considerably larger number of consumers.

The following phenomenon is very significant: in 1918-1919 the accumulation of grain progressed in leaps,—rising at once to a considerable height, then falling abruptly and just as rapidly; in 1919-1920 the accumulation, on the contrary, progresses and continues to progress more or less uniformly. Analyzing this phenomenon, and taking into account along with the factors of the food situation also factors of a different kind, the irregularity of the accumulations in the last campaign appears as

a direct result of the unstable position of the Soviet power, caused by the successful operations of the White bands against the Red Army; and, vice versa, the uniform progress of the grain accumulation campaign of the current year is a direct result of the greater stability of the Soviet power, which has become well settled since the end of 1919.

The significance of the military operations, of their success or failure, for the struggle against famine appears clearly from the following table:

| Regions:   | Supplies laid in during the year ending May 1 |         | Per cent of increase (+) or decrease (-) 1920-1919 |
|--|---|---------|--|
|  | 1919  | 1920    |  |
| Free from military operations of 1919-1920 ..... | 103,479                                       | 186,058 | +79.8  |
| Involved in military operations .....            | 59,116  | 40,550  | -31.4  |
| Total area .....                                 | 162,595                                       | 226,608 | +39.4  |

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THE Poles have been advised by their French military leaders to adopt the methods of warfare employed by the Germans after the battle of the Marne. This means that the Polish army has to entrench itself along the whole battle front, on a line of perhaps more than 450 miles in length. According to this French suggestion Polish tactics will be based on the principles of trench warfare, with the idea of forcing the Soviet army to accept the same method.

There can not be any doubt that, in the present conditions of the Polish fighting forces, trench warfare would probably be the most favorable for their strategy. Although unable to support their shattered protege by reinforcements of their own troops, the capitalistic coalition of the West is still able to supply the Poles with a certain amount of ammunition and war material, though in limited quantities, thanks to the effective opposition of the European workers. Such aid as the Allies are able to give would be inadequate to the needs of the Polish army in case it continued a war of movement such as is now in progress. It is believed by many military experts, that Poland, like Germany in the middle of September, 1914, is now compelled to stop on a definite line of defense, because the Polish army has completely lost the initiative and has no hope of regaining it. The French strategists understand this very well and they see in the suggested trench warfare a way for the Poles to continue the war against Soviet Russia in the manner most economical in regard to their effectives and munitions, while very costly for the Russians, who the French General Staff believe are not fully equipped for such methods.

It is true that the Russians have avoided trench warfare and that their tactics have been based on the principles of skillful maneuvering. The flexibility of the Russian front was astonishing and attained striking successes during the Allied intervention. Since the Red Army perfected its organization this flexibility of the Soviet units has attained such a degree that the most severe military critics are compelled to pay tribute to the maneuvering ability of the Red forces.

But if the French strategists assume that the present situation of the Polish Army is similar to that of the Germans in September, 1914, they are mistaken. In the first place, the German Gen-

eral Staff adopted its plans for trench warfare against the Allies long before the war broke out. If I am not mistaken, this question was discussed and decided in Germany as early as 1906, and German specialists carefully studied all the technical methods employed by the Russians and the Japanese in 1904 during the siege of Port Arthur where the trench warfare was carried on for eleven months. Secondly, the Germans had sufficient numbers to build the most powerful and modern trenches and temporary fortifications along the whole occupied front and they possessed enormous reserves of suitable artillery. They were able to prevent the enemy from breaking through their entrenched lines, and where this happened they had ample artillery and fresh reserves in position to paralyze the effect of such a break. As a matter of fact, the line where the Germans first entrenched themselves in France was not a line chosen unexpectedly by their military command in the field, but, on the contrary, was selected many years prior to the war, studied carefully by the General Staff and inspected by their spies during peace. The French, on the other hand, were inferior to their enemy in this respect, and in spite of the support of the Allies they remained to the end inferior to the Germans in their methods of trench warfare, which was shown by the fact that the Allies were unable to reach German territory. We must remember that Germany lost her war tactically because of the sudden disorganization of her rear. Russian revolutionary propaganda was the real cause of the German collapse. On the other hand, the unrest in the rear of all the Allies with the exception of America was the real cause of their acceptance of an armistice terms which were most unfavorable from a strategic point of view. The French General Gascouin and many other French military experts have admitted that only during the war did the French artillery, first with the help of English industry, and later with American support, become strong enough to compete with the Germans. The famous French 75 mm. field gun was absolutely powerless against the trenches and practically lost its importance during the period of trench warfare. The lack of suitable artillery in time for trench warfare caused the prolongation of war for the Allies and this prolongation produced such economic and political conditions in

France and England that it became impossible for the Allied command to continue the war to a victorious end, namely, to the annihilation of the German army in the field and unconditional surrender. We must remember also that the Allies were never able to force their enemy to change their methods and on each occasion it was the German General Staff on its own initiative that interrupted the trench warfare in one or another part of the front and temporarily adopted the method of the war of movements.

The case of the Polish Army in the present war is quite different. First of all, in spite of the fact that Poland is supported and directed by its western Allies, its present military situation cannot be compared with that of Germany. Modern warfare requires long preparation in time of peace. For this the Polish Army has had no opportunity. On the other hand, the Allied industries cannot be considered as Polish industries and we have already seen how dangerous it is to count on the supply of ammunition and arms from external sources. Supplies from the outside can only be depended upon when the routes of communication are in full control of the forces to be supplied; otherwise unexpected conflicts may easily overturn all plans and bring disaster. Let us remember the fate which overtook Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich, in spite of their facilities for supply by the Allies, which were even more favorable than are those of the Poles at present. There is no possibility that Poland, having no industry at home and suffering lack of all kind of raw materials, can be supplied by its allies with guns, ammunition, war material, and food in such quantities that its army, even if it could succeed in barring the way to the Soviet forces by means of trenches, could hold this fortified line for any considerable period. Trench artillery is not very costly and can easily be manufactured, but its use is tremendously expensive and requires a constant and timely supply of ammunition as well as material for replacement. Wherefrom can the Poles expect to get this? Naturally from France, England and America! But by what route? This is the most important question to be answered. Through Germany they cannot send a single cartridge to the Poles. It is foolish to imagine that Italy will allow such transit, or that Czecho-Slovakia will support the Poles in any way, or that Rumania will undertake the risk of war with Soviet Russia. So there remains only the same dangerous Danzig corridor which recently was cut off from Warsaw by the Soviet cavalry and is still in a very precarious condition. Such a means of communication can in no case be considered as a sufficient route for the military supply of an army which has to defend its entrenched front from the attacks of a numerous and determined enemy, which possesses its own industry and powerful artillery, an enemy which had an earlier experience in trench warfare than any of its adversaries, and whose inventions for waging such war were widely adopted by the Germans and the Allies.

Moreover, in spite of the lack of railway communications with the rear, the Soviet Army need not expect any surprises or any interruptions in the constant communication of its battle front with the supply bases. This might be slow, it is true, but it will be accomplished surely and permanently, and this is of prime importance. Only a permanent supply of the battle front assures victory. The Red artillery will never suffer for the lack of ammunition.

But will it be possible for the Poles to follow the French advice and entrench themselves along a front of 450 miles? Taking into consideration the actual military strength of the Poles, we know that they can only entrench several parts of that front.

The Soviet tactics would never allow them to accomplish even this much. By means of constant maneuver the Russians easily can prevent it. But even if we assume that the Poles should succeed in establishing an uninterrupted line of trenches along the whole front, such a line, in spite of all the artillery it might possess, would be too weak and too thin to resist the Russian advance, and, once broken through at one point, would be destroyed throughout. To keep their entrenched front intact, the Germans had at their disposal huge fresh reserves, which the Poles have not at all and cannot hope for. Poland has already lost more than half of its fighting strength, and is losing every day more and more men, while its supporter Wrangel is on the eve of complete failure, his army having almost lost its strategical importance in connection with the Russo-Polish war. The struggle with Wrangel's bands henceforth is of a local significance, still annoying to the Soviets, but in no way endangering the Polish campaign.

In conclusion I can affirm that the Poles will never be able to stop the advance of the Soviet army by means of trenches, as the Germans stopped the Allied advance in 1914. This last effort of France to build a wall between Soviet Russia and Europe is a task which Poland cannot accomplish.

Speaking on the war with Poland, at a joint meeting of the Supreme Central Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet of Workers and Red Army's Deputies and of Trades Unions and Manufacturing Committees on May 5, 1920, Trotsky said:

"The struggle which is before us will be hard and strenuous. The Polish bourgeoisie knows that in attacking us they stake their very existence. And those who are backing the Polish bourgeoisie know also that White-Guard Poland is oppressing the Polish proletariat, which is closely bound with Petrograd and Moscow by decades of mutual revolutionary struggle. They know that White-Guard Poland is hastening to build a barrier between ourselves and Europe. The Polish shliakhta say that the Russians, those barbarians and Schythians must be pushed eastward as far as possible. But we, on the contrary, are hurrying towards the west to meet the European Proletariat, which knows

that we can meet them only over the dead body of White-Guard Poland in an independent Poland of the workers and peasants.

"The struggle will be terrible. But if you ask me about the outcome of that struggle, I will answer that I never was so strongly convinced that we shall be victorious, completely crushing the enemy. I am absolutely certain of that.

"For the last two years and a half we have been continually fighting, and during that period we have learned something. Certainly we have had in the past and we may have in the future some failures, as for instance at Zhitomir; they may be even more important than that. The western front was considered by us as of secondary importance, and our diplomats were engaged on that front in long pourparlers with the enemy. Therefore it was not a difficult task for Pilsudski to strike us on that front. But we are in possession of reserves and other reinforcements. At the time when we transferred our army into a labor army we said we were winding our military strength from the skein on the spool. But should our enemy consider that signified that we were tired and that we were ready to surrender,—then we shall reverse the process and we shall begin to wind the thread from the spool back to the skein.

"This is happening just now. Our railways warmed by the sun and reinforced by thousands of workers, have doubled their activity. Our labor regiments from all parts of Russia will go to the western front. We have taken all measures in order to insure the success of the coming winter campaign and especially in respect to the supplies.

"Our first task has been accomplished; the Communists of Petrograd are leaving today for the front. They will be followed by Moscow and by the entire country. All the Communists on the western front!

"The victory will be with us; the victory will be with the Russia of the workers!"

### THE SPYING COMMISSAR

The following communication from Radek is sent to the *Rote Fahne*, on the subject of one of the adventurers of law and order in Germany:

"I read in the German press that the former prosecuting attorney, Weissmann, who now occupies the office of Commissar for the Maintenance of Public Law and Order, is publishing reports of spies in the press, according to which there took place in the dwelling of our Berlin representative, Victor Kopp, a conference of Communist and Independent leaders, in which Kopp argued for an early organization of the overthrow of the Government. The prosecuting attorney has made somewhat of a bull with these reports of spies, for it has been possible to ascertain at once that Kopp gave up some weeks ago the dwelling in which this meeting was alleged to be held, and

that several comrades who are named by the spying attorney as having been present at the secret conference were not in Berlin on the date given. And yet the German Government does not consider it to be its duty to hand his walking papers to the official who would publicly spread such lying reports against the diplomatic representative of Russia. May I further be permitted to state to this Government, that if it should dispense with the services of Herr Weissmann it would not exactly be parting with a jewel. I made the acquaintance of this gentleman when I enjoyed the hospitality of the German Government in the former prison of the Moabit section. After having been imprisoned for more than a month, after the Ministry of Justice had already obtained the removal of my chains, Herr Weissmann again ordered that I be provided with chains while taking my walks. On my own protest, and that of the *juge d'instruction*, this barbarous demand was cancelled. Immediately the attitude of the prosecuting attorney changed. He granted permission to a number of political persons to visit me, which was not at all within his jurisdiction, although they were persons whom the German Government would certainly have not liked to visit me; and all this he vouchsafed me as a return for the kind assistance of one of my friends in obtaining for him a passport visa of Swiss origin, without any knowledge that this would make the prosecuting attorney so grateful. We soon learned the reason for the profuse gratitude of the prosecuting attorney, for this good guardian of law and order had won about a million at a game of chance and was slipping his gains into Switzerland.

I consider it to be quite natural that Weissmann the guardian of law and order should be succeeded by Weissmann the smuggler of money. Poachers often become excellent wardens, and who is to defend a republic of jobbers if not a jobber? My Plutarch task is concluded. I shall supplement it with a prophecy: Just as it has been impossible to prove that Mr. Straus has made millions in profiteering games, although the entire political and business world knows all about it, and just as what is narrated above cannot be proved with documents, although every colleague of Mr. Weissmann knows all about it, Mr. Weissmann will no doubt continue to practice his task of spying. But I ask you to prevent him from molesting our diplomatic representative, and to remember what is the duty of our Foreign Office, which is not obliged to treat Herr Hilge any better than Victor Kopp is being treated.

KARL RADEK.

Note: I beg you to note the last sentence of this article.

(Signed)

CHICHERIN.

## Red Russia

By VINCENZO VACIRCA

THE first inhabited place that we came to after crossing the border between Esthonia and Russia was Yamburg, a village of 3,000 inhabitants, which in the preceding autumn had acquired some little fame, thanks to the White Army of Yudenich, who had made it his headquarters with a view to marching on St. Petersburg. The train stopped at the station in Yamburg, where a crowd of peasants, workers, women, children and Red soldiers were waiting for us. Almost all of them had lined up along the station, in military fashion. Nobody left their number to make his way to the train, as a crowd at home in Italy would have done. Everywhere there were banners and red flags. Suddenly a solemn singing was heard, all uncovered their heads, the soldiers stood at attention, and, with their hands at their caps, sang with the rest. It was the *Internationale*—sustained, in a deep tone, with an almost religious expression in their faces and in their voices, they sang it. It reminded me of the liturgical hymns in the church at Reval. We all listened with profound emotion.

The most sceptical among us felt a moisture in our eyes. We thought of the long, cruel, indescribable sufferings of the Russian people, a small part of which were here represented, on the threshold of the Soviet Republic.

The singing stopped. Some one, a commissar of the local soviet, called out something that we understood to be a cheer for Italian Socialism, and the crowd replied with three cheers.

Then followed short addresses of welcome. A soldier welcomed us in the name of the Red Army, a worker in the name of his factory-companions, a communist in the name of the party, the president of the soviet in the name of the local government. Serrati answered for us all and a Russian comrade translated.

We thought the train could now continue its journey. But such was not the case. The soviet wished us to be its guests for at least an hour. We mingled with the crowd, a procession was formed, and we proceeded through the broad, straight streets of the village with its small houses of wood or red brick, through long avenues lined with trees, with delicate green foliage. The procession moved forward singing. Again it was the strain of the *Internationale* pouring forth into the clear, fresh air of the Russian spring.

No shouts and no uproar. Nothing that could remind us of a political manifestation of the masses of the Latin race. If we had seen, in place of the red flags, banners with sacred symbols, we might have thought of a religious procession in a Venetian village.

In the People's House was a long banquet-table with covers for about thirty persons, on which were displayed little mountains of slices of black bread, plates with butter, excellent fresh cheese and a monumental samovar for the tea.

After breakfast we inspected the building. It was a large bourgeois residence. The owner had fled from it with his family, God knows where, and the soviet had taken possession of it. The little drawing-room was there. Everything was in its place and kept scrupulously clean, two comfortable divans, lounges, armchairs, wall-mirrors, in the corner a piano. Once the daughter of the owner had played on it. Now the sons and daughters of the workers, who also were receiving instruction in the soviet schools, were playing on it.

In the long winter evening this little drawing-room is always crowded. There they play and dance. There are still other rooms—a reading-room, smoking-room, also small rooms with sleeping accommodations. The little beds give the impression that they expect occupants. A certain reserve of beds is kept here, for the comrades who stop here, due to there not being any hotels in Yamburg.

To an old peasant whose face is framed in a heavy and curly gray beard and who looks at me with a pair of lively and restless eyes, full of goodness and understanding, I put the question: "Are there still some bourgeois in Yamburg?" "Surely," he replied. "And have you taken from them their houses, their furniture and their land?" "Oh, no! The land, yes, because they did not work it, but they have remained in their houses and no one has disturbed them."

Then I asked him if he was satisfied with the Revolution. He replied: "I have two sons in the Red Army, and I only regret that I can not contribute more or go myself to the front. They tell me I'm old and that I'll do more good by working in the factory. To be sure, the Revolution is no pastime, but it is necessary. Yamburg has been in the battle area three times, and twice under the Whites. And if we should have to come twice more under their domination, I would still say the Revolution is a sacred thing."

Another, a young worker, officer of the garrison, gave me a better explanation of what it meant to have been under the Whites—violated women, men tortured and shot to death, houses set on fire and provisions requisitioned.

"But now it is over," he continued, "Yudenich will not come again. The last lesson was decisive."

"And suppose some new Yudenich should come?"

"Then we will fight again as we are fighting the Poles, until we break the ribs of all of them."

It was a young man of twenty with whom I was speaking, blond, with blue eyes and refined face. He spoke with calm, without any outbursts of passion, as if he were relating a story that he had read in a book.

After some more addresses and more cheers we left Yamburg, greeted again by the strains of the *Internationale*, and by hands that stretched out to



us and waved to us while the train was slowly getting into motion eastward.

In Gatchina the train made two stops. First, one in the suburb, where again a crowd greeted us, more numerous and more festive than the one in Yamburg; and then another at the main station.

Here there was a huge crowd. The enthusiasm was more intense. The women, some young, and others more advanced in years, appeared in great numbers. They displayed also somewhat more elegance, and one felt already the proximity of St. Petersburg. What surprised us, however, was the long line of soldiers that formed a sort of dam to prevent the crowd from overflowing. Splendidly equipped, with their bayonets fixed on their muskets, they sternly and earnestly greeted our arrival with a military salute. It was a division of the Red Army, the full discipline of which we now saw and understood.

The Commissar of the Seventh Army, Lashkevich, a metal worker, mounted a bench, and spoke to the soldiers and the people. He is a born speaker—one of those men who are made to raise the masses to the greatest heights. Aside from what he had to say—which was briefly translated for us by our interpreter—his success as a speaker lay in the pitch of his clear-sounding voice, in his decisive, authoritative gestures, in his glance of a man who knows no discouragement, in his whole mighty form, an eloquent expression of power, conviction, courage and will, which in battle can bear up and inspire the disheartened.

There were other speakers, plain workers they

were. Yet none of them succeeded in effacing the impression which the speech of that metal worker, the political head of the army, had left with us. We understood how with such a man, forged in the glowing heat of the Revolution, sprung almost violently from a class that even until yesterday was doomed to destroy in the cruel grind of eternal slavery all spiritual and moral values forming within it, this people, in spite of the greatest obstacles that history has ever presented, would unquestionably, in order to prove their tenacity, the capacity for victory of a race or a class, come off triumphant.

When I listened to Lashkevich it seemed to me that eloquence, that wonderful instrument for making known man's thoughts, which has been corrupted only through the rhetoric and lying of an enervated and over-refined civilization, was again coming into its own as maker of history. I cannot conceive of this mighty Red Army, so great and well-disciplined, so heroic and patient, which from Irkutsk to Archangel, from Persia to Crimea, from the Berezina to the Ural, fought and is still fighting, constantly destroying a multifarious enemy that is ever being revived, I cannot, I repeat, conceive of this proletarian army, composed of men that know that they are offering their lives for their freedom and for the highest human ideal that ever was born in the minds and hearts of men, without a host of speakers similar to the one I heard, who are capable of kindling in the heart of the soldier an ardent passion for the Revolution, for which it is beautiful to live, but also beautiful to die.

## The People's Commissariat for State Control

**T**HERE has existed in Russia for more than a century a special institution with the purpose of assuring the protection of the economic interests of the country in all the principal departments of economy. Until recently, this institution was called the State Control.

Under the autocracy, the activity of the State Control was based upon the principle of non-intervention in the economic and administrative work of the state institutions. Its role was a purely passive one; it consisted in seeing to it that the calculation and collection of revenue as well as the expenditure of the state funds were made in a regular, legal, and rational manner.

But the State Control found it impossible to even acquit itself of these more than modest tasks, because a whole series of institutions remained out of the sphere of its authority; because considerable sums were declared uncontrollable; because plunderers and falsifiers of high rank, near the throne, were unassailable; and because, on the other hand, the formal conditions of the activities of the Control permitted the organs of control, in the case of the discovery of irregularities or frauds, to find a number of subterfuges, and to edit the reports

without limit, etc., etc. Complete silence surrounded the activity of the State Control, precisely because publicity would have been likely to throw light upon the illegal practices of many institutions and a number of personages of prominence.

Before the Revolution the State Control was thus nothing but the accessory organ of a rotten regime.

After the Revolution of February, 1917, it was deemed sufficient to introduce a single reform in the sphere of the State Control; the representatives of public organizations were drawn into participation in it. But the role of the Control remained very modest, and the sphere of its activity very narrow; as in the past, its duty ended with discovering irregularities already accomplished in one or another department of state economy.

After the November revolution the Soviet power decided to completely and immediately reconstruct the State Control on new foundations.

On January 18, 1918, a decree was published determining the fundamental principles governing the projected reform. It proposed essentially to "suppress bureaucratic delays and to create more living and rational forms of control which could

no longer threaten the spirit of initiative, and to permit the discovery and rapidly prevent actions of a nature to corrupt the administration of state economy." This aim was attained by the creation of the following system of control:

1) Commissions of control, elected by the employes and workers in the institutions or enterprises under control are organized locally; they are composed of persons who are not members of the direction; 2) in the government and regional centers, colleges of enrolment and control are established, organized by the Soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants deputies; 3) the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets established in the capital a Central Collegium, which directs all the activities of control in the country.

On the 9th of March, 1918, there appeared a "provisional resolution for State Control, designed to remain in force until the definite organization of the administration of the Republic on a new basis." This "resolution" contains only two classes of institutions of control: the central organs and the local organs. It establishes, for the organization of control, central as well as local, the system of *Collegiate administration*, entrusted to persons elected, according to the circumstances, either by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, or by the Soviet of the assemblies. In conformity with the "provisional resolution", the Control sees to it that the public funds are expended not only in a legal and regular manner, but also with economy and in conformity with their purpose. The State Control is henceforth independent of the Soviet administrative organs.

The "provisional resolution" subdivides the Central Control into sections: a military section, a naval section, a civil section, and sections for railroads, credit, accounts, and a general section. The "provisional resolution" of March 9, 1918, has marked the point of departure for the work of organization of the Control.

Following upon further work performed in the sphere of the reorganization of the State Control, the *Central Collegium* has become the *People's Commissariat for State Control*, which comprises the following sections: Military and Naval, Ways of Communication, Distribution, Agriculture, Finance, Instruction and Propaganda, Protection of Labor and Public Health, Administration, and finally Accounts.

The Commissariat of State Control enters into close relations with the Soviet organization and institutions. All the budget projects and the demands for credit submitted for the approval of the Council of People's Commissars must first be examined by the State Control. The representatives of the State Control participate with the right of consultation in all commissions, conferences, etc. The provision for the obligatory submission of all the Soviet institutions to the State Control has made necessary the formation of a *Section of Budget Schemes* which is charged with the examination of all the schemes mentioned.

Next, for the first time since its foundation, the

Control obtains access to the review of the technical division of economic enterprises.

This fact, as well as the increased number of important nationalized enterprises in which the control must be organized, has made necessary the creation of a special technical and industrial section. Special sections have also been created for the review of public organizations and expenditures for prisoners and the repatriated.

The new method established for juridical reports has given birth to subdivisions of jurists, while the necessity of instructing new workers in the organization of the central and local control has given rise on the other hand to a Section of Organization and Instruction. To this end there have been organized all the available forces of the State Control. Comptrollers charged with effecting new changes have been sent to all the enterprises, Soviet institutions, commissariats, etc., on the other hand, experienced instructors in book-keeping have been placed at the disposal of the local Soviets; courses for the preparation of comptrollers and also of comptroller-instructors have been organized.

Regional and special controls have been established locally, for example, for water transportation, the direction of roads, a regional control for the Western Region, etc. In many districts district controls have begun to be formed. In the capital as in the provinces, groups of instructor-bookkeepers have been created, leading to the establishment of special courses in connection with the Central Control.

For the purpose of developing technical and general education for workers in the Control, the Commissariat of the State Control has enlarged the circle of its activity in the sphere of publication. In 1918 the "Messenger of State Control", which planned a vast program, was established to spread among the great masses of the population information relative to the activity of the institutions of control, and to bring to public knowledge the abuses discovered by the Control there has been created a special press bureau which publishes the "State Control News" as well as special material of various kinds.

Moreover, further measures have extended considerably the authority of the State Control. If formerly it supervised directly the economy of the state in its various spheres, in 1919 the state administration was entirely brought under the supervision of the State Control. This supervision is exercised from the point of view of the legality and technical perfection of the state administration; it insures not only the execution of the provisions of the central power, but also the rapidity, the exactness and precision of this execution. The control watches over the local application of the provisions of the central power, and over the centralization of power. It is charged with accusing, before the tribunals, the officials guilty of negligence or offences.

Moreover, the State Control has seen fit to claim the right of initiative in legislative matters. Work-

ing upon practical observations, it draws up projects of law tending to simplify the governmental machinery, suppress the superfluous organizations, the bureaucratic red-tape, etc. Thus the Control plays an active and responsible part in the work of the new construction of the state.

So important an extension of the authority of the State Control involves significant changes in its organization.

The personnel of the Control has been modified and completed by bringing about the constant collaboration in the capital as in the province, of the trade unions and the workers' and peasants' organizations. By this union the question of mutual reports between the State Control and the control of the workers (factory and shop committees) was solved. All the existing organs of control in connection with the separate departments, enterprises, etc., are hereafter placed under the direction of the People's Commissariat for State Control.

There exist, in connection with the central State Control as well as in connection with its local sections, bureaus of complaint and claims, with the purpose of seeking all the irregularities committed by the officials in the exercise of their duties, as well as by the organs of power and the various institutions in their activity. The existence of these bureaus realizes as perfectly as possible the principle of wide public control of the activity of the power. All the citizens, without exception, can make complaints or claims, indicating the illegality, the absence of cause, or the unlawful character of any act of the power whatsoever. The deposed complaint or claim is examined immediately. One part of the complaints is sent to the interested institutions, which must furnish precise explanations with justifying documents in their support; the others are entrusted to special controllers for a "rapid review". These reviews have the purpose, on the one hand, to unmask the dishonest elements, who, in addition to their Soviet work, are doing other work, and on the other, to seek out everything imperfect and unnecessary in the functioning of the various institutions.

All these measures have been introduced by a decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars dated April 9, 1919. Following is the integral text of this decree:

1. The State Control is charged with the functions of effective control with the purpose of assuring exact, rapid execution, in conformity with the idea of the decrees and resolutions of the central power in all the spheres of the State economy and administration.

2. The State Control has the right:

a. To supervise directly the activities of all the people's commissariats and their local sections, and, in general, of all the organs of the Soviet power.

b. To verify the activity of the above-mentioned organs from the point of view of the real results achieved.

3. The State Control is ordered to accuse, before the tribunals, officials guilty of negligence or

offences and to demand their dismissal from authority.

4. The State Control is charged with submitting to the examination of the Central Power concrete proposals resulting from its observations and from its researches and aiming at the simplification of the machinery of the Soviet power, to eliminate duplication of work, lack of organization, bureaucratic delays, as well as reform the administrative system itself in this or that sphere of the political life.

5. It is essential for the realization of the above-mentioned tasks:

a. To place under the direction of the State Control all the organs of control functioning in connection with separated departments, organizations, and enterprises, to modify the machinery even of the State Control so as to adapt it to new tasks of control.

b. To attract to constant participation in the work of central as well as local control, the workers' and peasants' organizations.

c. Further, to attract systematically to participation in the various operations of the State Control citizens drawn from the largest masses of the laboring population.

d. To introduce the system of "rapid review".

e. To charge the State Control with watching over the methodical organization by each institution of the reception of complaints and claims of every kind which are addressed to it, and to insure their regular transmission, as well as to see that in connection with the State Control itself there should be organized a bureau for the deposition of claims and declarations relative to irregular practices, abuses and violations of the law committed by the officials; these claims and statements must be examined by the State Control.

### THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT AND SOVIET RUSSIA

MILAN, August 26, 1920 (By Telegram to Rosta, Vienna).—*Il Messagero*, in connection with the answer given by the Italian Ambassador, Baron Avezzana, in Washington, to Secretary of State Colby, reports that the Italian Ambassador has been unable to do more than to repeat to the American Government that the Italian Government has already entered into relations with Soviet Russia, in view of the fact that the Soviet Government is at present the only actual and powerful authority in Russia.

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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

NORWAY is negotiating with the Soviet Government, at Christiania, for the opening of trade relations between the two countries. The Soviet Government's representative for the purpose is Litvinov, who went to Christiania from his regular post, at Copenhagen, with this in view. There has been much discussion in Norwegian newspapers as to the delays in the opening of trade relations, which the Norwegian Government had been instructed by the Storting to bring about, in June of this year. A number of organs of commercial organizations, among them *Mea*, the journal of the fishermen of Finmarken, have complained in their editorials against the policy of procrastination that was being pursued by the Norwegian Foreign Department. *Mea* on August 11 received telegrams from Honningsvaag, couched in these terms: "Great indignation here against the Government, which seems incapable of taking up official negotiations with Russia on the subject of commercial relations. Readiness is expressed to support any action that may result in the overthrow of those now in power, who are leading the country into ruin." On August 25, *Social-Demokraten*, of Christiania, prints an interesting communication from Councillor of State Meyer Bruun, Minister of Commerce, who attempts to defend the attitude of the "present government" of Norway, and to give the impression that it has done everything it could to inaugurate commercial relations with Soviet Russia. The expression, "the present government," used by Mr. Bruun, seems to express an effort to throw the odium of the unpopular policy on earlier cabinets. Mr. Bruun goes on to say that if Norwegian fish is rotting in the storage-houses, for lack of a purchaser in Soviet Russia, it is because of the deficient initiative of the Norwegian fishermen, who seem to expect the government to do all their work, even their selling, for them. Mr. Bruun strongly recommends, in terms that seem strangely antiquated now, that the fishermen recognize the fact that it is now time for "private initiative to do something," etc. We have the text of Mr. Bruun's letter on file, but shall not print all of it unless conditions should later make it necessary, nor shall we publish the

able editorial answer appearing in the same issue of *Social-Demokraten*. We shall content ourselves with this little quotation from Mr. Bruun: "That Norway should proceed to an official recognition of the Soviet Government, before the latter has been recognized by any of the great powers, is more than anyone, as will be readily understood, can ask."

Not everyone may understand it. And yet, on reflection, in the days of the "League of Nations", it is probably one of the rules of "self-determination" that a small state may determine by itself whatever it likes, while large states may not only determine, but also act, the distinction of the "self-determined" small state being that its function is restricted to "determination". Not only governments hostile to that of Soviet Russia, such as the government of the "Republic" of Poland, must travel to Paris and London for instructions concerning their relations with Soviet Russia. Even little Norway, which was not an "associate" in the "League of Nations", which does not owe its existence to the "League", and which gained not an acre of land in the division of the loot, must obtain permission from France and England for the acts of its own Department of Commerce, or, if negotiation be the question at issue, its Foreign Department.

But Soviet Russia appears not to insist on negotiation. Soviet Russia wants only peaceful relations, wants only the mutual advantages to the nations that would result from a free exchange of commodities, and is willing to forego the joys of diplomatic uniforms and formal ceremonial requirements, if the Entente can take any satisfaction out of withholding these things from her. Mr. Bruun, by the way, seems, rather arbitrarily, to assume the identity of recognition and commercial intercourse, and to make rather ingenious use of the resort to "great powers", above quoted, which is made accessible by this confusion. For he could not pretend—certainly not if he is acquainted with the statistics on this subject that appear in the current issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*—that the "great powers" are not engaged in commercial relations with Soviet Russia, while he might truthfully deny that they have recognized that country diplomatically.

LITHUANIA, in its swift ontogeny, is passing through the whole gamut of the phylogeny of nations; which musically and biologically expressed truth means this: Lithuania is rapidly reflecting, in its short existence as an "independent" nation, the historical stages that were characteristic of national developments in Europe during the nineteenth century. Of course the analogy is by no means perfect, as it was possible for a few of the large European nations in the nineteenth century to develop as units that were curbed only by other powerful nations, while the tragedy of the "new" political organism is that it is entirely a creature, at least in its present form, of the "great powers" interested in its existence. But the history of the Lithuanian national movement is an interesting parallel to the national movement of any big or little nation, whether it be Russia, Germany, or

Czecho-Slovakia. In many individuals, the discovery of the importance of the fact that he is a Lithuanian comes only when he is well along in his education—and those who know will tell you the same was the case in other countries. Perhaps he meets with a philological discussion of an Indo-European word, and finds that the Lithuanian form is more similar to the Greek than is the Latin, Celtic or German. Or, passing through the fields of primitive mythology, he may discover that the chief of the old Lithuanian gods was one who wielded the thunder and who, like Jove, ruled the heavens. It is difficult for one of romantic imagination—and what young man has not a romantic imagination?—to resist the implications of a racial relation that is urged with much delicate fervor and supported with much apparent science. A long-nursed hostility to clericalism, or an even Voltairian scepticism, will do much to help the incipient national movement, and there was no lack of these in the Lithuanian movement of the last decades, as anyone knows who has met its advocates. A one-sided love of the native language, the native traditions, folk-songs, and so on, is often enough, once it has been planted, to warp the intellectual nationalist for the rest of his life.

But, in the case of the small nation, these feelings are permitted to operate only when the powerful "protecting" (let us say, "determining") nation decrees that they shall be released. Lithuania reached this point in her existence a few months ago. Her march to the sea was satisfied by a tapering boundary converging toward the Baltic and ending a few miles of seacoast including the former German town of Memel and the famous Russian town of Polangen. Her desire for offensive and defensive alliances expressed itself in numerous arrangements with powerful "protectors". She has been hard put to it by attacks on the part of Polish imperialism, and she evidently now has a liberal government that is beginning to see the desirability of mutual arrangements with Soviet Russia. In her sufferings at the hands of the nations of the past, and in her hopes of friendly relations with the land of the future, Lithuania parallels many a community of much larger size and power.

SOVIET RUSSIA has succeeded in obtaining an interesting article from a Lithuanian authority, who discusses the relations between Poland and Lithuania. This article will appear shortly.

\* \* \*

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT, JR., a newspaper correspondent, in a "Special to the New York Times" from San Francisco, dated September 15, and headlined: *Says Big Massacre Will End Red Regime*, does indeed quote a former Czarist military officer as predicting such a termination for the Soviet Government. Lt.-Gen. Sakharov, whose former Czarist *milieu* is enveloped in much glamor of detail by Mr. Vanderbilt, and who, like the former German Kaiser, is writing a

book on Bolshevism, seems to have led a rather finely pompous life as head of the Court Guard in the old days, and now delivers himself of these pregnant words:

"It is my opinion," he said today, "that Bolshevism will not last much longer, and that as soon as it starts to go to pieces, it will tumble with such a great fall that not any or all of the Red element in the world can ever put it together again. When it commences to crumble there will be a massacre of its tyrants that will appall the nations.

"But the fall of Bolshevism will come only from within the great walls of Russia herself. I have talked with peasants, with the great middle class of my country, with merchants and with priests during a wandering trip on horseback, and, when I could, by automobile, from the Volga to the Pacific Ocean. They are all against the type of government set up in Moscow, and which is shutting them off from the rest of the world. They are all tired of fighting, and soon they will rise in revolution that it will be impossible for the Bolsheviki to suppress. There are no large classes or parties in entire Russia who are for Bolshevism, which is imposed merely by a cunning, clever group of men who are strong enough in arms to keep down the timorous, sheeplike peasants. Personally, I think it is impossible for Bolshevism to continue longer than this winter."

Well, let us say six months. Six months is the favorite figure, and it will be easier to check up Mr. Sakharov if we force him into the Procrustes bed of his fellow prophets of the Russian counter-revolution. We shall come back to Mr. Sakharov in March or April, 1921.

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## Resolution Passed by Petrograd Children's Colony

[The following resolution was passed by the children and teachers of the Petrograd Colony just before sailing on September 11.]

We, the undersigned, Executive Committee duly appointed by 780 children and thirty-seven teachers who accompany the said children, at the meeting of the said children and teachers held this day at Fort Wadsworth, Staten Island, United States of America, after being duly authorized and commissioned by the said assembly, do hereby certify that the following resolution was unanimously passed by the said children and teachers and that we were directed to forward said resolution to the parties mentioned in the said resolution:

"During the year of 1918 while a famine was threatening the city of Petrograd we were sent by a committee of the Soviet Government and of our parents, to the Ural district in order that we might there receive proper nourishment and support. We were then settled in small colonies of children in that district. When the Czecho-Slovaks began their campaign against Soviet Russia, late in 1918, their operations cut off our colonies from communication with European Russia, and as Kolchak and his Czecho-Slovak allies were then already beginning their retreat, we were moved along with the retreating armies across Siberia, without our consent and contrary to the repeated protests of our parents. We were shifted about in the vicinity of Vladivostok and finally the remnants of our colony, after disease and death had decimated our ranks, were interned on Russki Island, opposite Vladivostok, whence 780 of us have now been brought to New York by the American Red Cross, on the Japanese steamer *Yomei Maru*.

Now that we have literally encircled the globe, and have been hoping that after two years of separation we might again see our parents and homes, we are informed that we are not to be sent directly to Petrograd—and all of us lived at addresses in the vicinity of Petrograd, as the American Red Cross indicates in its lists of the addresses of the children's relatives—but to some Baltic port.

After many disappointments we are about to embark on a journey for a Baltic port which we are informed is to be Copenhagen. We trust and rely entirely upon the promises of the American Red Cross. Realizing that no obstacles should ordinarily lie in the way of a Red Cross organization to get into communication with even a belligerent government, we cannot conceive of any reasons why a ship flying a Red Cross flag should not sail directly for the port of Petrograd which is our home city. Having taken all these matters into consideration, the colony of children and teachers, this day in assembly convened, has declared the following to be its unanimous resolution:

**RESOLVED**, That the colony of the children and teachers accepts the word of the American Red Cross officials and their promises and interprets the same to signify that they will be returned to their homes in Petrograd without any further delay;

That the colony demands that a communication be sent to a committee of their parents in Petrograd through the Representative of the Soviet Government in New York. The colony is informed by the said Representative that he will gladly cooperate with the American Red Cross to make that possible;

That having been taken by different belligerent forces without their consent, having been held by Red Cross bodies for a period of about two years, without their consent, having been kept away from their families for over two years, and shifted from port to port, the children's colony feels that in the decision of all matters of importance, such as the destination where they are to be taken, they will not be obedient to the orders of any other body except their own parents' committee.

That the communication aforementioned be sent

through the Representative of the Soviet Government in New York, shall be to the effect that the American Red Cross will meet the parents' committee at some convenient Baltic port and through the committee of parents arrange for the final transportation and disposition of the children's colony.

Further resolved that a committee of five consisting of S. Bobrova, E. Mazun, L. Debner, G. Zavodchikov, O. Kamenskaya, be appointed at this meeting and that the said committee be authorized to transmit a copy of the resolution to the Atlantic Division of the American Red Cross, to Woodrow Wilson, President of the American Red Cross; to the International Red Cross in Geneva; to the Representative of the Russian Soviet Government in New York City, to the Secretary of State of the United States of America, and to the Committee of Russian Organizations;

And be it further resolved: That the children's and teachers' colony is deeply appreciative of the charity and hospitality of the American Red Cross and of the numerous favors and acts of kindness shown to them and it is the hope of the children's colony's assembly that the children can take with them and cherish unimpaired this feeling of gratitude and appreciation to the American Red Cross."

(Signatures)

S. BOBROVA,  
E. MAZUN,  
L. DEBNER,  
G. ZAVODCHIKOV,  
O. KAMENSKAYA.

### ANTI-BOLSHEVISM

By A. E. C.

The following poem, taken from an English weekly, makes references to London newspapers:

|  |  |
|--|--|
| The anti-Bolshevik Press                 | A sensualist,                              |
| Has many wonderful                       | A fanatic,                                 |
| Tremendous                               | A Puritan and a debauchee,                 |
| Arguments                                | Drinking babies' blood                     |
| Against Bolshevism;                      | And writing pamphlets                      |
| So full of logic and correcti-           | On Fraternity.                             |
| tude.                                    | And pacifist Trotsky,                      |
| The <i>Morning Post</i> and <i>Times</i> | Who  |
| Are fearfully upset                      | For peace at any price                     |
| Because in Russia                        | Sold his country                           |
| No one works or toils,                   | At Brest-Litovsk,                          |
| But also                                 | And leads Red armies,                      |
| Are very distressed                      | A full-fledged                             |
| Because in Russia                        | Blood War-lord,                            |
| Everyone is compelled                    | Wading through carnage                     |
| to Work;                                 | To Imperialism.                            |
| In Russia, no strikes                    | And the remaining Bolsheviks               |
| Are allowed.                             | Are so uneducated, so illiterate,          |
| Here a free country,                     | As to want to teach                        |
| A man can quit his job,                  | The peasant                                |
| And when he strikes and does             | How to read;                               |
| Quit                                     | And so uncivilized                         |
| The <i>Times</i> and <i>Post</i> inquire | As not to believe                          |
| Why doesn't the Government               | The words                                  |
| Club the dogs back to work.              | Of Western statesmen.                      |
| Thank God for English                    | But surely the                             |
| Law                                      | Great and freedom-loving                   |
| And Order.                               | Constitutional                             |
| Bolshevism has no law                    | British working class,                     |
| Nor order:                               | Knows our armies                           |
| All chaos and anarchy:                   | Are not for oil and steel and              |
| A country                                | gold,                                      |
| Where all are compelled                  | But to teach                               |
| By stringent                             | The Backward peoples                       |
| Decrees and State regulations            | The Art                                    |
| To the bidding                           | Of Self-determination.                     |
| Of tyrant usurpers.                      | But why they don't rally                   |
| It must be chaos                         | To freedom-loving Wrangel,                 |
| Where so many laws                       | And poor innocent Poland.                  |
| Are severely enforced.                   | And peaceful Mr. Churchill                 |
| And that tyrant,                         | Passes the comprehension.                  |
| Lenin,                                   | But perhaps                                |
| Living in luxury                         | Those organs of Trade Union-               |
| On a diet of fruit                       | ism,                                       |
| In a whitewashed cell,                   | The <i>Morning Post</i> and <i>Times</i> , |
| Seated, it is said,                      | May yet find                               |
| On a throne                              | That you can't dope                        |
| Of skulls,                               | Even the British workers                   |
|  | Of all the time.                           |

## Educational Achievements in Soviet Russia

By WILLIAM W. DAMBIT

**T**HOUGH a number of correspondences in the American dailies have justly appreciated the educational work of the Soviet authorities, one still finds in some of the conservative press-organs arguments to the effect that the Soviet Revolution has destroyed schools, culture, and civilization in general. To contradict those misrepresentations, it is quite timely to summarize the state of educational affairs in Soviet Russia, and also, to compare them somewhat with the educational situation in pre-Soviet Russia and America, in order to reveal more conspicuously the defects or the achievements of the educational work done by the Soviets.

The Soviet regime, aiming at the abolition of economic and other class privileges, could not afford to preserve them in education. If the acquisition of education is dependent upon the money-resources of those who aspire to it, it constitutes largely, if not exclusively, a privilege of the rich and well-to-do. It was true to a very large extent in the old imperial Russia, where all the secondary and higher educational institutions charged high tuition fees, and where even most of the city and a number of the country elementary schools were pay-schools. The admission to the higher schools was unreservedly conditioned by certificates and diplomas held chiefly by the children of the propertied classes. Besides, the higher schools in old Russia (and, undoubtedly, elsewhere) could be attended, mainly only by students whose living expenses were covered by the good incomes of their parents or relatives. The sons and daughters of the poor were with a few exceptions excluded, though they might have finished the course of the secondary school. Likewise the children of wage-laborers and peasants in Russia (and not in Russia alone) often were kept from attending even the elementary school, because the necessity of providing them with food and school-supplies constituted too heavy a burden for their poor parents.

In view of such facts, the Soviet Revolution, in order to provide equal opportunities of education for all, had before it, as its first task, the elimination of those privileges in education. For that purpose the Soviet state itself took over, or nationalized, in 1917 and 1918, the whole educational system. At the very beginning of this change, elementary and secondary education was made gratuitous and compulsory for all. In addition, the Soviet authorities, since 1918, have been supplying the primary and secondary schools with free textbooks and other school appliances; and in August of the same year, the School Health Department of the People's Commissariat of Education ordered that each school child be provided gratuitously with lunch "containing, at least, 20 grammes of protein, 12 grammes of fat, and 100 grammes of carbohydrate."

Though this free feeding was at first necessitated by the extraordinarily bad food conditions in the cities, it finally became a permanent integral part of the Soviet public school system. In relation to higher education, a decree of the Soviet Government promulgated in August 1918, abolished tuition fees in the higher educational institutions, and prohibited the use or requirements of certificates and diplomas as the prerequisite for admission, stipulating that all persons of both sexes over sixteen years of age were entitled to admission without any diploma. Subsequently, the Soviet Government decreed to pay from the state resources to the students of the higher schools regular monthly allowances sufficient to cover moderate living expenses. Every student having no means of subsistence and showing success in his studies is entitled to these allowances during the whole period of his studies. Thus, the Russian nobility, rich peasants, and bourgeoisie lost the advantage of preferentially placing their children in the higher educational institutions. Their doors, since the reforms reviewed here, were thrown open to every workingman, peasant, and any one else who was ambitious enough to aspire to higher education.

Another fundamental educational task for Soviet Russia has been the increase of the facilities for education, as the number of schools and their equipment was very inadequate in pre-Soviet Russia! Therefore, the Soviet authorities set to work to build new schools, to equip them better, and to enlarge the school extension activities. In this respect the Soviet regime has made remarkable progress. According to the most recent available official data of the People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, in the school year of 1918-1919 alone, 5,700 new schools were opened, the number of students amounting in all the elementary grades to 2,618,000, in the secondary grades, to 200,000. This number makes a good showing in comparison with that of old imperial Russia where the number of children in schools never exceeded twenty-five per cent of the whole number of the children of school-age. Of course, in the subsequent school year of 1919-1920 the number of scholars was surely much higher. Lincoln Eyre, the well-known correspondent of *The World*, whom nobody would accuse of exaggerating the achievements of Soviet Russia, makes the statement (*The World*, March 25, 1920), based on his personal conversation with Lunacharsky, that 3,000,000 children in Soviet Russia were attending the primary schools and half of that number the secondary schools. Obviously, the figures given by Lincoln Eyre represent the first half of the school year of 1919-1920 and, consequently, a more recent school situation. It shows that the Soviet Republic, in pro-

viding facilities for elementary and secondary education, seems to have greatly surpassed the pre-Soviet regime.

As to the higher schools, the Soviet Government as early as August 2, 1918, passed a decree urging "in case the number of applicants for admission to the higher educational institutions should exceed the usual number of vacancies, to undertake extraordinary steps insuring an opportunity for study to every one desiring it." In consequence, many new smaller colleges, technical high schools, special rural universities, and universities of the usual type were opened. The number of larger universities alone has increased from seven (in Czarist Russia) to seventeen under the Soviet Republic. Moscow, the present cultural center of Russia, in 1919 had 22 colleges with 69,916 students, of which 25,972 attended the University of Moscow alone.

In regard to equipment, among other things, school museums were collected, established, and consolidated, and special workshops for the production of museum articles and laboratory facilities were erected.

The educational extension work of the Soviets embraces different kinds of classes and courses in the usual academic subjects, sciences, arts, technology, agriculture, social activities, labor and peasants' organization problems, etc., and in combating adult illiteracy. For the last-named purpose an anti-illiteracy decree of the Soviet Government provides that all Russians between the ages of eight and fifty must learn reading and writing in Russian or in their native tongue. All literate persons may be ordered to assist in teaching illiterates. For the adults receiving instruction in reading and writing, the working day is shortened by two hours. In pursuance of the stipulations of this decree, almost every city and country school is used in the evenings, as well as during the day, for teaching illiterate adults; in addition, newspapers, posters, and special propaganda trains disseminate a conception of the importance of everybody's knowing how to read and write.

The organization, courses of students, and curriculum of the schools likewise have undergone the most remarkable progressive changes. According to the program for school reform, the ordinary schools should be preceded by the kindergarten, which is now being organized on the basis of a mixed Froebelian and Montessori system. In old pre-revolutionary Russia, the kindergartens existed only in the larger cities, almost entirely as private charitable establishments for the poor, or as luxurious institutions for the rich. Now they have been opened both in the cities and the rural communities, for all children without discrimination, amounting in number at the end of 1919 to some 2,000 schools, with an attendance of over 200,000. The public school itself embraces the school years from eight to sixteen, and is made up of a primary school (eight to twelve years) and a secondary school (twelve to sixteen years), the scholars passing automatically from the primary to the second-

ary grades, and from the latter to the higher schools. The curriculum has been thoroughly modernized by the introduction of modern social subjects and the elements of the sciences, already in the primary school, and by school excursions, auditorium assemblages, play activities, shop work, and domestic science, both in the primary and secondary grades. In old Russia, these modern subjects of the curriculum were taught only in a comparatively small number of schools, of the best type; the Soviet Revolution made them an essential part of the whole public school system. Furthermore, the Soviet public school is conceived as a *work school-commune*, where the children themselves perform the work for its upkeep and maintenance, taking part in the preparation and serving of their food, engaging in play, self-activities, and rest, and, together with the teachers, representatives of the parents, and school employes, constituting an organization for the administration of the affairs of the institution. Thus, the school represents, in miniature, a socialized, self-active, self-supporting society, serving as a means of practical education in productive work and civil activities.

The proper vocational education is provided by special secondary technical schools, to which the pupils pass after their graduation from the secondary schools. The Soviet authorities, however, contemplate, by extending the number of school years and enlarging the curriculum, to transform in the course of time the primary, secondary, and vocational schools into a unique polytechnic school, where the usual academic subjects, sciences, art, and vocational training constitute a combined unique system of elementary compulsory education.

The curricula and the organization of the higher schools also have been affected by considerable changes. In addition to the traditional courses extending over many years, there are now in existence various short college courses giving instruction in the usual academic subjects, education, and vocational branches, and thus meeting the urgent educational needs of the people for a speedy preparation of trained workers in the field of economic and civic activities. Simultaneously, special labor faculties and special labor universities have been opened. Their aim is to educate from among workingmen and peasants, faithful to the Soviet regime, thoroughly trained specialists in Soviet administration affairs, the organization and management of industrial enterprises, Soviet estates, agricultural communes, cooperatives, and in other branches of the economic and social life. To those labor faculties and universities the students are appointed by the Soviet authorities, the Communist Party, labor unions, agricultural communes, cooperatives, and other workers' and peasants' organizations, the students receiving the means of subsistence from the state or respective organizations. For the promotion of science and higher learning in general, new special scientific institutions for research and experiments in chemistry, biology, bacteriology, agriculture, mining, electro-



technics, etc., have come into existence. A number of the higher schools have been consolidated, in order to enrich the equipment of the enlarged institutions. The students of the higher schools possess the right to participate in their administration, having at the same time ample opportunities for self-activity, and initiative in their studies.

As to methodology, the People's Commissariat of Education and its subordinate organs have spared no effort to introduce into the primary, secondary, and higher schools modern, scientific methods: observation, self-activity, selection of studies by the scholars, experiment, and research, as the basis for the determination of the best methods to be employed. Some of the work school-communes have been assigned, and a number of higher educational institutions established, mainly for experimentation purposes.

It is obvious that the Soviet regime has been and is hard at work in completely democratizing education, diffusing knowledge amongst the masses of the people, in order to enrich their mental life, to equip them with scientifically trained minds, with efficiency in production, and with self-activity in every line of life, for the development and welfare of the republic. The school reforms of Soviet Russia are in accord with the greatest modern educational principles, which, in substance, advocate the complete democratization of education, training in efficiency, and the application of experiments and innovations. Particularly the Soviet work school-commune contains many features of the best American public schools (the introduction of manual training and domestic sciences, the school auditorium and play, the self-activities of the scholars, the junior high school, etc.), together

with radical innovations such as those advocated by pedagogues like John Dewey. But the introduction of free feeding and of communal work in the public schools, the abolition of fees, the simultaneous payment of monthly allowances to the students in the higher schools, and the ample provision for the workingmen's higher education in Soviet Russia, surpass the most progressive educational achievements in any other country.

Finally, in evaluating the educational work of Soviet Russia, one must take into consideration the widely known efforts of the Soviet authorities in the distribution of cheap editions of classic works of literature (some 6,000,000 volumes in the last two years), in the establishment of a whole system of new libraries, in the collection and preservation of art works, and in the provision of exceptionally wide opportunities for the masses of the people to obtain aesthetic education through art and music schools, concerts, and theatres.

Does this look like a "destruction of civilization", so stupidly alleged and realleged by some of the conservative anti-Soviet press organs? On the contrary, the Soviet regime has brought civilization into the very midst of the masses of the people, has enriched and developed it. Of course, the war, exhausting the material and human resources of the country, has largely handicapped the Soviet authorities in carrying out completely their educational program. Therefore, the number of schools, teachers, and equipment, is as yet by no means adequate in Russia. But these limitations can not be ascribed to any alleged inefficiency of the Soviet educational policy, which under the circumstances has proved to be very efficient.

## The Collectivization of Agriculture

The Department of Collective Farming in its present form was organized after the First All-Russian Congress of the Departments of Agriculture, of the committees of poor peasants and of the communes, which took place in December, 1918, and began to work regularly only about the end of May, 1919. Until then the work of collectivization of agriculture was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Communes, which had been formed in May, 1918.

The first task of the Department was the formulation of a model constitution for the communes, for which purpose the Department made use of the abundant material of the local constitutions. Simultaneously the Department worked out rules regarding the registration of agricultural collective enterprises and drafted the regulations regarding loans to these enterprises.

In the beginning of July, 1918, the Department of Communes of the Commissariat of Agriculture had registered only 342 communes with 9,985 members; about the end of August 523 communes were registered; on October 15, 700, and on No-

vember 1, 1918, there were already registered 912 communes and artels, with 32,199 members. They had in their possession 73,809 dessiatins of land, of which 40,038 dessiatins were cultivated. Almost daily the department was visited by delegates from the communes, who came there for information on collective farming.

The First All-Russian Congress of the Departments of Agriculture, committees of poor peasants and communes was in session from December 10 to 20, 1918. Although the congress considered the communes of paramount importance, it nevertheless worked out "Regulations for social exploitation of land" as a transition measure to collective agriculture. Thus, the methods for the realization of socialist agriculture were considerably widened. In accordance with this the activity of the organs directing the work for the collectivization of agriculture unfolded.

By November 1, 1919, there had been registered 1,921 communes with 100,037 consumers, and 4,445 cooperatives and other societies with 320,367 consumers.

Lately, the population has taken a friendly attitude towards the communes, particularly in those localities where the communes have demonstrated their ability to exist.

For instance, the peasants of a commune in the Government of Penza furnished of their own accord, 150 wagons for the transport of timber. Reports are being received from various localities, to the effect that members of the communes are being elected to the District Executive Committees, and that, in general, they are being favored as responsible workers, for they have the reputation of being non-partisan and just.

In the district of Tarusa, the Government of Kaluga, a kindergarten was established in the commune "Liberty", to which not only the children of the commune members were admitted, but also the children of the other comrades in the village. In the Government of North-Dvinsk, the communes have risen much in the estimation of the population because they employ mowing and harvesting machines. And the organization of model communes has contributed not a little in producing this result.

There are communes which have, out of their own resources, created repair shops, oil mills, and other establishments of similar nature, which min-

ister to the needs of the population, and in this way a friendly relation is established.

During the last few years, the membership of the communes has mostly been made up of proletarian elements from country and city. The well-to-do did not participate, as the feeling for property is still strongly implanted in them, and besides they were not convinced of the permanence of the Soviet Government. These elements prefer to own their own property even if it is a small one.

As can be seen from the following table, reports concerning the growth of communes had not been received from all the provinces on January 1, 1920. However, the material at hand proves that there has been no cessation in the growth of the communes, but that, on the contrary, they are becoming more firmly established. (See following table.)

In view of the fact that at the present time the poorest classes of the agricultural population have already been admitted to the communes, and that these at present are also improving in quality, it can be asserted that the movement is becoming more and more deeply rooted, for now a new less mobile class of peasants from the ranks of the so-called middle, formerly "established peasants" are being attracted to them.

| Provinces:            | Number of Operative Collegiums |              |   |       | Number of Consumers Under the Operative Collegiums |                 |   |         | Area of Land Belonging to the Operative Collegiums |                 |   |            |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|---|-------|--|-----------------|---|---------|--|-----------------|---|------------|
|                       | Communes                       | Cooperatives | Farming in Common and Other Forms of Collective Economy | Total | In Communes  | In Cooperatives | Farming in Common and Other Forms of Collective Economy | Total   | In Communes  | In Cooperatives | Farming in Common and Other Forms of Collective Economy | Total      |
| 1 Astrakhan           |                                |              |   |       |  |                 |   |         |  |                 |   |            |
| 2 Archangel           | 1                              |              | 2   | 3     | 42   |                 |   |         |  |                 | 77  | 113        |
| 3 Vitebak             | 47                             | 139          |   | 186   | 2,225  | 4,728           |   | 6,953   | 8,698  | 7,739           |   | 16,437     |
| 4 Vladimir            | 46                             | 92           | 21  | 159   | 2,358  | 11,026          | 1,735   | 15,119  | 1,468  | 2,035           | 351   | 3,854      |
| 5 Vologda             | 16                             | 72           | 20  | 108   | 845  | 5,557           | 1,486   | 7,888   | 4,709  | 2,968.5         | 888   | 8,565.5    |
| 6 Voronezh            | 10                             | 38           | 3   | 51    |  |                 |   |         |  |                 |   |            |
| 7 Viatka              | 57                             | 84           | 21  | 162   | 2,301  | 4,701           | 2,189   | 9,191   | 2,030.17   | 1,326.24        | 2,188.1   | 5,744.51   |
| 8 Homel               | 70                             | 180          | 20  | 270   | 5,110  | 11,325          | 1,010   | 17,445  | 8,723  | 15,794          | 1,640   | 26,157     |
| 9 Ivanovo-Voznessensk | 38                             | 198          |   | 236   | 1,270  | 21,124          |   | 22,394  | 2,547.5  | 2,923.5         |   | 5,471      |
| 10 Kazan              |                                |              |   |       |  |                 |   |         |  |                 |   |            |
| 11 Kaluga             | 37                             | 77           | 158   | 272   | 1,690  | 11,322          | 3,109   | 16,121  | 4,082  | 11,692          | 1,759   | 17,533     |
| 12 Kostroma           | 63                             | 311          | 96  | 470   | 1,970  | 14,667          | 5,597   | 22,234  | 4,925  | 36,740          | 1,978   | 43,643     |
| 13 Kurak              |                                |              |   |       |  |                 |   |         |  |                 |   |            |
| 14 Moscow             |                                |              |   |       |  |                 |   |         |  |                 |   |            |
| 15 Nizhni-Novgorod    | 17                             | 88           | 36  | 141   | 856  | 6,622           | 7,595   | 15,073  |  |                 |   |            |
| 16 Novgorod           |                                |              |   |       |  |                 |   |         |  |                 |   |            |
| 17 Olonetz            | 9                              | 36           | 10  | 55    | 341  | 1,025           | 374   | 1,740   |  |                 |   |            |
| 18 Orel               | 57                             | 357          |   | 414   | 4,000  | 25,181          |   | 29,181  | 5,003  | 33,771          |   | 38,774     |
| 19 Penza              |                                |              |   |       |  |                 |   |         |  |                 |   |            |
| 20 Petrograd          | 59                             | 152          | 17  | 228   | 1,420  | 5,821           | 443   | 7,684   | 6,267  | 18,440          | 1,176   | 25,883     |
| 21 Perm               | 28                             | 1            |   | 29    | 1,598  | 34              |   | 1,632   | 4,216  |                 |   | 4,216      |
| 22 Pakov              |                                |              |   |       |  |                 |   |         |  |                 |   |            |
| 23 Riazan             |                                |              |   | 87*   |  |                 |   | 11,811* |  |                 |   | 56,777*    |
| 24 Samara             |                                |              |   |       |  |                 |   |         |  |                 |   |            |
| 25 Saratov            | 63                             | 135          |   | 198   | 4,892  | 13,764          |   | 18,656  | 13,369   | 21,692          |   | 35,061     |
| 26 North-Dvinsk       | 29                             | 65           |   | 94    | 1,482  | 3,623           |   | 5,105   |  |                 |   |            |
| 27 Simbirsk           | 22                             | 26           |   | 48    | 1,834  | 931             |   | 2,765   | 2,378  | 548             |   | 2,926      |
| 28 Smolensk           | 360                            | 121          | 273   | 754   | 15,923   | 5,450           | 12,076  | 33,449  | 21,033.5   | 7,670           | 18,008  | 46,711.5   |
| 29 Tambov             | 43                             | 191          | 1   | 235   | 1,893  | 20,627          | 316   | 22,836  |  |                 |   | 16,062*    |
| 30 Tver               | 120                            | 180          | 30  | 330   | 4,509  | 5,640           | 1,933   | 12,082  | 13,815   | 14,039          | 2,091   | 29,945     |
| 31 Tula               | 30                             | 78           | 5   | 113   | 2,073  | 8,230           | 133   | 10,436  | 2,986  | 3,577           |   | 6,563      |
| 32 Cherepovetz        | 49                             | 122          | 15  | 186   | 2,455  | 7,317           | 1,253   | 11,025  | 3,017  | 9,146           | 1,556   | 13,719     |
| 33 Yaroslav           | 40                             | 143          | 34  | 217   | 1,197  | 6,954           | 2,370   | 10,522  | 3,066  | 3,719           | 800   | 7,585      |
|                       | 1,311                          | 2,886        | 762   | 4,959 | 62,284   | 195,669         | 41,716  | 299,669 | 112,369.17   | 194,020.24      | 32,512.1  | 338,901.51 |

\* Not included in the total.

# Membership of the Collegiums

*of the Main Committees and Centers of the Economic Council*

According to the results of an investigation of fifty-three production committees and centers of the Supreme Economic Council, the number of members of the main committees and centers consists of 232 persons, as can be seen by the following table:

| Members of the Collegiums                   | Number     | Per Cent of Total Members |
|---|------------|---------------------------|
| Workers .....                               | 83         | 35.8                      |
| Engineers .....                             | 79         | 34.0                      |
| Directors .....                             | 1          | 0.4                       |
| Clerical Workers .....                      | 50         | 21.6                      |
| All Other .....                             | 19         | 8.2                       |
| <b>Total Members of 53 Committees .....</b> | <b>232</b> | <b>100.0</b>              |

Among the 232 members of the collegiums there is only one single former Director. The largest group of collegium members is formed by genuine workers who number 83 persons, or about 36 per cent of the entire membership. But upon closer consideration, the number of proletarian elements in the membership of the collegiums of the main committees and centers proves to be still larger, as a considerable number of the clerks, of whom there are 50, or almost 22 per cent of the entire membership, consists of office workers, book-keepers, etc., who absolutely must be regarded as proletarian elements and have always been regarded as such. Besides these, the other members of the collegiums are 79 engineers, or, to express it differently,—specialists, who constitute 34 per cent of the entire membership, and 19 persons (eight per cent) of various callings, as, for example, literary men, lawyers, etc., who were for the most part active in the party for many years.

From the professional membership of the collegiums functioning in the main committees and centers, the conclusion may be drawn that the power of the proletarian influence in the collegiums is sufficiently well grounded. This fact will be still more evident if the party affiliations of the membership of the collegiums of the main committees and centers are investigated. From this standpoint, the members of the collegiums of the main committees and centers may be divided into the following groups:

|   | Persons    | Per Cent   |
|---|------------|------------|
| Communists .....                            | 115        | 50         |
| No Party .....                              | 105        | 45         |
| Members of other parties (Mensheviks) ..... | 12         | 5          |
| <b>Total .....</b>                          | <b>132</b> | <b>100</b> |

These figures prove that a large number of the engineers and clerks belong to the Communist Party, while on the other hand a large number of the non-partisans are sympathizers with the Communists. The number of party members in the existing collegiums of the main committees and centers, also shows that the Russian Commun-

ist Party plays an unqualifiedly leading role in them.

Let us turn to the question of how many members the said collegiums consist of. It can be seen from the following table, that in 80 per cent of the main committees and centers (in 43 out of 53) there are not more than four or five members and that, on the average, to every main committee, there are not more than four members in the collegium. Only in particularly large main committees and centers, such as the Main Committee of the textile industry, which has 10 collegium members, does the collegium consist of more than five people.

| Number of Collegium Members | Number of Committees | Per Cent of Total |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1 .....                     | 3                    | 6                 |
| 2 or 3 .....                | 18                   | 34                |
| 4 or 5 .....                | 22                   | 41                |
| 5 or 7 .....                | 7                    | 13                |
| Over 7 .....                | 3                    | 6                 |
| <b>Total .....</b>          | <b>53</b>            | <b>100</b>        |

The members of the collegiums of every main committee and center are subject to the constant supervision of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council on the one hand, and the Union Organizations on the other.

The collegium of every main committee and center is confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council, after an obligatory preliminary agreement with the Central Committee of the corresponding Union Organizations or with the All-Russian Central Soviet of the Union Organizations. Every single member of a collegium has a strictly defined set of duties, and carries to the fullest extent personal responsibility for the services rendered by him.

## THE GRAIN STOCK IN SIBERIA

The Moscow *Pravda* published the following data on the grain stocks in Siberia:

According to the data of Kolchak's ministry of supplies, the free surplus of grain for 1918-1919 amounted to 77,054,000 poods more than the total needs for Siberia. The surplus of the 1919-1920 harvest in excess of the needs of the local population is estimated at 71,753,000 poods. Thus, the total surplus for 1920 amounts to about 140,000,000 poods.

## CENSUS IN SOVIET RUSIA

CHRISTIANIA, August 29.—A message from Moscow dated August 28 states:

A general census begins in Soviet Russia today, which is to be not only a census of the population, but also a total inventory of the workers' and peasants' republic. The object of the reenumeration is to determine the character and the capacity of agriculture and manufactures, the distribution according to occupations, and the efficiency of the population of Soviet Russia.

## The Red Officers

*The miracle of the Red Army astounded the whole world. Built in a country completely disorganized and ruined by the world war, and attacked on all sides by mighty enemies, the Red Army has become, to the amazement of both friend and foe, perhaps the best, certainly the most reliable army in Europe. There are many puzzling features about this army, for the outsider, and one of them is the question of officers. The old, czarist officers were counter-revolutionary, and could be expected to do and did their utmost to overthrow the rule of the workers and peasants. Even the few czarist officers who joined the Soviet army could not be relied upon and had to be watched by Soviet commissaries. But what about the tens of thousands of officers that were required for the lower command and that could not be watched by commissaries?*

*The Soviet Government solved this problem by taking hold of the old military schools and by opening a large number of short courses for military instruction. We offer to the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA a number of statements by the chiefs of the Soviet army and the Soviet military schools, which were published in the "Izvestia" of June 6, 1920. June 6 was the "Day of the Red Commander" at Moscow. On this day Moscow was giving a great send-off to a few hundred of Red officers, new graduates of the Moscow military schools, who were leaving for the western front. The "Izvestia" used this occasion to publish statements from the Soviet chiefs, extolling the Red officers and calling up the workers and peasants to fill up the military schools, to provide a reserve force of officers for the front. Some of these statements the reader will find below.*

### PROVIDE RED COMMANDERS FOR THE FRONT

By L. TROTZKY

The war with the Polish nobility is a serious war. Poland is not alone. She is backed by the mightiest nations in the world. The Anglo-French imperialists not only linked Pilsudsky with Wrangel, but Pilsudsky with Ebert and Scheidemann as well. The Polish command removed its troops from the German frontier and sent them against us. New armies are being hastily formed in all the provinces of Poland.

Of course, Poland is worn out and ruined. But the Entente is furnishing all the necessary supplies for the creation of White divisions. France supplies instructors: The United States lends equipment at a low price. England, in accord with the October contract, supplies cartridges and shells to be used against the Russian workers and peasants. All this mighty international combination has put too great a task on Poland. Those are wrong, therefore, who say and write that the Polish army is on the eve of annihilation. No, the struggle is only beginning. *The Polish army is still powerful and is being strengthened with new units.* We can conquer White Poland only through the heroic efforts of all the toiling people. The Red troops on the western and southwestern fronts must have a continuous flow of reserves, and these reserves must have a commanding staff.

*The Red courses for commanders are the forges where our coming victory over Poland is now being forged.* We must have a large reserve of Red commanders. There must therefore be no vacancies in the courses for commanders. The party organizations, the trade unions, the young people's organizations should launch a vigorous agitation among their members, to urge their best young men into the courses for the commanding staff.

Work in the courses should be carried on with trebled energy. The enemy is strong and well trained,—and we must have an efficient and competent commanding staff, capable of initiative.

Therefore let the workers and peasants of Russia whole-heartedly help their courses for commanders, their foundries of victory.

### STATEMENT OF S. S. KAMENEV

*Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces of the Soviet Republic*

Today, on the "day of the Red Commander", we are sending off a new group of Red commanders to battle against the Polish nobility. There, at the western front, our new commanders will have to apply their knowledge and ability to battle against the enemies of Red Russia. In this struggle, in this best school of war for the Red commander—for the Polish army, built from parts of the armies of all nations which waged the war of 1914-1918 and possessing the experience and the methods of all of them, is a serious and able adversary,—the Red commander will display with particular splendor and vigor his basic traits, his enthusiasm and conviction of the righteousness of this great final struggle, as well as his firmness and unexampled daring.

Waging this struggle and dying for the cause of the workers, departing comrades will be sure that the Russian workers who have already endured three years of desperate struggle under impossible conditions and who comprehend the importance and the necessity definitely to liquidate the attempts of the Polish nobility, must and will give new groups of working class youth to replace those who will be forced out of the ranks and to complete and secure their bloody and difficult task.

Even now the necessity to fill the ranks of the Red commanding staff is already clearly felt, and the working class youth must and—I am sure—will enroll in the schools for Red commanders, for this is demanded by the interests of the working class struggle and the duty to Soviet Russia.

On this day I cannot help recalling the service which many of the departing students already rendered to the Red Army, which they performed at the time when the students of the Moscow and

Petrograd courses for commanders, sent in a body to halt the bands of Yudenich, accomplished this task, defending Red Petrograd with honor and thus giving us time and enabling us to concentrate ample forces completely to crush the enemy. A similar feat, though on a smaller scale, was performed at the height of the Polish offensive by the students of the Minsk courses for commanders, who twice halted the Poles before Gomel and prevented its falling into the hands of the enemy, thus saving for us this important railway junction.

The departing comrades know all this, they remember and they highly value the name and honor of the Red commanders, they know that the workers' Russia is proud of them, and we are sure that these new fighters for the cause of the workers will soon vindicate our pride in them.

#### STATEMENT OF COMRADE RATTEL

*Chief of the All-Russian General Staff*

We have a considerable number of courses and schools to train Red commanders for the workmen's and peasants' army. These courses have already trained several tens of thousands of workmen and peasants for the commanding staff, who have proven with their blood their loyalty and faithfulness to the workmen's and peasants' Republic. Among those who are now graduating from the courses for the commanding staff there are many workmen who are well along in age, and there are quite a few who are very young. All of them studied in the courses with unusual exertion, eagerly assimilating the practical and theoretical knowledge offered to them. In the ranks of the army, the Red commander is welcomed with particular affection and confidence, and in general they work splendidly. The great advantage of the Red commanders in the army is the absolute confidence in them of the mass of the Red soldiers, and their fearlessness in battle.

Their weak side—which is, of course, explained by the short term of instruction—lies in the fact that on the whole the training in military science is poorer than that which former officers had. But many of them very quickly learn from practice what they could not learn in the courses for commanders, owing to the brief terms of instruction.

The army is in extreme need of a Red commanding staff, emerging from the ranks of the workmen and peasants; the army needs them in large numbers, but with longer terms of training, and for this purpose it is imperative that the courses for commanders shall be filled with students. As experience has shown, the Red commanders emerging from the ranks of the workers have proven especially valuable in the army, and more easily and quickly assimilated the military science and practice.

We must use all means to urge the workers and peasants—especially now, when the struggle on the western front will be difficult and protracted, requiring a large commanding staff—to fill the courses for commanders and keep flocking to those courses. Our reliance is on the Red commanding

staff of workmen and peasants who have received adequate training in the courses.

#### RED STUDENTS AND RED COMMANDERS

By D. PETROVSKY\*

Today the young Red commanders who are leaving for the western front to fight the Polish nobility will assemble on Theatre Square. They number hundreds. They are the result of the feverish work of the workmen's and peasants' courses for commanders. On the Square will be assembled infantrymen, cavalymen, machine-gun operators and artillerists, Red technicians, and artillery and supply experts. There will be among them commanders of platoons and of companies, of squadrons and battalions. And all of them come from families of toil, for whom the November Revolution opened the schools, which train the proletariat to become the dominant class in order to abolish the existence of classes. The whole country is covered with such schools. And on the Theatre Square of Moscow will be assembled only a fraction of the Red commanders who are leaving today from all parts of the country, to defend the front of the revolution.

Each of these schools has a fine legend of its own. To be sure, they have only existed 25-28 months. But we live in the time of the greatest revolution, when the country is rushing ahead like a hurricane, when an hour is equivalent to a year, and a month to a decade. Of course, the time has not yet come to summarize the results of our activity. This will be the work of future generations. We are too close to the picture of social triumph to be able to analyze correctly. But something can and should be said of the importance of the new schools.

At the Fifth Congress of Soviets it was already shown that the Red officers are the most loyal and the most determined soldiers of the Soviet power. This was at the dawn of our revolution. Since then, much blood has been shed, and the Red commanders, as well as the Red students, have earned unfading glory.

The first treacherous attack on the Soviet power—the insurrection of the left Socialists Revolutionists—was repulsed by the Red students. Since then these students took part in numerous great battles. They were the mighty support of the revolution in the struggle against the insurrections of the rich peasants, and against the Russian and world counter-revolution. They stood unflinchingly in front of the capital of the Social Revolution—Red Petrograd. They were the mainstay of the armies at all fronts. The immense importance of the schools for Red commanders is felt at every front of our revolution. The students are the most fearless soldiers, and the commanders became the armor of the revolution against which all the intrigues of our enemies within the Red Army itself went to pieces.

The regenerating power of the Soviet military

\* Educational Director of the Moscow Military School.

schools was revealed with particular force at the hour when it seemed that toiling Russia, at the price of great sacrifices, had won for herself the right to a respite, which she wanted to utilize to heal her wounds. The Red students and the Red commanders were the inspiration of that passionate impulse for toil which began to spread through the country with the force of a whirlwind. With every blow of the hammer they proclaimed to the world:

"We are not soft-handed, we are not professional officers. We took the sword to conquer the right for the hammer and the plough." And the records of the toiling artels of the military schools furnish clear and unmistakable evidence of the future for which Soviet Russia is fighting.

Today all Russia is cheerfully and confidently sending off her best sons to battle and to victory. The workers should immediately, today, enroll in the courses for commanders, in order to fill the vacancies and to prepare valiant commanders for the valiant army.

#### THE MILITARY COMMISSARIAT OF EDUCATION

By V. ROSOVSKY

Today, on June 6, when the Soviet Republic is sending forth into the ranks of the glorious Red Army several thousands of tried proletarian Red officers, hardened in battles and politically developed, who are armed with knowledge of military science, it is but right to give at least a general outline of the work of the General Board of the Military Schools, of the Red "Guvuz",\* or, as it is called by many, not without reason, of the "Military Commissariat of Education."

The "Guvuz" is one of the institutions which retained the old name, but has nothing in common with the old "Guvuz", either in spirit, or in the methods of the work in the courses for commanders.

Constant communion with the Red soldiers and workmen, orientation in political questions, unqualified loyalty to the working class, self-reliance, training not only in military science but also in political and economic problems, and in the organization of production—in short, they are Red officers for defence and toil—such are the distinctive traits of the pupils of the present military schools, of the Red students, who are workmen and peasants.

It need hardly be mentioned that the Communist Party furnishes the greater part of the students. The groups of the Party include, in most of the schools, from eighty to ninety per cent of the student body.

The most remarkable feature is this, that the students not only overcome their lack of education and various vices (drunkenness, gambling, etc.), but accomplish far more than that. They win over to their ideas the (old) commanding staff. Most of the latter have already been at-

\* "Guvuz" is an abbreviation of the preceding full name in Russian, formed from the initials of its parts.

tracted to the educational work of the courses and they form a single friendly family with the students. There are also tens and hundreds of the best commanders, who have already joined the Communist Party. The cooperation of the non-partisan commanding staff with the students during "saturdayings" is convincing evidence of how much has been accomplished in this direction.

#### COMPOSITION of PETROGRAD SOVIET (In the First Half of 1920)

There were registered in all districts, including the representatives of the Petrograd Party Committees (eighteen comrades), altogether 1,924 persons. Of these there are:

|   | <i>Persons</i> |
|---|----------------|
| Communists .....                            | 1,431          |
| Candidates .....                            | 17             |
| Sympathizers .....                          | 55             |
| No Party .....                              | 402            |
| Social Revolutionaries of the Minority..... | 10             |
| Left Maximilists .....                      | 1              |
| Left Social-Revolutionaries .....           | 1              |
| Anarcho-Syndicalists .....                  | 2              |
| Anarchists .....                            | 1              |
| United Labor Party.....                     | 1              |
| Bundists .....                              | 1              |
| Social Democrats .....                      | 2              |

The data concerning the length of membership in the party of the Communist majority may be of interest. To the party have belonged:

| <i>Since the year:</i> | <i>Comrades</i> |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1896 .....             | 1               |
| 1897 .....             | 1               |
| 1900 .....             | 1               |
| 1901 .....             | 3               |
| 1902 .....             | 6               |
| 1903 .....             | 12              |
| 1904 .....             | 7               |
| 1905 .....             | 17              |
| 1906 .....             | 3               |
| 1907 .....             | 3               |
| 1908 .....             | 4               |
| 1909 .....             | 6               |
| 1910 .....             | 2               |
| 1911 .....             | 1               |
| 1912 .....             | 6               |
| 1913 .....             | 2               |
| 1914 .....             | 10              |
| 1915 .....             | 6               |
| 1916 .....             | 1               |
| 1917 .....             | 220             |
| 1918 .....             | 300             |
| 1919 .....             | 480             |
| 1920 .....             | 10              |

The remaining comrades who number over 300, have not reported as to the length of their membership in the party.

The largest number of our party members in the Petrograd Soviet joined the party during the years of revolution, 1917, 1918, 1919, and 1920. This fact is very significant. Our party grew at a period of the utmost difficulty for the party. We were surrounded within and without by class enemies, we had inherited from bourgeois society a completely disorganized economy, a similarly disorganized transport system, hunger, cold and disease. During this period, so difficult for us, the new members joined our party, our revolutionary ranks filled up.

# Wireless and Other News

## APPEAL OF THE RUSSIAN WATER-TRANSPORT WORKERS

(Private telegram to the "Rote Fahne", Berlin.)

STOCKHOLM, August 10.—To the transport workers of all countries, to the International Secretary of Transport Workers' Unions in Amsterdam, to the Secretary of the British Transport Workers' Union, Robert Williams, London.

The All-Russian Union of Water-Transport Workers has received news of the shameful acts of violence which the British Government commits against Russian seamen who enter its territory. The protest of the Seamen's Committee in Cardiff, in the *Daily Herald*, describes the methods employed by the British Government. It treats the Russian seamen as its colonial slaves, in that it takes from them the right of domicile, dooms them to unemployment, and deprives them of their legal rights. And this does not happen in some remote corner of India or the Pacific Ocean, or the Colonies, but under the eyes of the English workers, right on the British Isles.

We understand the hatred of the bourgeoisie for the working class, but we do not understand how the British workers still stand and look on while their class brothers are being treated in this hostile way. All the beautiful speeches about the sympathy for the Russian Revolution and the Soviet system, which your representatives have long ago made, have so far remained idle talk. But the cup of sorrow of the working class is overflowing in all countries. The shamelessness of the bourgeoisie knows no limits, because it meets with no active opposition from you. We appeal to you to take a stand against the shameful treatment of Russian seamen by the English authorities. We hope for the success of your action and are convinced that you will translate into deeds your solidarity with the Russian Water-Transport Workers which you have expressed in words.

## MUNITIONS DELIVERED TO POLAND

Moscow, August 2 (by wireless)—*Pravda* reports that while the official organ of the Czechoslovak Republic declared that all nations wanted to live at peace with Soviet Russia, French arms and munitions were passing through Czechoslovakia to Poland.

## THE RUSSIAN WIRELESS

Moscow, August 2 (by wireless).—In the Moscow district a large wireless station is being erected for communication with America. It will bear the name of Khutorov. Another, smaller wireless station, will be erected for the European wireless service.

## GERMAN ARMS FOR FINLAND AGAINST RUSSIA

Swedish newspapers inform us that the German sailing vessel *Merkur*, has arrived in the harbor of Hango, with a crew made up exclusively of former German officers, and carrying war material of all kinds on board. The cargo was destined for Major von Coler, a former German officer, now in the Finnish army, and Chief of the garrison troops of Hango.

It is peculiar that the guard kept by the Entente Commissions over the rivers and harbors of Germany never discover when war material is loaded on German ships to be sent to the coalition against Russia. Peculiar also is the fact that Mr. Mannerheim had so much freedom of action while on German soil, that he could charter German ships for the transport of war material for his own purposes and could organize on German territory a Finnish military organization composed of former German officers.

## THE POLISH WHITE TERROR

*Socialdemokrats*, the central organ of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Latvia, which did its best in an effort to reach an "understanding with Poland" in their fight against Soviet Russia, in its issue of June 4, 1920, gives the following facts about the Polish terror in White Russia:

"The Polish occupational forces in White Russia, in their willingness to terrify the people of White Russia who began to fight the Polish occupationists in armed insurrections, are not only using the *death penalty against the rebels*, but have made the infliction of the death penalty a *public holiday*. So in Minsk, as stated, every day from seven to ten men are shot. The shooting takes place in the day time. The men condemned to death are driven around the streets before their shooting and the inhabitants are invited to attend the killings, which are held in the suburbs of the city, at the so-called Kararovka (Romanovka?)."

## IN DEFENCE OF SOVIET RUSSIA

At the conference of the shop councils in Stettin, Germany, the following resolution was adopted:

The general meeting of the shop councils expresses its full satisfaction with the resolution passed in Stettin by the dock-workers, not to load any ammunition. This resolution indicates the spirit of solidarity which the workers of all countries must manifest in their attitude towards the proletariat of Russia. The workers of Stettin are following in this instance the good example of the workers of Italy, England, France and Czechoslovakia, who are obstructing shipment of arms and ammunition to be used against Russia. These transports are utilized for counter-revolutionary purposes and will bring new wars or reinforce the reaction in its struggle with the proletariat. These weapons are never used to arm the workingmen, and therefore they must prevent the export of arms and ammunition.—*Naye Arbaiter-Sztyme*, Warsaw, June 28, 1920.

### A BUREAU FOR SCIENCE

STOCKHOLM, August 15 (Rosta, Vienna).—From Moscow the following is reported: A bureau for foreign science and technology is being organized, for the purpose of acquainting Russia with present-day science and technology. The bureau is counting on the support of all workers and communists of all countries in its work. It has in view to organize in all countries scientific-technical missions to be constantly connected with the central management.

### RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

London, August 10.

While the game of the diplomats as to the resumption of economic relations with Soviet Russia still moves to and fro, while the whole world is still disputing the fact that Soviet Russia really has any products at its disposal for the purposes of exchange, English commercial statistics already record a very active trade with Russia. The *Europäische Wirtschaftszeitung* of Zurich, prints some data concerning this trade. According to this journal, the goods imported into England from Russia in May, 1920, are valued at 1,185,305 pounds sterling, while, according to the figures of the Russian-British Chamber of Commerce

there was sent to Soviet Russia British goods to the value of 1,085,158 pounds sterling. The principal products furnished by Russia were: flax, wood, butter, hides. There were exported to Russia manufactured products of all kinds, especially metal goods, cotton goods, and scientific instruments.

The Paris journal *Information* furthermore printed a July 12 message from Stockholm, stating that the Swiss National Bank had received a considerable quantity of Russian gold. As the *Europäische Wirtschaftszeitung* learns, this gold is designated as "Swedish gold". Trade with Russia is already also in full swing. The Canadian Government will probably create a special office for trade with Soviet Russia.

### DEFENSE AGAINST POLAND

1523. May 14, 1920.

In all the provinces the communist committees and trade unions, the troop corps and the whole population are enrolling volunteers for the Polish front *en masse*. The movement embraces all Russia and the most distant provinces of Siberia and Turkestan. The provisioning sections spontaneously reserve special supplies of flour and meat for the west front.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

of

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. THE ACTIVE OFFICIALS OF THE PETROGRAD UNIONS. *An interesting statistical study classifying the officials of the Petrograd Trade Unions by trade, education, party affiliation, etc.*
2. "MOSCOW IN 1920," by Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt. *The first instalment of an interesting series of six articles.*
3. PROFITEERING A HINDRANCE TO ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA, by Professor George Lomonossov.
4. A LETTER FROM RUSSIA, by G. M. Serrati.
5. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.

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## "Moscow in 1920"

*Leaves from a Diary*

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

[Preface: These notes were jotted down on the trip to Moscow, as well as in Moscow and on the return journey to Germany. After a hard work of scientific observation, these notes are merely a hasty discharge of accumulated observations. They were a sort of outline, of illumination, for my larger work; a sort of anecdotic inspiration in a vehement period of new birth. I was to undertake a sketch of gigantic phenomena, and needed diversion, in order not to become tired. These little sketches, although separately published, are nevertheless a portion of my scientific work. They are arabesques for this work, but are nevertheless organically connected with it. Always they have a connection, either latent or visible, with the efforts for the extension of the economic revolution of Soviet Russia. A mountain must be covered with verdure, otherwise its effect will be thwarted and it will appear brusque and sudden.—Neckarsteinach, End of June, 1920.]

### THE SHIP

A SHIP in a revolutionary period is not an ordinary ship. It is not a ship of peace, which one boards without preliminary cares, on which one lives through the day without special disquiet, to enjoy the ocean and the shores and to anticipate the pleasures of the port. It is not easy to go aboard a ship, particularly a ship sailing for the east. For on such a ship there is a supervision of passports, customs inspection, and, if you have not the swiftness of an eel and a *tarnhelm* to make you invisible, you will not succeed in evading all these examinations. Arguses are on guard, whose eager eyes shoot Roentgen rays of inspection on contraband of every kind. A veritable purgatory of siftings is passed through in the presence of these Arguses. For instance, ministers of police, who diligently pass their noses over anyone aiming for Moscow, and will not approve the addition of a visa until some interest of the fatherland appears to be at stake.

At last, we are on the ship; that is, you are sur-

rounded now only by the salt air and by the odors of tar and oil. A ship that sails in periods of revolution is infected with the pestilence: the espionage pestilence, the stool-pigeon pestilence, the disgusted epidemic of sniveling. Thick vapors, odors of mould, swift double-barbed arrow-glances, furtive amblings around your baggage, your cabin. The whole world is infected, but on a ship that sails in revolutionary periods there is pestilence in concentrated form, accumulated malevolence.

And you behold around you all the classifications, all the degrees of mind and fortune, all the groups, reserves, flights, agilities, and stupidities the revolution has revealed. There are new fortunes created out of foreign money speculation, the misery of emigrants in hail storms and on ice-clad decks, pale self-sacrifice for a great hour, and a placid nursing of time worn values.

I was soon in the midst of the babble of the revolution. There was a table at which were seated those who had been washed to sea by Soviet Russia, and who were again washing themselves to

shore, as they expected blessings and quiet from the border states. A former Czarist colonel; with a characterless Tolstoian beard on an egg-like head, and an unheard of appetite for cognac. He gave evidence of a veritable juggler-like skill in arbitrage, and juggled with the exchange quotations as a circus performer does with his balls. Sitting opposite him was a Czarist lieutenant, with his old swiftness in genuflection, his ramrod angularity, his monocularity of the old period. Opposite him, a Russian lady warmed with a sealskin, with long pendants attached to her ears and breast; and then, two border state jobbers, merchandise middlemen, purveyors, of base calibre.

On this table bottles of cognac and red wine were being decimated and completely annihilated. Here you beheld the Baltic fervor against Soviet Russia, inspired by brandy and tempered with the consultation of exchange quotations. While outside the little refugee children were freezing, and dishevelled Jews and homecoming prisoners of war were longing for peaceful barter and the mother's arms, this table was the scene of a boastful misery that was really not misery at all. Wretchedness was drowned in cognac and red wine and thus transformed to joy. Principles vacillated and found support only in the hope of a favorable development of the quotations. You will always find such rabble on the outer margin of purposeful action and incipient energetic cleanliness. You had it around Christ; you had it around the great French Revolution; you had it when the Americans were liberating their slaves; you find it wherever the clean will of man assumes energetic forms.

What a delight to be able to move one's eyes from this mess, from this unclean drunkenness, to the sea and to the distant coasts; what a joy to swing on the waves off Gotland, off Oeland. What a double delight to sail for twelve hours or more through the Finnish skerries, through this wondrous fairy land of polished stone toys, distributed with volcanic playfulness. Studded with Liliputian islands, neat little shelters for boats at their edges. Every possible form presents itself to your view: wreaths with water inside of them, giant turtles, lowering alligators, gay islets still dotted with snow in April. Robinsonian retreats, and between them the zigzag of twisting and surprise-strewn calm, placid water, with the most abrupt changes, and seamews flying above. This marvel lasts until you reach Hango, until the moment when the uncouth giant, the sea-lion, the Finnish pilot, with his catlike moustache, descends from the ship and is rowed off to one of the islands that surround Hango like so many castles. After leaving Hango the path becomes dangerous once more, as it was before entering the miracle of the skerries, for here we still have a great mine frontier. Great fields of mines, whole regions filled with pestilential explosives. Every moment the first officer must be on guard not to foul one of these monsters that will cast us into the air. The war ended in November, 1918, and to this day these vile things lie in wait, covered with blue

water cushions, a veritable association of sulphurous assassination. Why not remove the damned stuff? Who has the right to permit death to remain on guard in this way? In places, a disconnected cap will work itself loose and drift over the sea, lewdly shaking. One of them came within twenty meters of our ship, a dreadfully rusty cap of iron, ready to spew, which our captain shot at in order that it might spew harmlessly; but in vain, the moving pestilence wiggled on. It is harmless if it shakes its head over the quicksilver surface of a sunny sea, for then you can see it even kilometers distant. But, when it comes shaking along during a storm or under the cover of a fog, your ship will be shattered.

Our captain was a careful man. He sailed as it were by pen and slide-rule through the official mine chart and had his ship anchored in the fog. And thus the steamer,—its freight of salt still dry, and all its social classes, heterogeneities, self-sacrifice, vulgarities, longings, stock quotation sharks, and with considerable remains of ham and sausage and other amiable properties—reached Helsingfors. We sailed past the guns of Sveaborg, which were turned toward Soviet Russia, into the calm basin, interrupted by islands and animated with villas and parks, which edge about the modern city, through which electric cars, automobiles, and country-carts are constantly rushing. It is a city that has seen unparalleled terrors, frightful days of extermination, bloody heroisms for the new time, in this land of giant forests and almost vanishing coasts. I was not permitted to enter this city, which has no particular physiognomy in the strip near the harbor—nothing but churches, human caravansaries, customs sheds, shops, and banks. It is a clean city, less clean in its principles than its streets and its skin; for in Finland even the poorest peasant bathes at least once a week.

The trip from Helsingfors to Reval was in blue and moving waters, past a bright red lightship, still bumped by pieces of ice and snow-white foam. Again a narrow path between chains of mines, without any marks to steer by. This wretched business really must stop. The sea must again have its landmarks and be liberated from this pestilence of the ignition-caps. Is there no form of organization that can dispose of this work quickly? It is hard work, dangerous to life. A huge far-reaching pair of scissors is used to cut through the mine chains, and then the creatures are blown up. Many a man has lost his life, many a brain has been shocked, and yet many a mine still threatens, although its destruction has already been announced. For cheating is practiced at this game as in all other games.

No city looks lovelier from the sea than Reval, with islands in front of it, with promenades by the shore, with a handsome port, with towering church spires, visible afar, soaring in the blue. It is handsomer even than white Algiers. The view of the city from the sea is far more attractive than the life in the city. For this city is a grotesque and a slough. The city has wonderful

walls of masonry, cupolas, promenades and buffets. But it is nevertheless a grotesque and a slough.

#### BOUNDARIES

Formerly, before the war, boundaries were already boundaries. Even then there were customs officials, briberies, police spies, and other advantages of the kind. There were nationalistic delimitations, delicate rims surrounding the nations. But there was no such mistrust as there is today. Boundaries still had their pleasures, there was only a cursory ogling this way and that. There were outbursts of joy at the boundaries, loud handshakes, unforced joys at meeting old friends. There was a frictionless, well lubricated intercourse, which went off with the smoothness of the old regime. But today things are different.

Today the boundary is a stimulus to smuggling, much more than it was before. It is a cordon of corruption. It is a wall of distrust and a provocation of nationalistic megalomania, particularly the boundaries of the new small states, the girdle of the so-called self-determination of nations. We here behold an actual birth of madness. A regard which has been already completely undermined and upset by distrust.

You will observe no sign of handshaking, of dignified selfconsciousness, of a new pride of origin, such as is proclaimed by the League of Nations. When your ship moors at the Helsingfors quay, you will see customs officials with rigid eyes and Finnish policemen with English hairdress and London clubs. The port is lifeless and exclusive. As you leave the ship you encounter a humorous Prussianism, which is in no way in accord with this primeval forest, the ice and the world of waters. It is a ludicrous Prussianism, with new postage stamps and flags, with its "own" colors, all displayed on all occasions, but controlled by foreign money. A ludicrous Prussianism with an insane fear of the importation of political epidemics, and possessed of an abject paragraphic\* obedience, which only such money can attenuate.

The Finnish and Esthonian boundaries are dominated by a terror of the influx of political epidemics and exchange values. Attitudes are not assumed *toward* the neighbor nation, but *against* the neighbor nation. When the purchasing power of the Finnish mark is higher than that of the Esthonian mark, Esthonian potatoes may rot in the harbor of Helsingfors, although Finland may be suffering a potato famine. For they will not permit the Esthonian potato to exploit the purchasing power of the Finnish mark. Rather let the Esthonian potatoes rot. This is the self-determination of nations. The country now has a money system which is dictated by a foreign stomach, but it is not permitted to appease its own hunger for potatoes, for the self-determining government is operating with money and not with potatoes.

I never saw so many eyes look so suspiciously

\* What is meant is evidently the slavish respect for the letter (the *paragraph*) of the law, which is characteristic of "Prussianism".

on a single object as when the eyes of Finnish agents inspected our ship at Helsingfors. They were the eyes of an *Okhrana*. In the same ship I later stopped at Helsingfors on the return journey, and there beheld even more *Okhrana* eyes looking at the ship and me. I had been in Soviet Russia and anyone who has been in Soviet Russia is a wandering infection in the eyes of the Finnish political police.

On the Esthonian border, on the seaport of Reval, the gestures are somewhat freer and the longing for money is less concealed. Smuggling passes more easily ashore than at Helsingfors and the fear of political contamination is moderated by the administration of the coin.

First, the states that were erected on the principle of self-determination adopt postage stamps and flags. Then they create an official class which gradually assumes the proportion of an army. They are pension organizations, enormous new opportunities for uniformed collectors of annuities. The little potato republic of Esthonia, which has no possibility of existing alone, has 25,000 officials and at least 20,000 soldiers, while the total population of the country is about 1,250,000. The diligent peasants of a somewhat blond, Mongolian type, are obliged to support 45,000 parasites. The parasites are always bustling about, but they have nothing to do. When I left Reval, on June 9, 1920, there were five or six cabin passengers on board, to x-ray whom not less than twelve officials came aboard.

The official apparatus of Reval was founded by the German-Baltic army and retained or even expanded by the Esthonians. In every street you will find a government office or several such. They pass regulations, but create nothing. Reval is a colony of the English pound sterling. The dominant note is the pound note. It is an awful and grotesque democracy, whose new nationalism consumes, deceives, and develops its own conceit. It shoots down idealists, puts its betters to inconvenience, and founds banks, in association with the pound sterling. Ministers arrive and enter the directors' meetings, and become rich and independent bankers, while the working population becomes poorer and poorer and longs for true independence. Everyone is soliciting or howling or conniving for foreign money, while the common toiler finds it impossible to live. The port is idle, industry going to the dogs. The country is being drawn to the east while the officialdom is leaning to the west. It is a very inorganic form of life, even today. It is as if the umbilical cord had been severed.

You will find all that your heart desires in Reval: lubricious cinemas, magnificent serving-tables covered with delicacies, apples at three Esthonian marks each, girls ready to pounce upon you, gay little theatres, an insane taxation policy, postage stamps with venomous colors, western trust fabrications. Early in June, 1920, the German mark was worth five Esthonian marks, and even I felt impelled to speculate in exchanges, and

bought splendid furs for a song. The thing simply infects you whether you wish or not.

Reval is so to say a window into Soviet Russia. But those looking in see nothing, or when they see anything they see it wrong. It is from here that the fairy tales pass out into the world and do their damage. From here the forging of the news slowly infects the western lands. Those impotent of vision and producing colored news stories are stationed here, where they invent their malicious tales.

Much good might already have been done if stupefaction had not spread from this boundary to the corners of the earth.

Armies have staffs, and staffs are uncommonly important institutions. Particularly, boundary division staffs, with generals at their heads, are today the preservers of the happiness of the world. World happiness means neatly preserved democracy. It is preserved, it is protected with barbed wire, bayonets and paragraphed puppets. At Narva I witnessed a clicking of heels as once in Prussia in its palmy days. I saw half-baked adjutants with a graceful bow not unlike the imperial ball at Berlin, with a rectangular correctness, with jack-knife motions. At last I was again seeing Lieutenants of the old type, lieutenants standing guard, guardians of world happiness. Of course they were not guardians of world happiness at all. Misfortune is lurking all around them and even if bayonets are presented to its skin, it simply makes off for the moment.

Our locomotive passed through the blockade cunning of the Esthonian post near Yamburg, the telephone terrors, to and fro across the barbed wire entanglements. For a few days we were held in check by that terror to preserve the happiness of the world. But then on we went, on and on, although I was driven by a soldier and a bayonet into the German war prisoners' camp at the rushing Narva River, and although two soldiers with bayonets were guarding the official Soviet car. They even presented their bayonets to the member of the English parliament, Thomas Shaw, in other words, even to friends. They even turned their bayonets against the aged Ben Turner, the English textile-worker, who was lying so peacefully on his divan. If they held down their bayonets toward these two, how do you think they held them down toward me, and yet I passed through both ways, quite legally, accompanied by good wishes, by leers of distrust, by denunciations, and by a number of other vulgarities.

Such is the amiable character of a boundary on the east. It is a doleful boundary. But be consoled, ye who cross the boundaries on your own volition, or on the volition of others: ham and hard sausages are put on board at Helsingfors, to make your mouth water, and the pork chops at Narva are democratic enough to tempt you to overeat.

#### *THE RAILROAD JOURNEY TO MOSCOW*

A thousand people have asked me: How should one get to Moscow? To them I can now say: It

is not a simple matter, you will be passed through the sieve, seven times, and even then you will be found wanting. Soviet Russia is at war, there has been war for six years; they have passed through all sorts of experiences. I can say that I saw an international at Moscow that has nothing to do with the Third Internationale, but consists of extremely dubious characters.

The Russian boundaries are veritable tape worms in length. But though you be clad with every manner of legality, you must be tested and found clean. For they have had experiences in Soviet Russia. There have been and still are people in Moscow who are proof against any innovations. All adorned with war decorations in front, and with the eyes of prejudice stuck in their heads, spraying venom with their tongues, they infest the city. There are those who are slicker, and who foment on the quiet. They never even think of being without preconception, of examining with objective eyes. They come to Moscow with the superior attitude of Olympians. Though they look about they behold nothing. Their eyes are dimmed, and dimmed eyes see nothing. The Soviet representation at Reval is perfectly right in sifting its currents of scrutiny to and fro, and he who applies for admission waits at the door for weeks and even months before Chicherin will open it. But once the door is opened, the newcomer is a guest of the Soviet Government and travels unmolested in its courier-car, sleeping, eating, contemplating the scenery from the window, chatting with the other passengers in the car, all the way to Moscow. He is in a Russian car of first or second class, fitted out with Russian railroad comforts.

The locomotive covers about twenty or twenty-five kilometers an hour, not more. There are no longer any express trains in Soviet Russia, and the local traffic locomotives have wood fuel, and are somewhat antiquated and often asthmatic. They are not in a hurry. You at once begin to grasp the serious transportation problem, on the solution of which the economic future of Russia depends.

The road from Yamburg (boundary-station) to Moscow is clean, but run down. The body of the road is no longer sound. This of course goes without saying, and it is the chief trouble of Russia's economic life. Its veins are calcinated and must be rejuvenated. We made up our minds to do everything that can be done from Germany to aid in rejuvenating them: We made up our minds to this before we reached Moscow.

But in Esthonia also the trains do not hurry. It is a twelve hours' ride from Reval to Narva. You progress slowly, very slowly. At Reval I saw a locomotive in full fettle, which was a veritable antique. It had been delivered in 1871 by the Berlin Locomotive Works of Schwartzkopff. It still has the vaulted chimney piece and affects a pleasing embonpoint. It is a puffing little locomotive. It was once, together with all the gunboats, maritime steamers, and the rest of Esthonia's property, the possession of Russia. Today it is self-determined, and like the Esthonian of-

ficial government its self-determination takes the form of an aggressive snort. You might call it a symbolic locomotive, but a confoundedly old one. Even the notion of self-determination is mighty old and mighty rusty.

A quarter of an hour beyond Narva (the great textile works were idle) you passed through the barbed wire frontier. You might almost say that peace is lurking at the boundary and war not yet asleep. The Esthonian and the Red Guards are barely a stone's throw apart. Credentials are gone through and consultations exchanged as at Narva. We are now in Soviet Russia, in Yamburg.

There are still signs of Yudenich here. The little city had been a witch's cauldron of shells and bullets. There is now little life, but there are signs of vehement conflict, broken windows, and the shattered green cupola of the church. Across the rushing river, one section of the town is almost entirely destroyed. I recall the bareness of Belgium and France in 1914; it is a dismal scene, murder coagulate, hollow-eyed desolation. When on my return journey I again passed through Yamburg, I was invited, together with my English companions, to be a guest of the town Soviet at dinner. We ate and sang and I was asked to leave a souvenir. I wrote some poor verses in an album, but my feeling was genuine:

Shells exploded in this town,  
Where the idea was enthroned,  
Broken windows,  
Life dismantled,  
Already blossoms the IDEA  
Through joys and woe,  
Through blood and pain.

The Bolsheviks have much to do at Yamburg: at night Red Guards are doubled (no one is admitted after 1 a. m. unless he gives the pass word). There are many propaganda posters at railroad stations and on the houses. There are red flags, there is a club for boys and girls, a news stand with the illustrated monthly issue of the Third Internationale. The drug-store will sell medicaments only on a doctor's prescription, for Russia has not much in the way of medicaments. Distribution must be closely supervised. My stomach was completely out of order, and I entered the Yamburg drug-store for relief. But I got no relief as I had no doctor's prescription; to be sure they were very pleasant to a member of the German delegation, but gave him no relief for his stomach. This was quite proper, for nothing can be done if order is neglected (as we say in Germany).

I forgot to speak of the red flag at the boundary. Attached to its birch-sapling it flutters, already quite pink, among the huge shell holes. It has been waving there since the conclusion of peace with Esthonia.\* Its red is not a savage or a bloody red, a fierce red, but a gentle red, a red

\* Peace between Soviet Russia and Esthonia was concluded on February 2, 1920. The full text of the treaty will be found in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. II, No. 10 (April 17, 1920).

of the lamb (if there were such a red). But the flag at Yamburg is a more striking red, it hangs out on the Soviet office and is quite handsome on the railroad building. And the red of the Soviet posters is also more aggressive. Preparations are being made for May First. Red draperies are being removed from a train that has just arrived from Petrograd, colored cloths for meetings, for draping the speakers' stands. The significance of the First of May is already being proclaimed from the walls, the significance of this day for labor, for the First of May means something else here than in capitalistic countries. In capitalistic countries the proletariat demonstrates its Socialism by refraining from work, in socialistic Russia it works more intensively. Every effort is made to emphasize the difference in the two systems.

At all railroad stations there are armed Red Guards and often consignments of troops, but very few freight consignments; again you think of the transportation problem, and the war that cripples the arteries. Great piles of wood at all stations: preparations for winter. The hardships of the last period of snow have taught much. Fuel for the locomotives, a modicum for the factories, a modicum for domestic uses, must be on hand.

It is April, but already the winter crop is coming up. Long, thin, narrow fields, awakening my memories. Forests, forests, forests. Churches, churches, churches. Onion cupolas, silver as childhood's joy, ancient green, pale red, golden (bright gold, old gold, gold in every shade). There is still much praying done in Russia. I shall say more of this later. Millions still go on pilgrimages, millions still kneel, millions still long for heaven.

One forest after the other, with but narrow paths between them, worked only with the *sokha*. The *sokha*, (Russian *coxa*), the primitive thorn plow, is the cardinal sin of Russian agriculture. This *sokha* is guided by God himself. There are regions in Russia that are inhabited by peasants still living in pristine innocence, for whom the *sokha* is already a step on the road of sin; for God does everything: He created man, he fed him; why interfere with his handiwork? (see Tolstoy).

One forest after the other. Immense possibilities of exploitation. Even here, in this region not favored by nature. Many villa colonies, also factory towns, delightful country seats, little houses with filigree trimmings, brown idylls in logs, enveloped in the budding green bushes of early Spring; some villages like a flattened form of Swiss settlement. But the *sokha* must give way—the *sokha* must give way. We reached Gatchina, forty-five versts from Petrograd: not unlike Potsdam. A balcony on the great Dowager Palace is draped with red flags: a speaker's tribune for the First of May. Gatchina was as far as Yudenich got. Petrograd then became a regular fortress, a bridge for sorties, for the world advance from the fort of the proletariat organized for struggle. Men and women seized arms. Petrograd wrestled with aggression and depulsion and was threatened only in its rear by a little counter-revolutionary group

of officers.\* Even important Soviet leaders took up the rifle, and Mazin and others fell. Women fought like Germanic Valkyries, Yudenich had to withdraw. His effort has already become a legend. I heard a number of narrations of this period and all those who spoke were proud of their work.

### PETROGRAD!

We arrived at the Baltic railroad station. A shower is coming down. Our car is pushed about for hours until it finally gets to Nikolai Station. We go to sleep in the car, between an armored car and a propaganda train in somewhat extravagant colors with the inscription: "Bring the book to the people." Millions of books are thus transported through Soviet Russia and distributed everywhere. Propaganda speakers, artists and specialists of all sorts travel through the country in placarded trains and play, speak, dance and sing for Communism. The most famous propaganda train is the Lenin Train, adorned with the astutely smiling diplomat's countenance, the peasant head with the privy councillor's face, the genial revolutionary hotspur, Ilyich (he is thus affectionately called) on its walls.

I enter the city with the head of the delegation. In spite of all the glowing descriptions, I am nevertheless surprised, for here there is no desolation, no stagnation, there is no fallow land; there is live life. Electric cars full of passengers, although not overcrowded, circulating about the Nikolai Station, I see the first rushing Soviet automobiles, shooting along at an alarming speed, a speed to raise your hair on end. A military speed, a campaign speed, a speed for providing the munitions, a speed to replace men at the front.

My first impression: It is a city of proletarians. The worker rules, the worker dominates the streets, the life of the city. We enter the Nevsky Prospect, the principal business and pleasure street of the old empire. Many shops are boarded up, many shops are still open and doing business, but it is clear at first sight that they are selling out superfluous things, gewgaws, perfumes, expensive writing paper, photographs, pictures; 400 Soviet rubles for a small bottle of perfume, 500 Soviet rubles for a small silver mesh purse. I later grasped the money problem and was no longer surprised.

Nevsky Prospect is very lively about noon, there are no hitches in traffic. At street corners cigarettes and pastries are being sold, and these places are respectfully avoided by foot traffic. Everywhere you still see the old signboards of former pastry-shops, tailors, etc. As a financial writer I am interested particularly in the bank buildings.

\* The staff of the Seventh Army was engaged in counter-revolutionary activities at this time and was ready to hand over the city to Yudenich. Fortunately the plots were discovered in time, (see article entitled "The Accomplices of Paul Dukes," in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. II, No. 23, page 560) and due punishment was meted out to the traitors. The English not only supported Yudenich, but also were generally responsible for this counter-revolutionary attempt from within.—Editor, SOVIET RUSSIA.

In my day I produced many a criticism of Petrograd stock speculation, contributed to German commercial papers. Now the building of the Petrograd International Commercial Bank, the chief financial institution of Russia, is hollow-eyed. Look behind the window panes and you will find nothing. Russian banks have ceased to be banks, there is only one clearing house still in use, at Moscow, the *National Bank*, it is really only a bank of issue, with distributing branches all over the country.

Preparations for the First of May: These are particularly active at Petrograd. Red everywhere. Troops marching along the Prospect, and here and there groups led by armed women. The groups include also bourgeois people, some of them calm, downcast, poorly shod; others, on the other hand, cheerful. There is no trace of terror, devastations, of the type featured in capitalistic propaganda, no ravages of disease, no persons falling dead in the street. The street has been deprived of its splendor, but it is a clean street; it has lost its wood trimmings, but it is clean. It is thoroughly swept; carriages move about; automobiles dash about; pedestrians walk unmolested. Everywhere in Russia I heard sung the praises of Zinoviev, the rations-dictator, the organizer of Petrograd. But I can only speak of what I saw; I shall say no more and no less than that.

The railroad journey from Petrograd to Moscow takes twenty-three hours; you still have cars of several classes, but the classification of humans according to their railroad purses has disappeared. You pay the same fare for all classes. They tell you that people travel only on regular traveling passes (this is made necessary by the desire to ration out the poor resources in transportation). But as a matter of fact people travel in other ways too; many travel as stowaways; to be sure punishment is threatened, but punishment does not appear to deter. A juristic adherent of deterrent punishment, of the school of Liszt, would find little grist for his mill; life insists on living and on traveling, and communications operate in spite of all threats. And even the threats do not bite as badly as they bark. Decrees in Russia are often propaganda decrees and not decrees of law. At any rate people do travel by the railroads, bargain, visit friends in other cars, and buy milk at the stations at the rate of 125 rubles for 1-4 litre, get hot water from the station supply, have a good time, perspire, and are distracted with care, sing, and hope, and everything goes on in the train itself. For the Russian railroad car is a moving dwelling, including everything, even the W. C.

Our progress is slow, but at least it is progress.

If Eichendorff has permeated you with his romantic lyricisms, if you have longings for forest arches, for white birch-trunks appearing between pines, for dancing trains between forests, and summer houses by the brown roadside, then take the railroad from Petrograd to Moscow; it is a beautiful journey, a fragrant journey, a journey in the spring. These wayside forests, these moun-

tains and fields, have all the poetry of the German forest. It is a simple sort of journey. There are cities with their onion-domed churches, groups of summer homes, and then again nothing but forests. There is no country in the world that has so many forests as Russia (it is an interesting problem from the standpoint of concessions and foreign trade).

Moscow does not extend its arms so greedily into the surrounding country as Petrograd does; Petrograd is surrounded with the bald industrial suburbs of a great city. Moscow is surrounded by green idylls.

We arrived at Moscow on May first at noon, under a bright sky. On the day of the proletarian festival, the Red day, the day of world jubilation.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THE lack of news direct from Moscow and even of wireless transmitted via London makes it impossible for the moment to judge the real situation on the Polish front. The messages which appear in the American press from Warsaw and Constantinople are of the familiar sort which tell us that the Poles and Wrangel are winning "victory" after "victory" over the "beaten" Soviet armies. We have read such messages before, and know what they are worth. In the same vein is the Associated Press correspondence from Riga which would have you believe that a "victorious Poland" is about to dictate terms to a "defeated" Soviet Russia. This is far from the truth.

The Russian Soviet delegation, it is said, will insist that Poland must disarm, with the exception of a small defensive force, since Poland will be at peace with the world upon the conclusion of an armistice with Moscow. The Soviet Government, however, cannot undertake disarmament while it is still faced with other enemies.

The strategical position of the Soviet Republic permits its delegates at Riga to be as firm and decisive as they were during the former negotiations with the Poles. The appearance of the Allied navy before Riga will neither frighten them nor alter the terms which they are offering to the defeated enemy, to the same enemy who only several months ago declared "no peace until the Soviet regime is wiped out of Russia."

Diplomacy is strong only when it is properly supported by strategy; the latter is powerful only when it commands the necessary military strength and when it is able to bring all its forces to the battlefield. Tactics cannot expect from strategy anything more than that.

Russian strategists know that only a complete victory in the south can end the war. They know well that the Polish army has already been weakened to such an extent that it will be unable in the future to repeat its offensive performance of early in 1920. Having lost the initiative forever, the Poles do not now present any danger to Russian strategy, which successfully supported its tactics on the western front according to the best principles of the economy of forces. These principles consisting in throwing all one's forces at a given time on one point, in using there all one's troops, and, to this purpose keeping them always in close com-

munication. This principle has governed the action of the Russian Revolutionary Field Staff. Wrangel's bands were allowed to advance while the Russian army was busy crushing the Polish invasion. Once this end was accomplished and the beaten enemy was driven to the gates of Warsaw, the Red Army turned all its forces against Wrangel.

The Soviet General Staff knows well how to accept a loss when advisable and how to sacrifice a province. The Red Army is now directed with all its forces against Wrangel and will spare no effort for his destruction. When that is completed it will turn its attention to other adversaries. Therefore the Russian military leaders can look calmly on the tactical activities of the Poles on the western front, which is designed merely with the hope of securing more favorable terms at the peace table.

Turning to the East, we find that the situation there has become exceedingly unfavorable to the Japanese occupation. In addition to purely economic difficulties, the Japanese contingents are meeting hard treatment at the hands of the hostile population which acts in full harmony with the numerous partisan bands spread throughout the vast country. Experienced in guerrilla warfare and having nothing to lose and all to gain, the Russians are constantly making the most surprising and troublesome attacks upon the Japanese troops, reducing them to a state of real terror.

I was always of the opinion that Japan alone, or even in company with her western Allies, would never be able to hold the invaded part of Siberia for long and that, even without a real war with Russia, she would be compelled to withdraw from the occupied area.

According to *The Christian Science Monitor* of September 22 which is often well informed in these matters, "The Japanese Government has decided to withdraw all troops from Siberia." "This step," it is said, "is being taken partly for political, and partly for financial reasons. The Japanese people are strongly opposed to further military adventures, on account of the heavy burden of expense attached to them, especially to the military occupation of Eastern Siberia, and the Allied opposition to continued Japanese occupation has undoubtedly led, it is stated, to the present decision."

Explaining the Japanese invasion of Siberia as a step for the protection of the commercial interests of Japan, and in general for cooperation with the United States against Bolshevism, the Japanese Government now "categorically denies" that it "desires to set up a buffer state in Eastern Siberia, with a view to final annexation." Suddenly Japan has lost her interest in fighting Bolshevism and assures the world that she had no purpose in Siberia except to protect Japanese commerce. If it is true that the Japanese are quitting East Siberia, which is still doubtful, it is an open confession by Japanese statesmen that they have taken a burden beyond their strength.

The Japanese are practical people and they know well that, after the liquidation of her enemies in the west and in the south, Soviet Russia will not hesitate to deal with the eastern invader.

In China also, as well as in Korea, the situation is gloomy for Japan and prominent Japanese diplomats are already declaring that the annexation of Korea has proved to be a great mistake and that the Japanese Government is even considering the adoption of some form of autonomous self-government for the Koreans. If, then, the Japanese have come to this conclusion from their experience in Korea, what must they expect in Siberia?

## The Humanity of Lord Curzon

By KARL RADEK

FOR two years on end the British bourgeois press attacked Soviet Russia as a country in which the primitive barbarism of the mouzhik, united with the hatred of a Socialist fanatic, found expression in a kind of Satanic orgy, to which the flower of Russian society was daily falling a victim. There was no invention concerning the "Soviet Inferno" which the Northcliffe press did not put before its readers. And when the British ministers made pronouncements on the Russian question, they spoke of the Soviet Government like pirates of the pen, hired by Lord Northcliffe.

The masses of the people of Great Britain, as in other countries, did not believe the fables of the capitalist press, despite the fact that it had recourse to the evidence of the pseudo-Socialists in the Menshevik and Social-Revolutionary camp. To these masses, even without a detailed knowledge of the situation in Russia, it was clear that, if the capitalist press of Europe itself described plots against the Bolsheviks, and told of the civil war organized with British funds by Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich, it was thereby supplying the best possible justification for the Red Terror, as the Soviet Government's method of self-defence. But now the public opinion of Europe, from which the capitalist press is attempting to conceal the fact that capital punishment has been abolished, is about to have the possibility of comparing in practice the behavior of the Whites and the Reds in their hour of victory.

Lord George Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston addressed a radio telegram to our Government, in which, on the day before our occupation of Archangel, he asked for mercy for the White leaders, and declared that the British Government, being responsible for the Archangel adventure, would be happy to learn that the Soviet Government would take into consideration its request, inspired by a sentiment of humanity. Reading this radio, one involuntarily recalls the couplet which, forty years ago, was written in Curzon's honor by one of his university colleagues:

"My name is George Nathaniel Curzon:  
I am a most superior person."

We bow reverently before the humanitarian feelings of Lord Curzon; and our Government replied immediately that the personal safety of the White Guards who lay down their arms will be guaranteed. We only regret that Lord Curzon had no opportunity of expressing his feelings at the time when Archangel, in the summer of 1918, was seized by a British Expeditionary Corps.\*

Before us lies a photograph found by our troops in Omega amongst the papers of the British staff, and reproduced in No. 5 of the "*Communist Internationale*".\*\* It represents the execution of a Russian Communist on a British naval vessel by British, French and Russian officers. British officers are watching the scene with great interest. How unfortunate that Lord Curzon has not seen this photograph! How unfortunate that Lord Curzon has not seen a photograph of the execution of Shaumian, the glorious leader of the Baku proletariat, with twenty-nine of his comrades—shot near Krasnovodsk, not in battle, but captured in a boat, by the order of the British Command, after the Bolshevik withdrawal from Baku!\*\*\*

How unfortunate that Lord Curzon has not seen photographs of the public execution at Budapest, on a square, in the presence of the Allied Command and the Allied mission! With sarcastic curiosity these representatives of the civilized world watched the death on a gibbet of Korvin,

\* To judge by reports in the British press, an amusing "Blue Book" has been issued by Mr. Churchill, Secretary for War, in explanation of the Archangel adventure. We shall print further comment on this publication as soon as we have received a copy.

\*\* This photograph was reproduced in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. I, No. 25 (November 22, 1919). In our note printed under the photograph, we erroneously stated that the execution had taken place on Lake Omega; as a matter of fact it must have taken place near the town of Omega, on the White Sea.

\*\*\* An account of the Baku executions will be found in SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. I, No. 9 (August 9, 1919), in the form of a Soviet Government radio message.



one of the best representatives of Hungarian Communism. How unfortunate that Lord Curzon, despite his traditional connection with Indian affairs, has heard nothing about the ferocious massacre, a few months ago, of a peaceful meeting of Hindus at Amritsar by the British General Dyer! And how unfortunate that we cannot let him have pictures of the White Terror in Dublin and the other towns of Ireland!

But now that we are aware of the humanitarian sentiments of the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, we hope to see eye to eye with him on the following agreement: A defeated foe who has laid down his arms must not be the object of revenge.

And as, in contradiction to the English proverb that charity begins at home, it will be easier for Lord Curzon to defend the principles of humanity outside the borders of the British Empire, we anticipate that at least he will assist the Soviet Government in its attempts to save the Hungarian Communists from Horthy. It is too much to expect more, as even an expert in humanitarianism is at present very embarrassed in the civilized countries themselves, in view of the international collapse of morality.

*The London "Communist", of August 26, 1920, from which we copy the above translation, has the following pregnant addition to make, by way of comment:*

"To the instances which Comrade Radek cited in this article, five months ago, there now have to be added: 1, the treacherous abuse of those same "humane sentiments" by Baron Wrangel, who used the armistice they procured him to prepare a new offensive with British assistance; 2, the infamous conduct of the Polish landowners, the proteges of the Allied Powers, in Kiev, Borissov, Disna, etc.; 3, the imprisonment in and deportation from Batum of Russian Trade Union leaders by the British forces in occupation there. The article will then be quite up to date."

**COMPOSITION OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET**

*By Trades*

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Mathematicians .....            | 1   |
| 2. Teachers .....                  | 22  |
| 3. Doctors .....                   | 13  |
| 4. Male Nurses .....               | 22  |
| 5. Female Nurses .....             | 6   |
| 6. Journalists .....               | 11  |
| 7. Lawyers .....                   | 5   |
| 8. Musicians .....                 | 8   |
| 9. Students .....                  | 11  |
| 10. Managers .....                 | 3   |
| 11. Statisticians .....            | 1   |
| 12. Bookkeepers .....              | 29  |
| 13. Telegraphers .....             | 20  |
| 14. Telephone Operators .....      | 4   |
| 15. Electricians .....             | 30  |
| 16. Stenographers and Typists..... | 3   |
| 17. Draughtsmen .....              | 12  |
| 18. Accountants .....              | 17  |
| 19. Agents .....                   | 5   |
| 20. Economists .....               | 1   |
| 21. Office Employes .....          | 118 |
| 22. Printers .....                 | 16  |
| 23. Liberal Arts .....             | 16  |
| 24. Typesetters .....              | 34  |
| 25. Tabulators .....               | 2   |
| 26. Mechanicians .....             | 39  |
| 27. Metal Workers .....            | 18  |

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| 28. Watchmakers and Goldsmiths....           | 7     |
| 29. Photographers .....                      | 3     |
| 30. Comptrollers .....                       | 2     |
| 31. Engineers and Firemen.....               | 38    |
| 32. Chauffeurs .....                         | 14    |
| 33. Railroad Conductors .....                | 2     |
| 34. Locksmiths .....                         | 240   |
| 35. Lathe-Workers .....                      | 59    |
| 36. Water Supply Workers.....                | 9     |
| 37. Textile Workers .....                    | 5     |
| 38. Fraisers .....                           | 6     |
| 39. Lumbermen .....                          | 7     |
| 40. Carpenters .....                         | 5     |
| 41. Blacksmiths .....                        | 24    |
| 42. Moulders .....                           | 12    |
| 43. Spinners .....                           | 7     |
| 44. Scavengers .....                         | 10    |
| 45. Copper Piston Workers.....               | 10    |
| 46. Folders .....                            | 8     |
| 47. Decorators .....                         | 10    |
| 48. Drillers .....                           | 2     |
| 49. Vulcanizers .....                        | 1     |
| 50. Weavers .....                            | 10    |
| 51. Street Car Conductors.....               | 6     |
| 52. Paper Box Workers.....                   | 10    |
| 53. Modelers .....                           | 5     |
| 54. Leather Workers .....                    | 23    |
| 55. Stock Clerks .....                       | 4     |
| 56. Shoemakers .....                         | 22    |
| 57. Rubber Shoe Makers (Women).....          | 5     |
| 58. Tobacco Workers .....                    | 3     |
| 59. Divers .....                             | 2     |
| 60. Carriage Makers .....                    | 3     |
| 61. Barbers .....                            | 9     |
| 62. Gardeners .....                          | 14    |
| 63. Clerks .....                             | 45    |
| 64. Glaziers .....                           | 4     |
| 65. Parquet Floor Workers.....               | 3     |
| 66. Joiners .....                            | 46    |
| 67. Roofers .....                            | 5     |
| 68. Painters .....                           | 22    |
| 69. Fire Department Workers.....             | 3     |
| 70. Tailors and Tailoresses.....             | 104   |
| 71. Millers .....                            | 2     |
| 72. Cooks .....                              | 28    |
| 73. Chimney Sweeps and Stove Installers..... | 8     |
| 74. Waiters .....                            | 8     |
| 75. Servants and Messengers.....             | 14    |
| 76. Truckmen .....                           | 5     |
| 77. Washerwomen .....                        | 4     |
| 78. Coachmen .....                           | 3     |
| 79. Postillions .....                        | 4     |
| 80. Sailors .....                            | 5     |
| 81. Butchers .....                           | 1     |
| 82. Bakers .....                             | 24    |
| 83. Housewives .....                         | 6     |
| 84. Masons .....                             | 13    |
| 85. Manual Laborers .....                    | 240   |
| 86. Peasants .....                           | 55    |
| 87. Porters .....                            | 15    |
| 88. Miscellaneous .....                      | 166   |
| Total .....                                  | 1,924 |

The degree of education of the members of the Petrograd Soviet:

|                                       |                |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
|                                       | <i>Persons</i> |
| With University Education.....        | 95             |
| With Secondary School Education.....  | 393            |
| With Elementary School Education..... | 1,250          |
| With Home Education .....             | 140            |
| Miscellaneous .....                   | 46             |

# Documents

## *A Note from the Soviet Representative in Austria to the Austrian Government*

VIENNA, August 20.—According to advices received by the Herzog Correspondence, the plenipotentiary of the Russian Soviet Mission in Vienna, Dr. Bronski-Warszawski, sent a note to the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Renner, on the tenth of this month, the substance of which follows:

On July 23, I requested the Austrian Government to permit me to get in touch with my government by means of the wireless telegraph. In response to this request, I was verbally notified that the Austrian Government would take the matter up with the Entente Mission. On the fourth of this month, Dr. Renner explained the Copenhagen agreement to the Entente representative, and stated that he saw no point which was at variance with the peace pact of St. Germain, "and even if there were such a point of variance, still the terms of the peace pact would have to be followed out, as a matter of course."

As was to be expected, this explanation was received as a revision of the Copenhagen agreement.

From the text of the official and semi-official reports, it is to be seen that the question at issue deals in the main with two points of the Copenhagen agreement, to wit, the second and third paragraphs, which refer firstly to the unrestricted use of the telegraph station, and secondly to the obligation of the Austrian state to absolutely forbid the shipping of all weapons, munitions, or other war-materials, as well as the use of Austrian railroads for foreign armies to aid the states at war with Soviet Russia.

According to an official report given out on the twenty-seventh of July, the Copenhagen agreement "was ratified by the assembled governing body, and indorsed by the representatives of all parliamentary parties."

The Copenhagen agreement was therefore entered into by a political body to which the peace pact of St. Germain was well-known, and with the assumption that it could not be at variance with the pact previously concluded.

Paragraph 143 of the St. Germain treaty forbade the Austrian Government, for a period of three months after the treaty went into effect, the use of the Vienna wireless stations for the purpose of conveying messages dealing with questions of the army, the navy, or politics.

It is difficult to understand into which of these three categories the question of war-prisoners can be fitted. It can readily be seen that this is undeniably a matter of mercy, which, however, has nothing to do with either the navy, the army, or with politics.

For that matter, it was foreseen in the above-mentioned paragraphs that the telegraph stations could be used for the purpose of transmitting com-

mercial telegrams. However, we all understand that charitable undertakings take precedence of commercial matters. If, therefore, the telegraph stations are now to be taken over for use on questions of war prisoners, the repatriation of the prisoners is made a political question, and by the very Entente powers which have made peace with German-Austria.

The acceptance, on the part of the Austrian Government, of the principle of the Entente mission in Vienna, that the repatriation of war prisoners is a political question, means an immediate relinquishing of the attitude hitherto held by the Austrian Government.

The Russian Soviet Republic has no cause to create any difficulties for the Austrian nation or the Austrian Government, either from within or without the country.

The result of this attitude on the part of the Austrian Government will be a strong dissatisfaction, on the part of the Austrian war prisoners with the Soviet Government, and will throw the entire responsibility for the unnecessary sufferings of thousands of Austrian families, upon the Soviet Government.

I entreat you, Secretary of State, to bring the true state of affairs before the Austrian public, in order to spare my government and the Russian nation from these unjust reproaches on the part of the families of the Austrian war prisoners.

The strict neutrality of German-Austria, concerning which Dr. Renner explained to the representatives of the Entente, is also guaranteed in Paragraph 3 of the Copenhagen Agreement, and was objected to by the representatives of the Entente, and that on the ground that such neutrality is contrary to the St. Germain Agreement. It is said that the Secretary of State, Dr. Renner, made the statement that he is ready to recognize the result of the negotiations of the Entente Powers with Germany in a similar transaction.

Thus the Austrian Government abandons the third paragraph of the Copenhagen Treaty, for it declines to take part in the defence of an agreement to which it affixed its signature. It abandons the defence of a pact which it made with Russia, to a third power.

I must affirm that the Austrian Government has adopted an attitude which must be looked at as harmful to the interests of the Russian Soviet Republic, and which is absolutely contrary to the spirit of the Copenhagen Treaty.

As the representative of the Russian Soviet Republic, it is my duty to demand that the Austrian Government live up, fully and entirely, to the terms of the Copenhagen Treaty, which it voluntarily entered into.

### PEACE WITH LITHUANIA

On July 12 a peace treaty was signed between Soviet Russia and Lithuania. According to this treaty Russia has recognized without reservation the sovereignty and independence of the state of Lithuania. The boundary between the latter and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic begins from the place of juncture of the Gorodyanka river with the Bobr river, passes to the south of Grodno between the stations Kuznitsa and Sokolka, further, somewhat to the south of Lida, then continues between Smorgon and Vileyka, the latter being left with Russia while Oshmiany is left with Lithuania, and ends between Kreslatka and Pri-drusk on the Western Dvina. The treaty contains decisions enjoining both contracting parties from permitting on their territories the formation or existence of organizations having as their aim an armed struggle against the other party, the recruiting for the armies of such organizations and the transportation through the territory of either party of materials that could be used against the other party. Both parties relinquish all accounts which might result from the fact of Lithuania's former subjection to the former Russian empire. The state of Lithuania takes over the title to all treasury claims on properties within the confines of the Lithuanian state.

As regards deposits with credit institutions, etc., Lithuanian citizens have the same rights as had been recognized as applying to Russian citizens. The property of the Lithuanian citizens, evacuated during the world war, is returned, in so far as it actually is under control of the Russian Government. But this point does not apply to sums, deposits, and valuables that had been held in the credit institutions in the territory of Lithuania. Part of the rolling stock and railroad as well as telegraph and telephone appurtenances, evacuated at the time of war are restored to Lithuania in quantities corresponding to the local needs. In view of the fact that Lithuania has been almost completely devastated during the world war, she is granted the right of timber-cutting in the nearest localities on an area of 100,000 dessiatins for a period of twenty years, according to the plans of the Russian forestry and receives 3,000,000 rubles in gold. Negotiations regarding a trade and transit agreement should begin as soon as possible. As a basis for the trade agreement there is laid down the principle of the most favored nation. Diplomatic and consul relations are to be established immediately after the ratification.

In a special declaration, the Lithuanian delegation, taking into consideration the fact of the war between Russia and Poland, had declared that the crossing by the Russian troops of the Lithuanian border and the occupation by them of parts of territories, which, according to the present treaty constitute a part of the territory of Lithuania shall not be considered as a breach of the agreement and an inimical act with regard to Lithuania, provided that after the military and strategical ne-

cessity has passed Russian troops will be evacuated from the territories in question.

### GREETINGS FROM THE MOSCOW SOVIETS TO THE ENGLISH PROLETARIAT

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—The following report reached us from Moscow, August 31: After listening to the report given by Milyutin, who recently returned from England, of conditions in that country, the Moscow Soviets resolved to send their greetings to the English proletariat, on their proletarian solidarity with Soviet Russia, and their stand against the imperialistic English Government. In that message, they point out that, despite the fact that the Polish White Guards are being assisted by the French and English governments, they are being hard-pressed by the Red armies, and that the Russian workers, although they have no idea of seizing Poland or taking away her independence, have the desire and the power to defend themselves against any and all onslaughts on the part of imperialistic nations. The Moscow Soviet noted with especial satisfaction the formation of an English Committee of Action, and the resolution to stop English intervention through the general strike.

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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**A**N INCIDENT of the French imperialist conspiracy against Soviet Russia, little noted in the American press, has been the recently disclosed treaty under which Hungary, the political puppet of the French militarists, has been completely subjected to the control of Paris capitalists. Some time ago, English liberal and labor papers reported the conclusion of an aggressive alliance between France and the Hungarian White terrorists. The inspired Paris *Matin* on September 2 confessed the whole plot. The Hungarian Government had been induced to agree that France, in return for considerations not clearly stated, should assume control of the Hungarian railways and the navigation of the Danube, and should take over the principal Hungarian industries, the chief Hungarian bank and the Port of Budapest. The final term of this extraordinary conquest placed at the disposal of the French General Staff "all the military forces of Hungary which France and the Allies might, in case of need, use against the Red Army of the Soviets." According to the *Matin*, the signing of this treaty was significantly accompanied by reconciliation between Hungary and her enemy, Rumania. *Le Temps*, on the same date, attempted to evade the facts by declaring that "the acquisition of these various interests did not form the subject of an agreement signed by a representative of the French Government." It did not, however, deny the nature and extent of the concessions, which, by whatever machinery they were contrived, amounted to a complete abdication of Hungarian sovereignty.

The threat of this arrangement to the peace of South-Eastern Europe, where it so obviously endangered the security and ambitions of several petty nationalisms, was answered by the appearance of the so-called "Little Entente", fostered by Czecho-Slovakia to the undisguised annoyance of the French imperialists. The purpose of the "Little Entente" is to secure an agreement between Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Rumania, partly to maintain the neutrality of this group, threatened by the plans of the Allied imperialists in their support of the Polish war, and partly to protect themselves against the aggressions of a

militaristic Franco-Hungarian alliance. All this is but a small part of the sinister transactions developing in Europe under the fine phrase of "peace making" politicians. At the bottom of it all, of course, lies the insatiable hostility towards Soviet Russia, of world capitalism which contrives anything and stops at no risks of human sacrifice in its plans for the overthrow of the workers' republic.

Mr. Robert Dell, an English journalist well-informed in French politics and policies, has recently declared that to attain its desperate ends, "the French Government is prepared to risk another European war, although that would mean the final ruin of the whole continent of Europe, including France itself." Of the Franco-Hungarian conspiracy, Mr. Dell says:

"Should France call upon Hungary to attack Russia, the inevitable result would be a general war in Central Europe. For the Hungarian army would have to cross Czecho-Slovakian territory, and that the Czecho-Slovakian Government would not tolerate. Indeed, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia have already made a defensive alliance against Hungary, which has not given great pleasure in Paris. The Quai d'Orsay is now making desperate efforts to prevent Rumania from entering that alliance and to reconcile her with Hungary. But the Rumanian Government has discovered that France has secretly promised to Hungary that part of Banat transferred to Rumania by the Treaty of Trianon, although the fact was denied by the *Temps* on September 2. That France must have given some consideration for the extraordinary concessions of the Hungarian Government is, however, evident."

Such are the perils into which the capitalist rulers of Europe have dragged their subjects. Against this threat of endless wars stands only the Red Army of Soviet Russia and the growing power and determination of the European workers.

\* \* \*

**T**HE British Government's treatment of accredited representatives of Soviet Russia, whimsical as it appears on the surface, is not without a certain pattern of useful purpose. Mr. Litvinov, "persona non grata" in England, was convenient and suitable for prolonged negotiations at Copenhagen. Accordingly, Mr. O'Grady, ably assisted by the ubiquitous Mr. Nathan, was dispatched thither to negotiate at length and at leisure, while the British Foreign Office warned away all possible competitors with gruesome tales of the unethical and undiplomatic character of Mr. Litvinov. Mr. Nuorteva, hospitably received in Canada, was forwarded thence to England and graciously admitted, only subsequently to be discovered an unwelcome guest who must be suddenly transported to Russia to head a special bureau in the Soviet Government for the promotion of foreign trade. Mr. Kamenev, convenient scapegoat, is sacrificed to the exigencies of the Anglo-French-Polish situation. Mr. Krassin, absolved of Mr. Kamenev's alleged guilt, is allowed to remain—and continue his purchases of British goods. According to a note in a trade paper, Mr. Krassin is "inquiring for khaki yards from 2-10c to 2-40s

for Russian overcoatings and suitings." He has already purchased heavy woolen cloth for civilian use to the amount of one million pounds sterling. Twenty-five per cent of this purchase price, in "Russian gold," was handed over when the goods were delivered at the port of London. Among the purchases made recently by the Russian delegation in London were 36,000 yards of khaki flannel manufactured for American uniforms. The reactionary British press does not fail to twit the Government with the fact that the departure of Mr. Kamenev does not prevent his colleague from doing "business as usual." "Notwithstanding this adverse comment," however, says a recent dispatch to the *New York Tribune*, "Mr. Krassin is completing arrangements for the delivery of much food stuffs to him in England." The *Tribune's* correspondent notes with apparent surprise that "the Russian buying organization is so well arranged that Russians associated with Krassin are even negotiating for the purchase of between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000 cigarettes, manufactured and owned by Britishers and stored at Reval, Esthonia, where they were in transit to Russia when the revolution removed Russia as one of the Allies." The correspondent apparently was under the delusion that Russians do not smoke under the Bolshevik regime. (We are informed by a traveler recently returned from Moscow that the official ration is twenty-five cigarettes a day.) Mr. Lloyd George, however, is under no misapprehensions. He knows that even Bolsheviks smoke cigarettes and wear clothes, and are prepared to buy both,—which is why Mr. Krassin remains in London.

**SIR PHILIP GIBBS** won distinction as a war correspondent with a fine sense of what could and could not be told about the war. His dispatches from France, though realistically flavored with mud and blood of the trenches, were yet always prudently restrained within the bounds of propriety set by the censor. After the armistice he won further fame by the publication of a volume entitled "Now It Can Be Told", which was a monument to his own discretion and journalistic economy. In this book he revealed some, but not all, of the sordid facts of the intrigue and blundering, selfishness and chicane, which lay unrevealed behind his previous tales of heroism and sacrifice.

With the same prudence which characterized his war correspondence, Sir Philip now reports upon the state of society in Europe. He has heard the cry of Anatole France that European capitalism is dying. He does not believe it, but he admits that "Europe is very sick." In a special cable to the *New York Times* he reports everywhere a "sense of impending ruin and dreadful anxiety." In some regions ruin is not impending, but "present and engulfing." Austria, for one, "stricken, helpless, hopeless," existing on charity, "sapped of all vitality." Germany in somewhat better state, but far from well; "people over here who imagine that she will soon be rich and strong and trucu-

lent again are deluded by false evidence." Poland is "typhus stricken and starving in her cities, ravaged by the tidal waves of war." France he depicts in the words of Frenchmen who say:

"Our million dead will never come to life again. Our debts will never be paid. Our industries are decaying for the lack of coal, which England sells us at outrageous cost and Germany does not deliver as she was pledged. Our best brains were plugged by German bullets and England won the peace which we lost . . . France, victorious, is dying."

"In Italy," continues Sir Philip, "there is no great comfort for the soul of Europe." They stagger under debt; their paper money is worthless; unemployment grows; strikes for higher wages are "ceaseless and futile." What then of England, so envied by her continental allies? Less hurt by the war than most of the other countries, concedes the journalist, but still, "it is enough to glance at the headlines of today's paper, or to have a little chat with any discharged and unemployed soldier to repudiate the gains of England in the war." England has "vast imperial tendencies" which can only be maintained by "our old prestige and some new wisdom, if we can find it." Meanwhile, in imperial England, too, "crippling taxation of moderate incomes, high prices . . . paper money worth little more than half its face value, lessening production and the black shadow creeping nearer of widespread unemployment because the markets of Europe are not buying or paying at English prices."

This is the account of a journalist distinguished for his fine sense of what can and cannot be told. Sir Philip's picture of the misery and sickness of Europe is as true as were his vivid sketches of the filth and pain of war—and as far from being the whole truth. He pretends to find a simple cause for all this sickness in the "failure of idealism" and calls vainly for new ideals, new leaders, but confesses that "just now we do not see them coming." The truth which he does not report, the truth which he conceals, was in that cry of Anatole France which he heard but did not believe, "Capitalist Europe is dying." But this is the truth which the prudent Sir Philip thinks cannot yet be told.

**BETWEEN** the intervals of his physical exercise in Holland, the late Emperor of Germany is said to be writing a serious book on "Bolshevism", for which he is said to be going through numerous issues of German newspapers. Not less sharp in their condemnations of the Soviet system, and therefore just as exploitable for Wilhelm's purpose as the German newspapers, are a considerable number of American journals. We recommend that the former Emperor do not limit his sources to German papers, but go carefully through at least some of the American sheets that are most hostile to Soviet Russia. He will not be disappointed.

**STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU**

New York, September 16, 1920.

Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Soviet Government, today issued the following statement:

"In spite of the impression apparently held by some persons, the Soviet Government has never made political recognition a condition precedent to the establishment of trade relations. It has come to the attention of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in Moscow that certain high officials of the American Government are under the misapprehension that the Soviet Government has demanded full political recognition before it will enter into commercial relations with any foreign country. This is not the case, and in a cable just received from the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, George Chicherin, I am instructed to correct any false impression which may exist in this regard.

"The Soviet Government is ready and willing to enter into commercial relations with any country, without waiting for the formalities of diplomatic recognition. Mr. Chicherin, in his cable requesting me to make this point clear, says:

"The only thing the Russian Government demands are *de facto* relations, without which it is obvious that trade relations are impossible. Resumption of *de facto* relations are inseparable from the resumption of trade relations."

"In other words, all that the Soviet Government asks is the resumption of the ordinary facilities for travel and exchange of goods, with means for the transfer of funds in payment for purchases, and communication by post and cable. International trade, of course, is impossible without these facilities; but they may be arranged without waiting for diplomatic recognition."

**A SIGNIFICANT ORDER BY TROTSKY**

Moscow, June 30, 1920. No. 230.

The issue No. 13 of the *Voyennoye Dielo* contained an article "The First Militant Steps of Marshal Pilsudski," which was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of gross chauvinism. It is sufficient to mention that the article speaks of "the inherent jesuitism of the Poles" as opposed to the honest and candid spirit of the Great Russians. There is no need of proving how much such crude and false generalizations contradict the spirit of brotherhood which permeates the attitude of the Russian working class to the toiling masses of Poland. The article "The First Militant Steps of Marshal Pilsudski" shows the complete inability of the present editorial staff of the *Voyennoye Dielo* to act in this responsible position.

Therefore, in order to prevent the possible further spread of the chauvinist poison by the military-scientific journal of the workmens' and peasants' Red Army, I hereby order that:

1. The publication of the *Voyennoye Dielo* shall be suspended until the composition of the editorial staff will be radically changed.

2. Steps shall be taken to ascertain what persons were directly responsible for the publication of the above mentioned article, in order to remove them once for all from any further connection with the work aiming at the education and enlightenment of the Red Army.

Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic,

L. TROTSKY.

(Pravda, July 1, 1920).

**RUSSO-POLISH PEACE NEGOTIATIONS**

Moscow, August 28, 1920.—On August 27 the Russian Government sent a radio to the Polish Government, emphasizing that the Dombiski journey to Poland signifies a new delay coming once more from the Polish side. All facilities for communication with Warsaw were given to the Polish delegation. In Minsk they were allowed to bring their own wireless apparatus, and five hours daily were designated for their own wireless communication with Warsaw. Those dispatches which they gave to the Russian Government for Warsaw were wirelessly there at the first opportunity. Unfortunately these facilities were made use of by the Poles for constant delays and conflicts. The Warsaw wireless station constantly refuses to answer Moscow and its work is so bad that it is hardly perceptible. In Minsk the Polish delegation continuously raised conflicts demanding uninterrupted wireless work with Warsaw. It was obviously impossible at a time of war for its adversary to pick up Russian military wireless dispatches. Nevertheless the Poles attempted to impose their demands by violence and to enter the wireless station by force. In general the Polish delegation tried continuously to create various conflicts and to delay the negotiations. The Russian Government has come to the conclusion that its decision to elect for the negotiations a town situated en route to Poland like Minsk, a decision dictated by the desire for peace, has unfortunately been the source of Polish attempts to protract the negotiations and to prevent peace. Answering faithfully to its peace desire the Russian Government is now of the opinion that negotiations will best be carried on in a neutral land, and proposes to Poland to transfer them to Esthonia.

This wireless message was sent to Warsaw yesterday and the Russian Government hopes to receive soon the desired answer.

**WRANGEL'S HINTERLAND**

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from Rosta, Vienna).—The following report reached us from Moscow, September 1, 1920: According to a wireless dispatch received here from Sebastopol, there has been a fearful increase in the price of necessities in the Crimea. English and French speculations have made Wrangel's currency almost valueless. As a result of the lack of foodstuffs, typhoid is raging throughout the country.

## The Active Officials of the Petrograd Unions

BY ORDER of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Trades Unions Council, the Sub-section for Labor Statistics undertook, in September, 1919, the registration of the active officials of the unions. The object of the registration was on the one hand, the drawing-up of lists of all these officials, and on the other hand, the determining of their numerical relations. According to the orders of the Executive Committee, the following were to be regarded as "active officials": 1, the members of the main committees of the union organizations; 2, all the employes cooptated by the collegiums of the unions, in so far as they performed responsible work in the union centers, and 3, the entire membership of the factory committees.

In the first place, the workers of the central and district collegiums—altogether 564 persons—were registered. This number can be regarded as complete. Only those members of the union collegiums were not included who, because of their activity in the Soviet or in other central organizations, were prevented from taking part in the immediate work of the unions, so that the union collegiums thought it proper not to include them in the list of their active officials.

By trade unions groups the above mentioned 564 members can be divided as follows:

| Union Groups                                 | Number of active officials | Number of members to every 1 official |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1* Unions of the Manufacturing Industry..... | 222                        | 579                                   |
| 2 Unions of Transport Workers.....           | 69                         | 985                                   |
| 3 Unions of the Exploiting Industries.....   | 23                         | 1,628                                 |
| 4 Unions of the Manual Workers.....          | 114                        | 421                                   |
| 5 Unions of the Intellectual Workers.....    | 136                        | 578                                   |

The relatively smallest number of active officials falls to the group of the exploiting industries, but the greatest number to the union of manual labor, in which there are not more than 421 members to every active official. The relative number of union members to each active official in the unions belonging to the manufacturing industries and to the intellectual workers may be considered as normal, as these two unions are the best organized and the most active.

Among the registered officials, the elected officials formed the largest percentage group, that is 90.7 per cent; the next group was the one formed by the cooptated officials, 4.8 per cent; the next

\* To the first group belong the unions of the metal workers, wood workers, textile workers, needle industry workers, paper workers, glass and porcelain workers, food-stuff workers, tobacco workers, leather workers, chemical workers, printers, construction workers; to the second group: the unions of railroad workers, workers on water transport, automobile and truck workers; to the third group: the unions of fishermen, forestry workers, agricultural workers; to the fourth group: the unions of hairdressers, public hygiene (washerwomen and bath employes), domestic servants, firemen, militia, municipal employes, public provision; to the fifth group: the unions of financial employes, business apprentices and employes of the Soviet institutions, apothecaries, sanitation, culture and education, postal and telegraph employes and artists.

that appointed by the Communist Party, 0.6 per cent; and employes working for wages, 3.9 per cent.

But what are the callings and trades of the active officials?

The majority of them are factory workers (39.8 per cent) or persons who perform intellectual work (37.5 per cent). Members of both these groups are to be found not only in their own unions, but also in the unions of the other groups.

Distribution of active officials according to trades (in per cent)

| Groups            | Manufacturing Industry | Transportation | Exploiting Industry | Manual Labor | Intellectual Work | All other |
|-------------------|------------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 1 .....           | 79.7                   | 0.5            | ..                  | ..           | 19.8              | ..        |
| 2 .....           | 20.9                   | 49.2           | ..                  | ..           | 29.9              | ..        |
| 3 .....           | 17.4                   | ..             | 30.5                | 4.3          | 43.5              | 4.3       |
| 4 .....           | 20.1                   | 5.5            | 0.9                 | 53.4         | 18.3              | 1.8       |
| 5 .....           | 9.4                    | ..             | 0.8                 | 2.3          | 84.4              | 3.1       |
| In all groups.... | 39.8                   | 7.7            | 1.8                 | 11.9         | 37.5              | 1.3       |

The metal workers, of course, form the largest percentage group (15.6 per cent). In the first group they number 22.8 per cent, in the second, 13.4 per cent, in the third, 8.7 per cent, in the fourth, 12.8 per cent, and even in the fifth they have 9.4 per cent.

The number of women among the active officials is even now very small. It amounts to not more than 15 per cent. Their number is largest in the first union group where they form 20 per cent of the total; in the second group they amount only to 4 per cent; in the third group, 9 per cent, and in the fourth 14 per cent; in the fifth 11 per cent. The number of women is smaller in the unions of intellectual work than it is in the unions of the manufacturing industries and even in the unions of manual labor.

The average age of the active officials is 34.1 years; but if the men alone are counted, the average age amounts to 35.3 years. This number is practically the same for all trade union groups.

With the exception of two persons, all responsible officials know how to read and write. An investigation of the degree of education which they possess, gives us the following table:

Active Officials (in per cent)

| Groups            | With an elementary school education | Attended Secondary Schools | Graduated from secondary schools | Attended Universities | Graduated from Universities |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 .....           | 83.6                                | 10.8                       | 7.2                              | 5.6                   | 4.1                         |
| 2 .....           | 76.1                                | 14.3                       | 4.8                              | 9.5                   | 7.9                         |
| 3 .....           | 57.1                                | ..                         | ..                               | 42.9                  | 38.1                        |
| 4 .....           | 90.7                                | 9.3                        | 2.8                              | ..                    | ..                          |
| 5 .....           | 37.5                                | 34.4                       | 22.7                             | 28.1                  | 21.8                        |
| In all groups.... | 71.6                                | 16.4                       | 9.5                              | 12.0                  | 9.5                         |

The fourth group, that of manual workers, is the most backward as far as education is concerned, and, as was to be expected, the fifth group is the most advanced. The officials of the transport workers' union are more advanced as regards education than the workers of the production unions.

Among the active officials 21.5 per cent, that is more than one-fifth possess a secondary school education, while one-tenth possess a university education. If we exclude the unions of intellectual workers, in which the participation of persons with a university education is a matter of course, the remaining four union groups will show 5 per cent of active officials with a university education, and 11 per cent with a complete secondary school education. We see, therefore, that educated persons are taking an important part in a field of labor where we should least expect to find them, that is, among the regular officials of the trade unions.

According to the date of their entry into the unions, the active members may be classified as follows (in per cent):

| Groups             | Before 1905 | Before March, 1917 | March to November, 1917 | November, 1917, to October, 1918 | After October, 1918 |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1                  | 4.5         | 26.8               | 49.0                    | 14.6                             | 5.6                 |
| 2                  | ..          | 27.1               | 49.2                    | 22.2                             | 1.6                 |
| 3                  | ..          | 9.1                | 40.9                    | 27.3                             | 22.7                |
| 4                  | ..          | 14.7               | 56.9                    | 10.3                             | 9.2                 |
| 5                  | ..          | 10.9               | 62.5                    | 7.8                              | 18.8                |
| In all groups..... | 1.7         | 19.6               | 53.7                    | 15.4                             | 9.6                 |

Therefore, only one-fifth of the active officials belonged to the unions before the revolution, while four-fifths joined the unions only after March, 1917. The functionaries of the first group are the oldest members. Among them, we find the patriarchs of the Russian trades unions: 4.5 per cent of them were members of the unions before the year 1905. Second comes the group of the transport workers unions; 27 per cent of the members of this union entered the union before the March revolution. The unions of the exploiting industries and the intellectual workers show the smallest percentage of members whose membership dates back before the days of the March revolution.

Aside from activity in the unions, participation in the workers' movement, in the period before the revolution, might be indicated by affiliation with one or other of the Socialist parties. The following table shows the relation of the number of active officials to the number of members of the political workers' parties (in per cent):

| Groups              | Total number of active officials who belonged to political parties | Date of admission to the party |                                  |                      |
|---------------------|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
|                     |  | Before the Revolution          | Between March and November, 1917 | After November, 1917 |
| 1                   | 63.3   | 13.8                           | 9.7                              | 38.3                 |
| 2                   | 65.1   | 19.1                           | 6.3                              | 36.5                 |
| 3                   | 34.8   | 4.3                            | 4.3                              | 26.2                 |
| 4                   | 51.3   | 6.4                            | 6.4                              | 38.5                 |
| 5                   | 53.9   | 9.4                            | 11.7                             | 32.0                 |
| In all groups ..... | 57.5   | 11.4                           | 8.9                              | 36.0                 |

Therefore, at present, only a little more than half of all the active trade union officials belong to one or the other party. The majority of them are, of course, Communists (55.9 per cent). Most of these, (36 per cent) only joined the party after the November revolution. The old party members whose membership dates back to the time before the revolution make up only 11.4 per cent. Moreover, this percentage is in reality large, as many of those of no party probably were at one time affiliated with some party.

Let us now consider the distribution of the active officials, from the standpoint of the work accomplished by them, and according to the degree of their experience.

Of the registered officials 75 per cent are members of the union collegiums. 15.4 per cent belonged to the union collegiums for over a year, 84.6 per cent have belonged less than a year. The average duration of their activity as members of the union collegiums is 6.6 months. The rapid change in the membership of the collegiums is explained by the fact that those officials who gain a certain amount of experience are called away from the unions and are sent to the front or are utilized in various departments of the government.

According to the kind of work which the active officials are performing at present in the unions, they can be classified as follows:

| Kind of work                                 | Total percentage | Have been at work |                  | Average duration of uninterrupted work |
|--|------------------|-------------------|------------------|--|
|  |                  | More than 1 year  | Less than 1 year |  |
| Organization Work .....                      | 34.7             | 14.7              | 85.3             | 7.7                                    |
| Elaboration and Regulation of Wages .....    | 9.4              | 9.8               | 90.2             | 4.3                                    |
| Arbitration of Labor Disputes .....          | 8.1              | 4.4               | 95.6             | 3.2                                    |
| Dissemination of Culture and Education ..... | 7.6              | 2.4               | 97.6             | 3.6                                    |
| Distribution of Labor .....                  | 0.9              | ..                | 100.0            | 5.0                                    |
| Other Work .....                             | 14.0             | 1.3               | 98.7             | 3.8                                    |

All the active officials by no means work directly in the unions themselves, but only 343 persons, that is 64.4 per cent. The remaining officials are either only members of the union collegiums or they work, by order of the unions, in government or public organizations.

The greatest attention is given to the organization work in the unions. Apparently the smallest number of officials is called from this department of work for other purposes, as the average duration of the activity is more extended in this department than in the other groups. Next in importance, comes the work of elaborating and regulating wages.

It very often happens that several tasks are allotted to one official. On the average, every official holds from 1 to 2 positions in the union.

The frequent change of responsible officials can hardly be said to exercise a very beneficial effect on the life of the trade unions, all the more, since officials entering upon their duties are usually inexperienced. 49.6 per cent of the registered officials began their work without any experience



whatsoever in the field of union work. Among the experienced officials, only 8.1 worked before the revolution, but their experience is very important as every one of them had, on the average, 29.6 months of pre-revolutionary activity.

As the majority of active officials possess little or no experience, they have to learn in the course of their work. But there is no lack of diversified and important work. Besides their work in the unions and in the party, 47 per cent hold various posts in the government. Often they hold several positions at the same time. The average duration of such work is 13.4 months.

The degree of experience of the active officials is not the same in all the unions. The members of the unions of the manufactories, the transport workers, and the intellectual workers have the most experience. In this respect, the unions of manual work and the exploiting industries are considerably less advanced.

The average number of months of work of every active official:

| Groups              | Work in the Unions | Work in the Party | Work in the Government |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1 .....             | 17.9               | 8.1               | 5.4                    |
| 2 .....             | 13.9               | 3.6               | 4.3                    |
| 3 .....             | 7.7                | 1.0               | 14.6                   |
| 4 .....             | 7.4                | 1.5               | 3.6                    |
| 5 .....             | 13.1               | 3.7               | 6.9                    |
| In all groups ..... | 13.7               | 4.8               | 5.8                    |

**OUT OF A JOB**

The Petrograd *Pravda* of July 2, on receiving, the news that the Russian emigrés had decided to found a "new and final government" under the Presidency of Savinkov, ridicules the many short-lived White Guard Government formations: Yudenich, Tchaikovsky, Kolchak, Semionov, Dutov, Kornilov, Kaledin, Denikin, Wrangel, etc., and quotes a humorous contribution to the Riga newspaper *Sevodnia*, which itself ridicules this mania, even though it is a White Guard sheet. The text of this feuilleton is as follows:

*His Excellency's Diary*

March 21. Some Government has been formed somewhere. Sent an inquiry today to find whether there is need of an experienced minister:

"Distance is no objection. Ready to assume position for good wages, good title, and spacious office."

Answer:

"No need of ministers. But if you will sign a contract with us for effecting removals, we request that you communicate conditions."

Dirty dogs! Think they can understand the psychology of a man applying for a ministerial position.

April 22. Received an urgent communication, announcing formation of a Wrangel Government but I do not know whether it is in the Crimea or in Archangel. But it does not matter, so long as there are railroad cars.

Telegraphed as follows: "Minister out of a job, former real estate councillor, applies for ministerial post or other suitable occupation. Dis-

tance is no objection. Ready to undertake service in exchange for free board and lodging. Point of the compass not important. Prefer such as are not Communistic."

Answer received immediately: "Come. Cabinet not yet existing. Subjects also not yet existing. Available: Typewriting machine, capital city constructed, and two staff captains. 2,000 a month, warm food and boots as a present every Christmas."

May 17. Met a man on the street today, one of our people, a Russian. Appeared to be a very serious man. Asked him whether he did not wish to found a new Government on the Caspian Sea.

"Yes, I should not mind. If I had a hundred francs,"—I gave him a hundred francs. He gave me his word of honor that within two months he would have formed some kind of a government if not on the Caspian Sea, then on the Black Sea.

You could hardly expect me to quarrel with him about the name of the sea! Then I gave him fifty francs more, so that he would go away at once.

May 18. Miserable wretch! Met him again today. Was drunk and wanted 100 francs more. Said he had fallen in love and did not know what to do—whether to marry or to enter into diplomatic relations with Mexican diplomacy. Rascal! How many hundred franc notes have I not wasted in this way!

I think it will come off this time! I have been called, actually called. I got the following telegram today: "Your Excellency indispensable. Government being formed instantly for purpose of traveling in Russia. Three days stop at various places. Salaries paid after each fall of Cabinet. Advance salary by week. If you know any people out of work, bring them with you. There is required: a minister for postal affairs, and for common as well as wireless telegraphy. Also a minister for public education, who is acquainted with sign painting, and also knows some tailoring. Will have to earn his own living. Monarchistic government is planned, but if unsuccessful Socialistic not unacceptable. Answer requested by telegraph. Return charges paid."

I shall leave at once for a specialist cannot afford to remain out of work very long.

**THE FOOD SITUATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA**

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—The following report reached us from Moscow on August 31: The arrival of food-stuffs from Siberia is increasing month by month. In May, Siberia delivered 800,000 poods of wheat, in the month of June, 1,300,000 poods, and in the first part of July, 4,400,000 poods. Half of this quantity comes from the district of Omsk. The territory of Cheliabinsk produced nearly half of the quota delivered by the district of Omsk. During the summer months, Siberia was the chief corn producer for European Russia.

## Letter from Russia

By G. M. SERRATI

ONE cannot learn to know a great city like this in four days, not even as a "tourist", in normal times, with every facility at one's disposal. Let us not even pretend to know and interpret its spirit, to perceive its intimate sensations, to appreciate its virtues, or criticize its vices or errors; especially if one does not know the language perfectly, and is unable, therefore, to grasp a situation as expressed in the words of the people, in their exclamations, their songs and even in the graphic manifestations along the roads or in the public places . . . manifestations very eloquent in their naiveté.

The journalist who passes and judges, who makes literature and proves a theory, is not a chronicler, still less a historian. The only eager readers of Barzini\* are those who are ignorant of what he writes and of the facts. He who knows laughs at him and sees in his prose only an object of mockery. There is not a soldier from the trenches who holds in the least esteem this narrator or the journal which opens its columns to him.

Only the ignorant, or fools, travel through a country in revolution with pencil and notebook and pretend to pass judgment upon it. To arrogate to one's self the right to point out errors and indicate the road which the army of citizens sans culottes should take in order to gain time and hasten their epic, is ridiculous. I do not investigate, nor examine, neither judge nor criticize; I feel. In the past a long history of centuries of prostration, of humility, of slavery and tyranny, of violence and absolute, irresponsible personal power. Every street, every square and palace, recalls the living memory of a time when one commanded and one hundred and twenty millions obeyed. In the present, a people who, ten, twenty, a hundred times a day sing the glory of the Internationale of Labor with a quasi-mystic fervor of social renewal. Where people fell stricken by tyranny, behold, the debut of the renaissance inspired by the communist spirit. This is a great thing.

Grass has grown between the paving stones of several streets in Petrograd. The city which at one time had two million inhabitants has today not more than 700,000 or 800,000, perhaps. I have seen Paris when the German Bertha hurled its projectiles against the French capital. In a few days the joyous city became funereal. In those terrible days there were no crowds except at the railroad stations, and in the trains which bore away the terrified inhabitants. The P.-L.-M. was taken by assault. To fly to Marseilles, to the Cote d'Azur, was to flee death and seek life. Now, after six years of war, when three armies have menaced its gates, when it has experienced two revolutions, and has had only yesterday to deprive

its factories of those able-bodied men who remained at home, and of women and young people, to throw\*\* them, armed rather with heroism than with rifles, into the battlefields of Gatchina and Tsarskoe-Selo before the white armies of Yudenich,—Petrograd cannot give any thought to its own toilette. There is grass in its streets . . . there has been blood also. It cannot be otherwise in a revolution.

Yesterday, when my comrade and I visited the Putilov factories, and they asked a number of trifling questions of the engineer and the workers who accompanied us, I kept back. The questions seemed to me simply superfluous. In the immense factory—one of the three or four largest in the world, although it is not very well organized—from forty to fifty thousand workers were employed before the war. Today there are only a few thousand—mostly children, women and old people. The rest are soldiers at the front. Communists first. Scarcely has one entered the factory before he receives the impression of almost absolute cessation of life in this colossal body. Only a few puffs of thin smoke rise from an occasional chimney. A few blows of a solitary hammer resound through a hundred shops, the grinding of wood is scarcely heard from a few fraise machines. A few workers, mostly women and children, gaze at us with wild, curious eyes. The great, powerful pestle hammers are silent; the cranes with their immense nervous arms of steel are motionless; high furnaces are extinguished; the great rolling-mills, which can seize the red-hot iron in their steel claws and force it to bend in their powerful grasp, are in disuse and rusted. The many sounds of clanging steel, the roar of the foundries, the rolling of the pestle hammer, in the midst of millions of sparks and the ardent fires of a thousand flames, have yielded to a silence as of the grave—and the cawing crows pursue one another from iron truss to iron truss—and sometimes one hears the song of a bird, a veritable defiance.

In the back of the shop they are still repairing railway carriages; farther on four great locomotive boilers are only waiting for coal to be finished; another shop has already several cannon to be transported to the Polish front; they can still be manufactured here, the special steel necessary being abundant; but they are best manufactured at the place to which the manufacture of war material was transferred at the time it was feared Petrograd might be taken.

Other factories, one for cotton hydrophil, gauze, bandages, and other articles for sanitation, the other for caoutchouc, are working almost maximum. The central electric station is operating

\*\* In the text is the word, "cacciari" . . . to push, chase, impel—which does not correspond to the context or the general thought.

\* Correspondent of the *Corriere della Sera*.

satisfactorily. But all the furnaces use wood fuel, so that the work is not very rapid, and industrial activity is reduced. On the other hand, the departure for the front of almost all the best workers, the great suffering due to insufficient food supplies, have deprived the remaining working masses of the zeal for work which they might have had, and which would not in any case be very great among people with the characteristics of the peoples of the Orient. Our Southerners, in comparison with the philosophic apathy of this Russian population—calm, serene, apathetic, slow even amidst the thousand tortures of the war, the revolution, and the blockade—appear to me today to be a most active and energetic people.

This native indolence of the Russians partly explains the grave difficulties which our Bolshevik comrades must encounter in the industrial reorganization of the communist society, and makes necessary the supremely grandiloquent proclamations of the governors. They employ the grand manner to overcome such apathy. I have seen posted in the factories a placard depicting an enormous, extremely repugnant louse, and beside this terrible parasite, Death, with his usual attribute, a scythe. Among us the ordinary proclamation of the mayor is sufficient to advise the population that they must take necessary hygienic measures to prevent the spread of disease epidemics. Here they need enormous signs, grand speeches, bold expressions. It is only thus that one can overcome the tendencies which naturally impel the Russian to the contemplative life.

The war, the revolution, and the suffering arising from them have doubtless accentuated this Mussulman spirit of the Russian people. In a country where the day is sufficient unto itself, and where the situation changes, or may change, so easily, where uncertainty prevails, it is very natural that the inhabitants should not give special thought to the morrow and that the gravest pre-occupation should be that of satisfying the most urgent and immediate needs.

This only emphasizes the merit of the work which is being accomplished by our comrades who—very few in number as compared with the great magnitude of the work—are working actively for reconstruction.

Together with Comrade Zorine, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Petrograd, which has about 35,000 adherents, we visited the rest homes for men and women workers who needed pure air, good food, and complete rest. These houses, built on a verdant island in the middle of the Neva, in the most delightful section of Petrograd, and which were formerly resorts for the pleasures or debauches of the Petersburg bourgeoisie and aristocrats, were, at Zorine's suggestion, rapidly transformed into health homes for the workers. They are magnificent villas in the midst of the verdure, with ample terraces, large stained-glass windows, and enormous bays, tastefully decorated; some of them are furnished with real artistic sense, others in the worst bourgeois taste.

In the entrance of one of them we saw a collection of eight magnificent Flanders tapestries, old gifts of Napoleon to some Russian Duke or Prince; their price is placed at eight million francs. I pass over in silence the furniture of incalculable value.

In these villas, amidst the most dazzling luxury, men and women, two and three in a room, who have hitherto lived like beasts of burden in the murderous factories, take their rest. They come here in turns—upon designation by the organization committees—and spend about a month in complete repose. They scrupulously respect the property, now become collective. Whatever the localities visited, everywhere was the greatest cleanliness, order and tranquility. Each in his room, or in the common rooms, and wearing their plain working clothes, men and women live serenely in these halls, on these divans, amidst the splendor of the pictures, the mirrors, the objects of art and luxury, as if they had lived there all their lives.

I asked an old woman tobacco worker who has been employed in the factory for more than forty years: "How did you get used to such a life?" "Eh! Comrade, when one is well off, one gets used to it quickly!"

For them Communism is somewhat like the first taste of revenge. Formerly the masters were there. It is just that the workers should be there today. This easy turn-about in the infantile spirit of the working masses was, moreover, easily affected, as soon as the communists overthrew the old regime. The villas are there, the proprietors fled; it is not at all difficult to organize in these pleasure resorts—formerly the dwelling-places of pleasure-seekers, some of them the *nouveaux riches* of the war—communal life. In the last analysis it is a question only of consumption. The consummate is easy. It is true that the former inhabitants no longer produce. But—now that the revolution has abolished the masters, that is, those who could make others work for their own well-being—will the Russian working class be able to find within itself, in its energy and its own virtue, the power to produce, with the incentive of its own collective interests, as much as it produced formerly for the benefit of its exploiters?

That is the very grave problem. In the letters which are to follow we shall examine the program by which the Russian Communists are seeking the solution.

From *Bulletin Communiste* — Paris — No. 25—  
August 19, 1920.

### *Soviet Russia*

will shortly publish an interesting article on the railroad situation in Russia, compiled from authentic sources. The article will be accompanied by maps showing railroad lines planned and built under the Soviet Government.

Original from

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## Treason in the Centro-Soyuz

By MESHCHERYAKOV in *Pravda*, April 30.

**T**HE arrest of the cooperators at Moscow seems to continue to arouse great sympathy among bourgeois circles in Europe. These convinced counter-revolutionaries are represented in many newspapers as innocent victims. It will therefore not be out of place to reprint here an article published in *Pravda* on April 30 by MESHCHERYAKOV, under the title: "The White Guard Conspirators." The old Russian cooperators often insisted on emphasizing their political neutrality, while they were in reality carrying on a secret counter-revolutionary policy.

The well-known Russian historian Professor N. Pokrovsky recently published in *Pravda* a number of documents which show clearly that in Moscow, in the house of the well-known woman conspirator Kuskova, meetings were held of representatives of the "National Center", the "League for the Rebirth of Russia", and other White Guard organizations. These meetings were also attended by the former chairman of the Centro-Soyuz, Korabov.

It was already a well-known fact that the Siberian cooperators gave very active assistance first to the Czecho-Slovaks, and later to Kolchak. At Moscow it had also become clear that a similar relation existed between the cooperators in southern Russia and Denikin. Now the editor of *Pravda* has received the cooperative periodical "Bulletins for the Cooperatives of Southern Russia" dated November 10, 1919, in which the White Guard cooperatives expose themselves. In this paper there are a number of interesting documents emanating from various southern Russian organizations, and addressed to "His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Russian Forces"—for this is Denikin's title among the White Guard cooperatives. These generally express their pleasure on the occasion of the successful advances of Denikin's army into the interior of Russia, and enthusiastically greet its "liberation from the Bolsheviki", as they put it. Thus, for example, the Provisional Committee for the Russian Southern Cooperatives, in its report to Denikin, writes the following: "Wherever the cooperative organizations have been active in the territory now occupied by the Volunteer Army (Denikin's army was so called), they gladly, honestly, and without delay entered into close communication with this army." This report was handed to Denikin by a delegation at whose head was a "well-known Menshevik", the lawyer Nikitin.

In another similar "address", the delegate of the Workers' Cooperatives, the former Assistant Minister Gvozdyov (in Kerenky's Cabinet) and Arayev, enumerate even more definitely the services they had performed for Denikin. They asseverate that "many of those persecuted by the Soviet power" (they mean the White Guardists) find a

refuge and a livelihood in the cooperative organizations. At the time of the advance of the Volunteer Army, many officers who had until then worked in this movement, in addition many court functionaries had considered the cooperatives as the only possible sphere of activity for them. The "neutral" cooperatives were thus perfect dens of White Guardist refugees.

The South Russian cooperators, through their "Provisional Committee", openly declared to Denikin that they wished to aid him in his counter-revolutionary work; they stated that it would be necessary for the cooperatives to begin taking part in the legal consultative and in the consultative organs within the administrative institutions. The conference of the cooperators at Kharkov declared in its resolution that "cooperation cannot stand aloof from questions touching the work of the state, and cannot avoid attaching itself to the struggle against the anti-state movement of Bolshevism."

In the commissions and other organs of the "Government", the old cooperators carried on the so-called policy of "free trade and free industry." Particularly characteristic is the instruction quoted in a Rosta radiogram, from the cooperators that had departed to foreign countries, to the head of the Petrograd section of the Centro-Soyuz Krokmal, which instruction dates from the period before Yudenich's offensive against Petrograd. The instruction admonishes him to apply all available means, and also all means he can obtain by selling goods held by the cooperatives in the purchase of goods to be sent to foreign countries to the cooperators who had gone thither without regard to price for "the gain or loss is to be calculated later." Krokmal is asked to purchase everything that is available for sale; flax, hemp, lumber, even books. His departed friends, it seems, had heard that it was possible to purchase the works of the Russian classic authors at rather low prices—they had been issued by the Bolsheviki—and the demand for such works, it was said, was great in foreign countries.

The "instruction" therefore constitutes an open admonition to plunder and to impoverish Russia in order to aid Yudenich.

Such was the economic problem of the "neutral", "non-political" cooperatives. These "innocent" gentlemen everywhere in Russia—in southern Russia, in Archangel, in Siberia—supported in the most energetic manner the White agents and carried on an active warfare against the Soviet power.

The above article which was published in *Pravda* a few weeks before the Moscow radio reported the arrest of certain Russian cooperatives, completes in a striking manner that short account, for it gives an insight into the attitude of the cooperatives in various parts of Russia toward the Soviet power.

## Wireless and Other News

### COPY OF RADIO SENT THROUGH MR. KAMENEV TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON AUGUST 25

The unusual tone of the British and Italian governments' communications, published in yesterday's London paper, and sent to us by Mr. Kamenev, is not apt to contribute to the establishment between both parties of permanent good relations so necessary for the world's welfare, and to the restoration of a general peace, which the British and Italian governments themselves declare to be their fundamental aim. We note especially that the same governments which have so often accused the Russian Government of interfering in internal affairs of other states have, in this communication, published a piece of propaganda work directed against our institutions and representing such an act of intervention in our affairs as would sufficiently justify corresponding action on our part. The desire of the workers' and peasants' government for peace is nevertheless of such paramount bearing, that it has resolved in spite of the just resentment that must be created by the above communication, not to dwell on this point, and to meet fully the wishes of the British and the Italian governments, with which it hopes, in spite of their unusual action, to establish as soon as possible permanent relations of peace and goodwill. Our astonishment was the more justified seeing that the divergence of views in this case is only that of the interpretation of a peace term about which full solidarity exists between us and the above governments. We find it really strange that a question of interpretation of a principle agreed upon should have given rise to a step of such a character. After the limitation of the Polish army to fifty thousand men had been recognized by the British Government as a just term of peace, it is on our part a concession to Poland that we admit besides this number the formation of an armed civil militia, which is in fact a supplement of the armed force, and we find it astonishing that an increase of Poland's forces has aroused the indignation of the British Government. Seeing that the British Government declares peace throughout Eastern Europe to be its aim, we can point to the fact that the workers in Poland have been for a long time the force which has steadfastly opposed the Polish Government's aggressive policy, and have in numberless resolutions demanded peace with Russia. If, nevertheless, the British Government stands up with such force against strengthening this fundamental pillar of peace it clearly shows that distrust animates the British Government with regard to workers. If the British Government believes that the workers are by nature inevitably receptive to the doctrine of Bolshevism, such a point of view will undoubtedly be welcomed by those who look forward to the spreading of Bolshevism in Britain. However justified our interpretation of this point of our peace terms may be,

we are nevertheless willing to remove this only point of divergence in order to establish full solidarity between us and the above governments as to the terms of peace with Poland. We firstly declare that we never considered our terms as *ad ultimum*, and are now, as we have all the time been, willing to discuss them with the Polish Government. This discussion takes place between us and the Polish Government, with whom alone we are treating peace in this case without outside interference, so that all the pledges in this respect are taken by us before Poland alone. In view, nevertheless, of our earnest desire to attain the important results for the world's welfare and peace which can be achieved by peace with Great Britain, we are willing to inform the British Government of the fact that the Russian Government has resolved to make in this question a concession, and not to adhere to the term of arming in Poland a workers' civic militia, thus attaining full solidarity with Great Britain as to all the terms of peace with Poland.

The Russian Government is not inclined to mix practical business transactions with theoretical polemics, but since the British Government has in this connection published a purely polemical communication directed against the principles upon which our government is constructed we cannot avoid entering, for the moment, the same path. The British Government having launched against the Soviet regime the strange accusation of being an oligarchy, it is impossible for us not to point out that all the states which have another kind of government than ours present, obviously to all, the most real oligarchy: the fruits of the whole nation's production being seized by a privileged few, whereas in Soviet Russia the whole nation works for the whole nation's benefit under the rule of those whom the above communication describes as an oligarchy. We can only remind ourselves of Mr. Chiozza Morey's calculation of the distribution of British income in 1904: Rich (one and a quarter million)—585 million pounds; comfortable (three and three quarter million)—245 million pounds; poor: (38 million)—880 million pounds. As to real participation in political power we ask what form of government gives more of such to the great masses of the nation: the parliamentary form, under which incoherent masses give their support once in many years to firmly established political parties directly representing the above oligarchy or strongly influenced by the latter; or the Soviet form under which the working people, at their place of work, form permanent local unities in whose hands rests the control of the whole Soviet fabric built up by delegation of the local Soviet. And more than that, it is the whole administration that is in the hands of the local Soviets. This structure in itself gives such power to the permanently organized working classes that its mention alone is suffi-

cient to refute all the fables spread by the dispossessed or frightened privileged Russians and repeated in the British Government's communication as to an alleged tyranny of an oligarchy, the latter being as a matter of fact an impossibility under Soviet rule and government, this regime being able to exist only through the will of the working masses. Being a truly popular government, the Soviet Government is by its nature peaceful and averse to conquests, its true peacefulness being of another kind than that of the governments of wealthy oligarchies which desire peace after having taken away the riches of their vanquished adversaries. A peace that has in view the maintenance of such a result can never be a firm one, whereas the peace of the workers' and peasants' government, being based upon the rejection of exploitation of others and upon the true solidarity of the great working masses of all nations, is the only genuine and really permanent peace. Animated with this spirit the Soviet Government as declared above, does not insist upon the interpretation of the peace terms with Poland which has given rise to a divergence with Great Britain and Italy, and renouncing the demand of the creation of a workers' militia in Poland, it thus restores the full agreement with the above two governments which existed before this divergence arose.

#### JAPAN AND SOVIET RUSSIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—The following report reached us from Moscow, on August 31: Vilenski, the Soviet Russian plenipotentiary to the Far East, who has just arrived here from Vladivostok, stated to the representative of the Rosta, that no military or diplomatic clashes between Soviet Russia and Japan are to be expected for some time to come. Both the defeat of the party friendly to Japan in China, and the doubtful outlook for military assistance from the Allies, have forced the Japanese, impressed with the success of the Red Armies, to resume diplomatic and commercial negotiations with Soviet Russia.

#### REPRESENTATIVE OF SOVIET RUSSIA IN LITHUANIA

KOVNO, August 25 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—Dr. Axelrod, member of the People's Commissariat of Finance, and former representative of the government in Bucharest, has been chosen representative to Lithuania.

#### THE VERBAL NEWSPAPER

It is reported from Moscow that since it is impossible to supply every Russian city with enough newspapers, the custom of the verbal newspaper has been instituted. In public places, especially in theatres, the newspaper is read to the audience. There is always a large mass of auditors, consisting of inhabitants and soldiers.

#### CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—We received the following reports from Moscow, August 31:

##### *Education in Azerbaidjan*

The Commissariat for Public Education has resolved to help the Soviet Republic of Azerbaidjan as far as possible in the field of education, and to go so far as to organize higher education in that country.

##### *New Star Discovered*

Kovraisky, the astronomer, discovered a new star of the second magnitude on the night of the 23rd of August; this was made known on August 24.

##### *Culture of the Proletariat*

In September, 1920, the Fourth All-Russian Conference for the People's Culture (Workmen's Board for the Culture of the Proletariat) will take place.

##### *All-Russian Congress of Bacteriologists*

Yesterday the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Bacteriologists and Students of Epidemic Diseases opened here. Three hundred delegates from all districts of Russia assembled. The People's Commissar Siemashko, who was elected Honorary President of the Congress, stated that it was the duty of the conferences to find more effective means to overcome disease, and to protect the lives of the people.

#### THE DEFEAT OF WRANGEL'S TROOPS ON THE SHORE OF KUBAN

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta, Vienna*).—The following report reached us from Moscow, on August 31: Many White troops, who landed on the coast of Kuban were literally wiped out. Only a miserable handful who had landed are now fleeing toward the south. Today, Trotsky wired to Moscow: This is an important victory, at which not only the Red Army of Kuban rejoices, but the entire army on the southern front, and with it, all Soviet Russia. The bloody riddance of Wrangel's landed troops demonstrates that this attempt on the part of the White Baron to extend his strategic base to the territory of Kuban has been shattered. So Wrangel is doomed to confine his operations to the limited field of the Crimean peninsula, and the activity of our 13th and 2d Cavalry Armies leads us to hope that we shall soon be through with this front as well.

#### SOLIDARITY WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

PRAGUE, August 20.—*Pravo Lidu* reports the following:

Committees of the Czech Social Democratic Party and of the Trade Unions of Prague have sent a telegram of greeting to the mass meeting of the English workers, scheduled to take place on Sunday, the twenty-second of this month, in which they declare their solidarity with them, in their refusal to take part in any hostile act against Soviet Russia.

## Books Reviewed

By A. C. FREEMAN

**THE GREATEST FAILURE IN HISTORY.** By *John Spargo*. Harper and Brothers, New York.

**THE RUSSIAN PEASANT AND THE REVOLUTION.** By *Maurice G. Hindus*. Henry Holt and Company, New York.

John Spargo is at it again. Pursuing his favorite sport (or business) of exposing the sins and shortcomings of the Russian Soviet Government, he presents a newness of "impartial evidence," chiefly gleaned from "Struggling Russia" and similar disinterested sources. Mr. Spargo is suspiciously eager to vindicate the accuracy and reliability of his book in the eyes of his readers. He says:

"It is no mere chronicle of scandal; neither is it a cunningly wrought mosaic of runners, prejudiced inferences, exaggerated statements by hostile witnesses, sensational incidents and utterances, selected because they are calculated to provoke resentment."

One does not have to be an expert in psychoanalysis to realize that these invidious phrases, which Mr. Spargo is so quick to repudiate, constitute a fair, if inadequate, indictment of his work. The author doubtless remembers the humiliating exposures which his first propagandist effusion, "Bolshevism", received at the hands of Mr. William Hard and other critics. He wishes us to believe that he has reformed his habits, that he has really written an honest book about Russia. Unfortunately, "The Greatest Failure in All History" does not show the slightest evidence of any such change of heart.

Mr. Spargo very solemnly asserts, on page 410, that "in no instance has the testimony of witnesses of anti-Bolshevist views been cited without ample corroborative evidence from responsible and authoritative Bolshevist sources."

On page 70, discussing the land problem, he says:

"The Provisional Government, under Lvov, dominated as it then was by landowners and bourgeoisie, never for a moment sought to evade this question."

Now everyone, Bolshevik or anti-Bolshevik, who is even slightly acquainted with the course of the Russian Revolution, knows perfectly well that the overthrow of Lvov, and of his successor, Kerensky, was largely due to the unwillingness and inability of a government composed partly of bourgeoisie to settle the land problem in accordance with the wishes of the toiling peasants.

On page 158 the author quotes the following passage from a work by a certain Maurice Verstraete:

"He (Uritsky) is a refined saddist, who does his grim work for the love of it . . . Uritsky is a hunchback and seems to be revenging himself on all mankind for his deformity."

Who is Maurice Verstraete; and where is the

responsible, authoritative, corroborative evidence show that Uritsky was a saddist and a hunchback?

On page 248 Mr. Spargo, among other unsubstantiated stories of alleged repressive measures practised against Russian workmen by the Soviet Government, makes the following accusation:

"At the Alexander works, Moscow, eighty workers were killed by machine-gun fire."

He gives neither date, nor details, nor authority for this alleged atrocity. As Mr. Spargo has not been in Russia himself at any time since the Revolution, we can only conclude that the source of his second-hand information was so dubious that he does not care even to indicate it.

These instances, which might be multiplied indefinitely, show clearly that Mr. Spargo does not even make a pretense of living up to his own profession of accepting only unquestionable evidence. The untrustworthiness of his book must be sufficiently obvious even to readers who possess very little knowledge of Russian revolutionary history. A few of the other palpable dishonesties and absurdities of the book may be now taken up.

In his first chapter Mr. Spargo, making a desperate effort to explain how the Soviet Government has survived, despite its "undemocratic character" and despite the tremendous external pressure which has been exercised against it, asserts that "on more than one occasion the overthrow of the Bolsheviks might easily have been brought about by the Allies if they had dared it." In the light of the aid which has been lavished by the Allied governments upon every counter-revolutionary movement, this statement is so amusingly untrue that comment seems superfluous.

In comparing the cost of conducting industry under the Czar's regime and under the Soviet Government, Mr. Spargo treats the ruble as a fixed quantity, making no allowance for its depreciation. Using this method of reasoning it would be easy to prove that a most appalling deterioration has taken place in the industrial life of every country since the world's currency was inflated by the war.

Like most reactionaries, Mr. Spargo is very solicitous for freedom of speech and press—in Soviet Russia. Apparently he believes that the Soviet Government was morally bound to show the utmost gentleness and consideration towards counter-revolutionists at a time when workmen were being butchered by thousands in Siberia and Ukraine, when Russia was being slowly strangled by a blockade of unexampled ferocity. Such a course might have been possible in a community of angels; but Soviet Russia cannot claim to have achieved this position as yet.

In an introductory note Mr. Spargo expresses his gratitude to a number of well-known Russian reactionary propagandists in this country and in Europe for their help in furnishing him with information and suggestions. And his book very

faithfully reflects the viewpoint of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and Wrangel, of the counter-revolutionary emigres and renegade radicals. In exactly the same measure it misrepresents and falsifies the viewpoint of the great masses of the Russian people.

In "The Russian Peasant and the Revolution", Mr. Hindus gives a vivid description of the systematic oppression and exploitation of the *mouzhik* under Czarism. In the eyes of the old regime the peasant was not a human being; he was only a source of cheap labor. He was never given an adequate supply of land; he was discouraged and browbeaten if he attempted to leave his own village; every possible obstacle was thrown in the way of his material advancement. He was periodically scourged with epidemics; in a land of plenty he often felt the pinch of famine. The most elementary comforts and decencies of life were beyond his reach; he was almost always unable to secure even the simplest education. Together with his fellow toiler, the town worker, he was compelled to sustain the whole weight of an outrageously unjust and incompetent political and economic system.

Now the Russian peasant, despite Mr. Stephen Graham and his "Holy Russia" myth, is by no means enamored of suffering and oppression. On the contrary, he cherishes a very normal human desire for his share of the material and spiritual benefits of life. As Mr. Hindus shows, the

*mouzhik's* attitude towards the Revolution was admirably expressed in the slogan: "Land and Freedom." He was naturally not attracted by the Cadets, with their vague promises of land reform and their tender consideration for the interests of the big landowners and exploiters. The Social Revolutionist, Kerensky, during his period of office as Premier, showed clearly that he possessed neither the will nor the executive ability to put his party's land program into operation. It was only after the establishment of the Soviet Government that the peasant's own firm conviction that the land should belong to those who work on it found expression in law.

Mr. Hindus is carefully non-partisan in his political viewpoint, and nowhere indicates a preference for the Soviet form of government. He pleads strongly for the lifting of the blockade and the restoration of commercial relations between Russia and the rest of the world.

The book effectively demolishes the fictitious reports from the familiar counter-revolutionist centers about the widespread opposition of the peasants to the Soviet Government. The old regime gave the peasant oppression, starvation and compulsory ignorance. The Soviet Government has given him freedom, land and education. The *mouzhik* is very far from being a fool; and he may be relied upon to go on heartily supporting Soviet Russia in its struggle with domestic reactionaries and foreign imperialists.

## THE NEXT ISSUE

# SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. EASTER IN MOSCOW, by Dr. Bohumir Smeral.
2. A STATISTICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE MANAGEMENTS OF PETROGRAD INDUSTRIES.
3. THE GRAVE-DIGGERS OF WHITE POLAND, by Karl Radek.
4. *The Second Instalment of "Moscow in 1920"*, by Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt.
5. PROFITEERING A HINDRANCE TO ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA, by Professor George Lomonossov.
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## Chicherin on the American Policy

IN OUR next issue we shall publish in full the reply of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Republic, to Secretary Colby's note on Russia. For the present we shall confine ourselves to a brief summary of Mr. Chicherin's reply and a few comments on the issues raised.

Mr. Chicherin first calls attention to the inconsistency of Mr. Colby's stand on the question of territorial integrity of the former Empire of the Czars. Mr. Colby concedes the claims of Poland, Finland and Armenia for independence, but denies the same privilege to Lithuania, Georgia, Esthonia, etc. Mr. Chicherin accounts for this inconsistency by Mr. Colby's ignorance of Russian history. If it is remembered that an official, whose duty it was to keep the American public informed of matters political, had an idea that Ukraina was a musical instrument (apparently confusing it with the ocarina), it is small wonder that the Secretary of State is unfamiliar with Russian history.

Reference to a textbook of Russian history would apprise the reader of the fact that at the time of the partition of Poland Lithuania was an independent dominion united with Poland by what is known in international law as a "personal union", the king of Poland being also the grand duke of Lithuania. Inasmuch as one of the results of the World War has been the nullification of the partition of Poland, the state sovereignty of Lithuania was revived with that act. On the other hand, as the Polish monarchy was not restored by the Treaty of Versailles, the "personal union" disappeared with the royal power, and Lithuania once more became an independent sovereign nation. The legal justification for Lithuania's claim to independ-

ence is precisely identical with the claim of Finland.

After the forced abdication of Czar Nicholas II, the Finnish Diet proclaimed the independence of Finland, on the ground that the Grand Duchy had been united with the Russian Empire by the Act of 1809, whereby the Finnish Diet seceded from Sweden and conferred upon the Emperor of Russia the hereditary title of Grand Duke of Finland, but the abolition of the Russian monarchy *eo ipso* severed the bonds which had united the Russian Empire and the Grand Duchy of Finland under the personal rule of the Czar. The Kerensky Government thereupon dissolved the Finnish Diet, claiming that the fate of Finland could be decided only by the Russian Constitutional Convention. The spokesmen for the Finnish people, however, regarded this act of the Kerensky Government as plain usurpation, because it had not been the Russian people, but the Russian monarch, who had been the sovereign of Finland. This controversy was terminated by the Soviet Government immediately upon its assuming power. To be sure, the Soviet Government did not go into a disquisition of the respective historical claims and counterclaims of Russia and Finland. It simply acted upon the principle of self-determination of all peoples, which had been proclaimed by the Russian Revolution, or—to express the idea in American terms—upon the right of secession. Lithuania's case stands on all fours with that of Finland.

Another example of Mr. Colby's ignorance of Russian history is his refusal to recognize the independence of Esthonia and Latvia (the provinces of Livland and Courland). Esthonia and Latvia (or Livland) were annexed by Peter the

Great as a result of his war against Sweden. The Duchy of Courland was at the close of the XVIIIth century a vassal state of Poland. After the third partition of Poland, Courland regained her sovereignty, but by a resolution of her Diet in 1795 recognized the sovereignty of the Russian Emperor. Her case is thus analogous to that of Lithuania.

Mr. Colby's stand regarding the claims of the Caucasian Republic except Armenia is likewise inconsistent. The incorporation of the Caucasus in the Russian Empire was the outcome of more than half a century of constant warfare which was terminated as late as 1864. The Soviet Government has recognized the independence of Armenia, along with that of Georgia and Azerbaijan (with the capital at Baku). It is inconceivable why Mr. Colby should discriminate against the latter two.

Up to the reign of Alexander III the Baltic provinces (Estland, Livland and Courland) had their own systems of government and their own laws, the official language of the provinces being German. The substitution of the Russian language for the German as the official language of the government under Alexander III was not accompanied by a repeal of the special laws governing those provinces. The Soviet Government, consistently with its recognition of the right of secession, did not question the right of Esthonia and Latvia to form independent sovereign states. But Mr. Colby apparently has chosen to uphold the sovereign claims of the Czar down to its annexed territories.

Still another objection of Mr. Colby's to international relations with the Soviet Government is based upon the allegation that the Soviet Government does not "rule by the will or the consent of any considerable portion of the Russian people." This is rather a novel departure in the policy of the United States toward foreign nations. The American Government did maintain international relations with the Government of the Czar, which certainly did not base its rule "upon the will or the consent of any considerable portion of the Russian people." Nor has universal suffrage been a condition precedent for recognition of foreign gov-

ernments by the government of the United States. There is no universal suffrage in France where one half of the population is disfranchised by reason of sex. Nor is there universal suffrage in the states of the South where the negroes are disfranchised in effect on the ground of race. In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, all workers by hand or brain are represented in the government, and they certainly form a majority of the Russian people. It is said that in the Soviet constitution the representation of the urban and rural workers is not equal. Nor is the representation equal in the United States Senate, the State of Delaware and the State of New York having an equal number of representatives.

Mr. Chicherin patiently explains that the vituperative epithets of Mr. Colby against "the existing regime in Russia" have no foundation in fact. The Soviet Government has faithfully adhered to all terms assumed by it even under duress. On the other hand Mr. Chicherin reminds Mr. Colby of the fact that Mr. Creel's Public Information Division was responsible for the circulation of the notorious Sisson documents which bore all the earmarks of forgery.

It is quite pertinent in this connection to bring to the knowledge of the American public a fact which has never reached it through the American press. Immediately after the publication of the Sisson documents Mr. Panov, the editor of a conservative Vladivostok daily, published a series of articles in his paper showing the Sisson documents to be a rank forgery. It appeared that he and a number of other prominent citizens of Vladivostok, including a former judge appointed by the Czar, were mentioned in these documents as German agents. Mr. Panov exposed the contradictions and absurdities contained in these charges. The Bar Association of Vladivostok held a meeting at which resolutions of protest were adopted—upholding the integrity of the judge whose name was mentioned in the Sisson documents. All these facts were brought to the attention of the American Consul at Vladivostok who promised to bring this matter to the attention of the State Department. Nothing was done, however, by the State Department in this matter.

## The Whites and the Reds in the Don Basin

By V. CHUBAR

At the moment when the Don Basin was liberated from the White bands the acute fuel famine in the republic reached its climax, and the demand for coal from the Don Basin was exceedingly high from the very first moment after the occupation of this district, exceeding many times the possible supply. The slow movement of the present work of reconstruction is a direct result of the fact that the Denikin authorities did not restore the production of coal and had even aggravated the devastation of the mines. Notwithstanding the friendly relations of Denikin with eminent foreigners,

"Russia's well-wishers", this friendship left no impression on the industry of the Don Basin. During the whole period of the rule of the Whites, when the Volunteer army was the object of solicitation by all kinds of Entente visitors, technical materials and machinery, which were so greatly needed for the industries, were not sent here. Instead of humanitarian aid with mining machinery and electrical supplies, which would have shown the desire of the Entente to increase the world total of economic goods, the "humanitarian" Supreme Economic Council of the League of Na-

tions was sending Denikin tanks, shells, machine-guns, and other tools of destruction, "conducive" to the development of "civilization". This attitude of the Entente to the problems of world reconstruction serves as an eye-opener to the workers, the more so now that they can compare it with the work of the Communists, the Bolsheviks, who have been denounced by the Entente as destroyers of the world's welfare. The Soviet power, which the bourgeoisie of Europe and America is trying to vilify by every possible means, and which is denounced by all bourgeois governments as a menace to civilization and its economic achievements, is now proving by deeds, and not by words, that it alone is capable of reestablishing production, that only the Soviet power is interested in the development of the economic might of the district. Though the struggle at the front is not yet terminated, though the cannon which were furnished to the Whites by the "peace-loving" governments of the Entente are still roaring, the Soviet power is transferring from the front, men, technical materials, and means of transportation to be used in the effort to restore the coal industry. Despite the acute struggle at the fronts, which the Entente is assiduously promoting, the Soviet power is sending to the coal mines all the necessary materials from its scanty stores.

French and British instructors helped the Volunteer army to dynamite the railway bridges in the Don Basin, and taught them how best to destroy railway stations and canalization, how to damage locomotives, machines, etc. The Soviet power is sending into the Don Basin pumps, cables, electrical materials, technical men, skilled workers, building materials, and lumber, everything that may halt the further deterioration of the mines.

And now when the Polish army is packed with Entente instructors, when the Entente imperialists are again stretching their paws toward the Don Basin, it is worth while to point out once more the difference in the methods of struggle, and the difference on approaching the solution of the problem of how to overcome economic disorganization on a world scope. While the Soviet power is transferring dynamite and other explosives to the Don Basin to increase the production of fuel, salt, and other products which are necessary to combat the cold, famine, and general scarcity of goods, the peace-loving Entente is sending similar materials at increased rate to the Polish nobility to enable the latter to blow up bridges, locomotives and cars, workshops and railway stations, and to destroy whole cities. While the Soviet power is building, in the Don Basin, and in other districts, new railways and new houses, and is restoring factories and workshops, the Entente continues, through the Polish nobility, to pile up destruction on an enormous scale, inflicting new miseries upon thousands and millions of men.

The Soviet power has never pursued the methods which are used by the Whites instructed by the Entente: the retreating Red Army never destroyed tools of production, never deliberately condemned

to death any industrial enterprise. When the Red Army was forced to retreat from the Don Basin, the lumber and technical equipment which were brought there during the existence of the Soviet power, were left there; their utilization for the industries was not interfered with. Comparing our attitude toward production in the Don Basin with that of the Whites, it is necessary to point out that the conditions of capitalistic economy under the Whites destroyed the very foundations of the reconstruction work, causing the scattering of the workers, and leading inevitably to the development of speculation. The activity of the bourse manipulators who preyed on the organism of production, created an appearance of an economic revival, but in reality destroyed the healthy foundations for economic development. The Soviet power, mercilessly uprooting the influence of these manipulators on the economic life, places the work of reconstruction on the healthy rails of the proletarian road. It transfers the center of attention to the organization of production, to drawing the broad masses of the toilers into the process of production, to the creation of a firm foundation for Socialism. — *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, June 23.

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## “Moscow in 1920”

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Continued)

May 1.  
**T**HERE is no one in the offices. Everyone is engaged in Communist Saturday work, in May First work. For three hours we wait at the Nikolai Station and watch the girls engaged in cleaning up the railroad tracks and cars, smiling as they work. Some of the girls are dressed in velvet and have Russian hoods of good cloth, gloves, and well-kept finger nails. They are removing the debris from the railroad station: not very pleasant work, but it is a pleasure to them. I was watching five girls for about an hour, lovely red-cheeked girls among them. With much puffing they are pushing a car full of refuse. One of them has a red flower in her black hair and a red girdle about her velvet bodice. Another is sweeping the steps and the approach to the station. A fur-piece is thrown around her. Many thoughts came to my mind, such as, for instance, thoughts of the perfume-besprayed Kurfurstendamm in Berlin, of that street of Sodom, that filthy asphalt pavement on which these females ruin their every possibility of life.

The Communist Saturday work, and the Communist Sunday work is rather a work of education and of demonstration than a work of actual performance. But it is nevertheless a labor in common with others and not the uncouth sloth of the Kurfurstendamm of Berlin. And sometimes actual work is accomplished. When I was riding back along the same street I saw hundreds of railway cars adorned with emblems of praise. These emblems lauded the Communist work that had been performed on May First on these cars.

Everybody in Moscow worked on May First, everybody who was not an outspoken lazy dog or a convinced saboteur. Our interpreter, who had gone to town in order to look for persons who might assign us to lodgings, told us he had seen Bukharin sweeping the streets. Lenin swept one of the courts of the Kremlin on May First. I know this is simply for purposes of demonstration; I know this very well. But never before have there been demonstrations of this kind, they are new demonstrations. None of the perfume-besprayed idlers of the Kurfurstendamm in Berlin would ever take a broom in her hand or touch refuse, even with her gloves on. And yet the clean-swept, smooth, sprinkled asphalt of Berlin is a bearer of much corruption. For many hours we sat impatient on the steps of the staircase of the Nikolai Station. A factory delegation marched by, singing “The Red Flag”, the song of death for the revolution, of proletarian death, the song of proud self-sacrifice. I shall say more of this song later. Every child knows it and sings it. The delegation marched by, singing all the time, and the song was marching with the men, led by

the waving red flag. One man, at the left of the front row, was beating time with his hands. All were serious.

Autos with red stars on their radiators and red flags at the chauffeur's seat, rushed by to reach meetings. Everywhere, on the squares, on the gigantic squares of Moscow, in factory yards, in halls, meetings were being held on this day.

The city was flooded with red. Red flags, red bands around white garbed arms, red flags on the walls. Nothing but red. We were rushed in a flying motor-truck to one of the Soviet houses. Troops of children pass by singing, but otherwise the city is silent. For everyone is engaged in the holiday work. The festivities are not to begin till the late afternoon. In the afternoon we paid a visit to the German Council. The German Council is the center for the German prisoners of war; at present it is occupied chiefly in arranging for the home transportation of these prisoners of war. We received an invitation to the May festival of the German Council, to be held in the building of the Third Internationale.

The hall (in which Count Mirbach was murdered) is crowded to the doors. Prisoners of war, together with their wives and guests, brought from remote parts of Russia, and the employes of the German Council, are waiting for the opening of the exercises, the speech of Balabanova, Secretary of the Third Internationale.

A little woman dressed in black, of pleasing figure. Gray strands in her hair, a cane in her hand. She began to speak at once, still breathless from her swift auto trip. Rather empty eyes, directed inward, somewhat faint enthusiasm; she is not a thunderbolt, not a bomb, not a piercing sword. Everything about this woman is heart. She explains the significance of the holiday work, and sings a paean, a song of songs, on socialistic humanity. In the Third Internationale she represents the Italian Party. She loudly praises the readiness of the Italian comrades to aid suffering Austria. The Italian comrades, she says, snatch the Austrian children, neglected wretches, bloodless worms, broken down with hunger, from their misery into the citron warmth of the south. They snatch them to their homes—so ready to aid are they.

There follow dances and symbolic performances. Two “living pictures” represent, one of them, proletarians under the domination of the bourgeoisie, and the second, the same workers after their liberation, with the bourgeoisie lying on the floor in chains.

I saw a dancer of the Grand Ballet, with shoes on her feet, but with bare legs. She was dancing beautifully, and yet it was not a leg-show as in

Tauntzienstrasse, in Berlin. It was a dance of bare legs, but not a leg show.

Of the proletkult movement, I observed very little there. Art in Russia is still essentially a means of propaganda. I shall report about it later.

About two o'clock at night, after vehement conversations, we dropped asleep in our beds, overwhelmed with the fatigue of too many impressions.

#### *The Soviet Hotel*

Hotels in the European sense of the word do not exist either in Petrograd or in Moscow. To be sure there are porters and cabbies, but no hotel coaches, no hotel commissaires, with the names of the hotels on their caps. If you have been announced from Reval, and if your luck is good, a guest automobile of the Foreign Office or of the Third Internationale may be waiting for you. I had been announced but my luck was bad, for it was May First and on May First nobody pays any attention to us. More important things are under way.

There are guests of the Soviet who have to be treated according to a certain program, with the necessary official apparatus. Others apply to the Foreign Office, whose representatives are very amiable. Of course, it is a Russian amiability; in Russia much is promised and not everything kept. This is due partly to difficulty of organization; at any rate, it never does any harm to keep reminding people, to knock at their doors frequently. If I say to Karakhan, in spite of the fact that I have been assigned to a hotel by the Foreign Office, that people have sometimes been kept waiting for several days in Moscow without any legal domicile and food, he will not be angry, he will simply smile. Every hotel (*Soviet house*) is under a Commandant. The Commandant has complete control of the hotel, within the outlines of his jurisdiction. He regulates his acts in accordance with the instructions of the Foreign Office, or of the Third Internationale, which also has a fine hotel for its guests. As long as the Commandant has no instructions to entertain a newcomer in the hotel in question, he will do nothing, and it is immaterial to him how the guest may get along. But once he has received his instructions, the guest need have no further care. He sleeps, eats, and drinks in the Soviet house; his laundry is taken care of. For these services the guest pays either nothing or a Lilliputian fee. For reasons of formality I had to pay 200 Soviet rubles a day. At the time of my stay in Moscow this meant two or three marks of German money.\*

But instructions alone are not sufficient. Every stranger must have a pass, a *propusk*—otherwise he cannot even enter the hotel. The pass is issued by the Foreign Office and is valid for the entire city. For Russia is at war and it would not pay to have people running around unregistered in

\*The author probably means marks gold; paper marks are quoted at about 1½ rubles, while gold marks are worth about 100 paper rubles.—Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.

the country. Even one who only pays a visit to the guest of a hotel must have a pass, for not even Soviet hotels are free from spies. Therefore every visitor, be he a native or a foreigner, must have credentials. He must show these credentials to a guard, who is armed, and who would surely not hesitate to arrest an interloper who would come without credentials. The most spacious Soviet houses of Moscow are the *Metropole*, the *National*, and the *Savoy*. They are not called hotels, but the *First Soviet House*, the *Second Soviet House*, etc. The lobby of such a "house" is still the old hotel lobby, but it has nothing else about it that would remind you of a great metropolitan lobby. The padded arm chairs, on which women in rustling silks and smugly-groomed officers reclined by the side of provincial merchants, tourists, etc., have disappeared. The mirrors are covered or at least dimmed. One big stair-case mirror in the *Metropole* still shows a bullet-hole as a vestige of the struggle for power. The bustling porter, with his staff of flunkies, is gone; the stands for the sale of trinkets, chocolates, and newspapers, are but a memory, and no grand duke calls to rent a suite of rooms. Everything proceeds in a sober and businesslike way. To compensate for this you are not fleeced. You pay no tips. Your room is clean; your food is scanty but good (much kasha, a few potatoes and little meat, much tea, sufficient bread, a little butter).

Of course, the rooms of the Soviet houses are still provided with all their past splendors. These splendors may be somewhat dimmed; the Empire sofas, the plush chairs, the rococo tables, are losing their brightness, even as are the bourgeoisie. There has been no time for repairs, nor have they been needed. The guest must content himself. And he may well do so: The Commandants, the chambermaids, the waiters (all Government employes) are pleasant and efficient.

Some hotels have telephones in almost all rooms. Central will connect you quickly. As every guest has important business, as hardly anyone is loafing in Moscow, the telephone girls at the centrals are more than busy. The service is not worse than in Berlin.

Most animation centers about the *Metropole*, in which many of the higher Soviet officials live. As the Foreign Office is housed in an annex of the *Metropole*, most of the Foreign Office officials live in this Soviet house. Often their wives and children live with them and their entire domestic life is passed in this building. Before the Revolution, the *Metropole* was the most aristocratic hotel in Moscow, and grand dukes celebrated their orgies here. There are still Trimalchian recollections, orgiastic reverberations; but most of the things are being devoted to better purposes now. I am told, for instance, that in one palace of pious pleasure, profiteers are now being confined in jail for their offenses.

The red leather alcoves of the *Metropole*, which form a rotunda about the former concert hall, with little projecting balconies and secretive doors, are

today occupied by Soviet officials. The concert hall is the meeting place of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic. Speakers speak from the platform of the concert hall, on which the managers of the meetings are sitting. In place of a gypsy violinist, Kalinin now holds the baton. He is the chairman of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. He directs the proceedings, faced by a picture of Karl Marx, whose gnarled bust has been placed in a niche of this hall.

Meals are, to be sure, equitably rationed in the hotels, but the foods are not prepared uniformly.

Cuisine is still an important feature. If guests arrive who must be placated, who are to be treated *realpolitically*, guests whose idiosyncrasies must be observed, there is a marked improvement in their rations. For instance, there was a ruler of a semi-Asiatic state that had attached itself to Soviet Russia. At Moscow he was surrounded not with hotel splendors, but certainly with all hotel comforts, such as were not offered to other guests. There was a hum of energetic activity around him. The English Mission, which was in Moscow in May, 1920, was very well entertained and served. They had salmon, ham, much meat, splendid autos, attaches, and the like. We observe the following law: those who are comrades in thought and action are treated as if they were really inhabitants of Russia, as real Russians; people whose ideals are not completely reliable are treated with kid gloves. For instance, if Scheidemann should come to Moscow, he would probably be received as was that semi-Asiatic prince. Of course the truth would not be withheld from him. Lenin told the English trade union leaders a number of things that were far from pleasing to them. But Scheidemann might eat at Moscow as well as with Sklarz\* in Berlin. Therefore, Philip, on to Moscow, and take Fritz with you! He will not get thinner there.\*\*

The head of our delegation was assigned, together with myself and others, to a splendid villa. To a villa that had been the residence of a Consul before the Revolution, and contained large rooms and halls, white tiled bathrooms, dreadful paintings, a billiard room, a terrace and syringa grounds, of an unspeakable spring sweetness. There was gathered here an international company of journalists; Japanese, Chinese, English, Americans, Frenchmen, Italians, not to mention representatives of Korea, Bokhara (they ran off at the appearance of pork), Tatars, a veritable Babel. Miss Harrison also was there. I cannot omit this fact, for everybody knows her and she knows everybody else. She said to me: I know Theodore Wolff. Miss Harrison is a courageous woman. She travels through all the editorial offices and revolutions for her news syndicate and she knows even Theodore Wolff.

\* Sklarz.

\*\* Fritz probably means Friedrich Ebert, President of the German Republic.

### *Streets and Squares*

Moscow is in need of repairs. Every European capital, now that the war is over, is in need of repairs. But Russia is still in the midst of the war, is still obliged to wage war; for no peace is given to Russia.

The railway stations are in need of repairs; so is the pavement, so are the facades of the houses; everything needs repair. The pavements of Moscow are said to have been no delight to the gentle spirit even before the war. There is little asphalt and no lack of cobblestones. Cobblestones lacking symmetry, cobblestones lacking a sense of order, cobblestones possessed with curiosity, sticking out their heads higher than the rest. There are hills and dales in the pavement. Therefore everyone who makes a pilgrimage to Moscow must take with him at least two pairs of well-soled boots. The trolley cars (200 of them were in operation at the time of my visit) are overcrowded; most of the automobiles are at the front, and there are not too many cabs. So you have to walk, and you walk not only on the splendid smooth boulevards, on the asphalt of the show streets, but also on the block pavement. Former ministers of the German Republic, who have the intention to visit Moscow, and who are accustomed to living on a splendid scale, should perhaps take three pairs of well-soled shoes with them, as they will always step on several cobblestones at the same time. But they may leave their tuxedos at home. Tuxedos are not needed at Moscow. You can pay a visit even to Lenin in an ordinary business suit. Your trousers may be torn, provided your soul be clean. It is necessary to impart this information concerning clothing, for I was asked immediately on my return as to wardrobe needs, and I herewith give the information for the benefit of everyone who may read my book. I may even go so far as to betray the fact that several "high" Soviet officials and revolutionary leaders are walking about with torn pants. For instance Bukharin is no Petrovius, God knows, and Klinger, Secretary of the Third Internationale, wears clothes that are more threadbare than the platforms of the parties in the German Reichstag. He was not at all *comme il faut* when I spoke to him. But the streets of Moscow are clean. They are often a little friable, like those of Petrograd, and people with an instinct for *niveau* might wish they were more uniform, but they are clean nevertheless. Last winter the sewerage system was frozen up and things were pretty bad. But when I was there the water supply was functioning well, the gutters had been washed clean, and there was no odor of garbage.

Of course the streets are not splendid metropolitan streets with bourgeois decorations. Most of the shops, as in Petrograd, are closed or even boarded up. The little stores, in which goods are still being sold, offer for sale trinkets, gewgaws, little mechanical devices, particularly electric, soda water in bottles, soaps, and things of the sort. Occasionally you catch sight of Soviet shops, or even Soviet stores, in which products are sold that

have been rationed by the authorities (the Provisioning Commissariat) and may not be sold above maximum prices. There you will find shirts, socks, hats, also utensils at very low prices. To obtain even these objects is still difficult as industrial production in Russia is almost at a standstill. It will not be possible to carry out the rationing system until a sufficient supply of commodities is on hand.

Many houses in Moscow are weather-beaten, and many are empty, and yet there is an acute shortage of dwellings; but this also will be changed for the better before long. A country waging war cannot work as does one at peace. Particularly the big cities suffer from the war. They are the chief stumbling blocks in all economic and human crises.

The streets of Moscow, particularly the main streets, are animated. At certain times of the day, for instance, about ten in the morning and about 4.30 in the afternoon they are very animated. For these are the hours for beginning and ending work. The streets at these hours are alive with people, there is a general pushing and shoving, a general rush, an extraordinary bustle in the streets. But at other hours also, and in the evening after the closing of the theatres, the streets are also active. The boulevards are then more than filled.

Moscow too is a city of workers. Externally not quite so much so as Petrograd. But the proletariat rules the city. You have this impression as soon as you enter Moscow. There is still much elegance in Moscow and yet the proletariat rules. This is essentially the stamp of the Moscow street. Every possible social layer may crawl about on this street, and yet the proletariat is dominant. It dominates the street with its police, it dominates the street with its labor regulations. The street of luxury, of amusement, of bazaars exists no more; it is now a labor street and a street of relaxation. There is not much work being done yet; there is by no means enough work done in Moscow; and yet Moscow is already a city of workers.

Splendid are the squares of Moscow. The finest square of Moscow is that of the Kremlin. It is half a drill ground, half a market place, or half a parade ground and half an amusement place, or half a business market and half a place for show. The high Kremlin wall on one side, with its towers and its still preserved miracles, the former gigantic bazaars\* a modern Asia, at present the Commissariat of Labor, on the other side. At its entrance, the wonderful image of the Iberian Madonna, which is still entreated for miracles, and at its exit the finest architectural splendor of the world, the Church of St. Basil. Along the Kremlin wall there are the graves in which the heroes of the Revolution rest, covered with red ribbon wreaths. The Kremlin wall is covered with shining revolutionary plastic art, from which great tracts of red issue forth and spread in all directions. It is a

\* The *Targovye Ryady*, an arcade consisting of small shops formerly selling luxuries, souvenirs and other objects.

splendid square. It is broad—broad as the Russian soul. So broad that the giant map of the Polish front which has been set up there, looks like a little white speck. It is a splendid square for red parades, for troop reviews, for militia drills, for burning addresses, for reminiscences of struggle. While helmeted warriors are seen climbing the Kremlin walls with carved swords between their clenched teeth, the marks of machine-gun bullets still bear witness of the struggle of the proletariat against capital.

Red troops march around the square at the Kitaisky Wall (the Chinese Wall), singing as they go, red flags attached to their guns. Their knees not rigidly straight, their attitude a proud insolence, they sing the song of the *Red Flag* as they pass under this mighty wall, on which armies might defend themselves; they pass this product of an infinite brick-like patience, built by ants. Thus the walls were built that the Jews once had to erect in Egypt. And much sweat has been cemented in this wall.

Splendid is the Theatre Square, the square in front of the Great Theatre. Here the official life and the pleasure life of Moscow center. It is the stone rosette of Moscow, enameled with verdure, and flowers, and always with many people sitting on the benches. Across this square automobiles are constantly dashing, while cabs pick their zig-zag course and troops are marching, troops of children, of scholars, or soldiers. I have spent hours on this square, the broad artery of Moscow, the compass-rose of Moscow, with its rays directed towards all the sections of the city. Here I watched the sellers of mineral water, the flying tradesmen, beggars, arguing citizens, elegant ladies. There is nothing finer in the world than the broad squares of Moscow. It is a very ancient city, with its squares. The squares have seen storms and have been in complacent repose, and such is their repose now, after the storm of the November Revolution.

Splendid are the squares of Moscow. Red rimmed, green rimmed, flooded with broad daylight, dotted with leafy shade, with all the animation of the city. By the squares of Moscow you can see that the city is still living, that it cannot die. A great city cannot die in three years. Rome is eternal and Moscow is immortal.

#### *The Boulevards*

Is there still a terroristic dictatorship in Moscow? No there is not a terroristic dictatorship in Moscow. If there were a terroristic dictatorship in Moscow, there would be no May boulevard with the merry spring life of May, 1920. A green recreation thoroughfare, interrupted by squares and intersections, the Moscow Boulevard encircles the entire inner city. It was once better groomed than now; you might say it was combed and washed. But its streets are still there and the brown road still runs round the inner city, the benches remain, the music-stands, and the refreshment-booths. The little lakes still twinkle and

if there are few incandescent lights, in order that the electric current may be saved, the life on the boulevards is still incandescent. About 10 o'clock at night (Moscow time) life becomes active in this region, but not as active as before the Revolution. There is not the hectic animation, the flashing bustle, the blinding brilliance, the carnival gaiety, the Cossack officers ready to pounce on their booty, the shining dowagers in their rolling chairs, the pearl-covered corruption of before the Revolution. There is still enough of the bourgeois, enough of vulgarity, enough of profiteering and speculation, and other vermin. But, as the Moscow street is already a labor street, so the Moscow Boulevard has become the recreation thoroughfare of the proletariat. Often you see no proletariat on this recreation street, and yet the street is a promenade for the proletariat, for the proletariat now tolerates the jobbers, speculators, the ear-pendants. Formerly the ear-pendants, the jobbers and speculators, tolerated the proletariat.

Along this Boulevard, this long, gently-winding recreation thoroughfare, no bomb explodes, no gun is fired, no dictatorial glance is seen to flash. Everything is very peaceful. Couples are out walking, red soldiers ambling along, people coming from work across the promenade. There is joking, problems are illuminated, secret deals are whispered, and women are loved. The citizen of Moscow walks, sits and promenades, a free man, along this brown and green girdle, singly and in pairs, serious or glad, full of care or with breast held high.

There is no horse play. In no city of the world have I seen so much dignified pleasure displayed along the promenades. In no city of the world (and I have seen many cities) have I seen women so modest (romantically speaking). There are no professional prostitutes in Russia any longer. Before the Revolution statistics show (statistics were particularly unreliable in Russia) 160,000 prostitutes in the streets of Moscow. If one is still found, she is put into a labor battalion. The elimination of professional prostitutes, in fact their *immediate* elimination, assigning them to a place in working society, is a self-evident demand of Socialism. It is a human demand, an anti-capitalistic demand, even a sanitary demand. Venereal diseases (read the program of the Bolsheviks) are among the social diseases, together with tuberculosis and alcoholism. The program of the Communist Party of Russia adopted at the Eighth Party Congress, under the caption "Protection of Public Health", demands that social diseases (tuberculosis, venereal diseases, alcoholism), be combated.

Love has not ceased to live in Russia. It is eternal as is also folly. But the communization of women by means of prostitution has ceased. Of course this does not mean that "venal love" has given up the ghost. Things do not move as fast as that. Love is still bought and sold in Russia and in Moscow, but the process of buying and selling love is being wiped out. The process is already moribund and will shortly die. Habitual

prostitutes have already been eliminated; secret prostitutes, such as those that are married cannot be eliminated within three years. There is still much distress in Moscow and distress breaks the pride of women, and therefore there is still a social plague of love. Women complained to me in Moscow about this. They loudly and warmly praised the great elimination that had been accomplished by the Soviet Government and they wished a swift alleviation of the distress of life so that the social plague of love might be done away with.

If there still exists a communization of women as was formerly the case you would notice it on the boulevards, for it was on the Theatre Square and on the boulevards that the communized women sold themselves, but this is a thing of the past. Even one who would love to condemn and hate every act of the Soviet Government must laud this act, even though he be a merely liberal humanity whiner. Of course this act will ruin his case, but it is an act that is on his own program. The trade in women has ceased, the slavery of lust has died out, the pride of women is rising. I shall only say what I actually saw, no more and no less. I must repeat that this is my intention, for otherwise you may think that I am merely a propagandist.

The refreshment booth with the garden tables and garden chairs in front of them still have little buffets inside. People told me about the buffets during peace and war times. They had been wonderful buffets of delicacies with Moscow candies, cordials in a hundred colors, and an elegant crowd seated round them. Of course this is all past. Very courageous speculators, who do not fear the combat of the Extraordinary Commission against smuggling, openly sell mocca and delicate cream tarts. Their customers are bespangled remnants of the bourgeoisie, women with pearl ornaments, fabulous footwear and flashing rings on their manicured fingers. They sit there with their cavaliers (there are cavaliers still in Moscow) and sip, (elegant ladies as is well known, do not drink, as proletarians do, they sip) mocca and perhaps an ice. It may cost a few thousand rubles, but there is more where that came from. *Nichevo!* They sell a few things to a jobber, escape work, and sip!

I should like to give a hint to those who are seeking pleasure. If one of my readers should arrive at Moscow during the summer, the hot Moscow summer, far from the sea, the asphalt dissolving summer, the perspiring summer, let him carry a thermos bottle of cold tea with him, but in the evening let him eat or drink the thick milk, ice-cold thick milk, which he can get in the buffets of the boulevard's booths. It is delicious. The price is only 125 rubles per glass. But he will have to hurry. He must reach Moscow before the end of the summer for otherwise the price will be much higher. It will be double, triple, even much higher. Of course that will make no difference, but it will shock the quantity idiots. The boulevard does not become empty until about one



o'clock at night (Moscow summer time). But every night unless there is a storm, it is filled with a dignified, jovial humanity, not without a few

centers of decay and with some who are infected, but nevertheless a street of the future, leading to a more honest civilization.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

### THE RED NAVY

IN MY book, "Panama de la Marine Russe", published in 1908\*, I foretold the approach of the Social Revolution in Russia. Disclosing the mischievous deeds of the officers of the imperial Russian navy. I described the true conditions of the Russian seamen whose lot was not better than that of the convicts serving sentences at hard labor. It was the first public disclosure of conditions in the Russian imperial marine, described from within, and it produced a great scandal in higher circles at Petrograd. Naturally, the circulation of this book in Russia was strictly forbidden. Dealing with the life of the Russian bluejackets I stated positively that these sailors would accomplish the most important part in the approaching struggle for liberty and that they would be uncompromising revolutionists because they had endured real slavery and knew better than anybody else in Russia what the rule of the bourgeois class meant.

As I foresaw twelve years ago, so it happened. The conditions under which the Red Navy acted during the Revolution, from a purely strategical point of view, required great secrecy; therefore for a certain period there was almost no information about it. Nevertheless, the part played by the Red Navy during the Revolution, during the armed intervention of the Allies, and during the civil war, was of great importance. It must not be forgotten that the victory of the Revolution in February and in March, 1917, was due chiefly to the activity, firmness, and self-sacrifice of the members of the Baltic Fleet. The revolutionary sailors remained inflexible even at the moment of compromises when the eloquent Kerensky tried to persuade the Russian people to act together with the capitalistic coalition. The famous Kronstadt Republic, which remained faithful to the principles of the Soviets, made a desperate fight against reaction and became a real terror to the bourgeoisie. The working class of Russia looked on the sailors as their most faithful brothers. Finally the Baltic and the Black Sea Navies became the backbone of the young Soviet Republic.

As far back as the winter of 1917 the Baltic Fleet, in spite of all the existing disorder in the naval structure of Russia, succeeded in steaming from Reval to Helsingfors, thus saving the Russian warships from the German invaders, while

the Black Sea Navy, being menaced by the enemy, preferred to sink their best ships rather than surrender them to the Germans. In both cases, however, the enemy met a most fierce resistance from the Red Navy of Soviet Russia.

The Naval Commissariat of the Republic even in the early days of its existence showed great activity. In order to arrest the movement of the invaders a rather powerful flotilla was created on Lake Chudskoie, while a great part of the sailors, on several inner fronts, were engaged in fighting the invaders and counter-revolutionists together with the Red Guards, and covered themselves with glory.

Allied intervention forced the Soviet Government to reorganize the Red Navy on new lines suitable to the new regime. The volunteer system introduced in the naval organization was found to be weak and unpromising. The Red Navy had to be a strong and stable organization. Therefore the revolutionary committees which were in existence on every warship were dissolved, and the Soviet of the Commissars of the Baltic Fleet was replaced by the Revolutionary Military Soviet, which in the beginning of 1918, appointed to every warship a naval commissar who worked with the naval commanders in the same way that the commissars worked in the army.

The result of this reorganization was excellent. In the autumn of 1918, the warships *Oleg* and *Andrei II* successfully supported the operation of the Red Army along the Baltic shores. During the famous Anglo-Yudenich dash on Petrograd in 1919, these warships successfully repulsed all attacks of the British torpedo boats directed on Kronstadt, with heavy losses for the aggressors, three of seven English torpedoboats being sunk by the Russians. It was the Baltic Fleet which recaptured Krasnaya Gor'ka, treacherously surrendered to the enemy by its commandant Nekludov, an officer of the Czar's army who had succeeded in winning the confidence of the Soviets. This was at the most critical moment of the struggle for Petrograd.

In spite of all alleged weakness and all existing difficulties, the Red Baltic Fleet inflicted upon the British navy blockading Russia considerable damage, sinking a large British destroyer of the latest type, the *Victoria*, as well as one submarine. There were also some losses in the navy of our enemy, which remained unknown to the public. The Red torpedo-boat *Gavriil* heroically beat off an attack of four enemy torpedo-boats, while the Baltic Navy, during all the battles near Tsarskoye Selo and Peterhof, bombarded the siege batteries of the

\* Roustam Bek. "Panama de la Marine Russe". Nice, France, 1908. Librairie Rozanoff, 3, Rue Longchamps. This book was printed in the Russian language and was suppressed in Russia. A year later Captain Semenov's book, "Rasplata", appeared in Russia describing the cause of the failure of the Russian navy during the Russo-Japanese War. The information in this article has been taken mostly from official publications of the Soviet Government which have recently arrived from Moscow.—B. R. B.

enemy, in spite of the presence of the 15-inch guns of the British navy, and protected the coast line of the Finnish Gulf as far as Yamburg.

The famous Krasnaya Gorka, key to Kronstadt, after it was recaptured from the White Guards in one day by naval contingents supported by the bombardment of the Red Navy, was henceforth defended by Red seamen, and it was they who so stoically repelled all attacks of the enemy directed on this strategical point from land and sea. Neither Yudenich nor the Allies were able to break down the heroism of the Red sailors in spite of all the superior technical means at their command. Meanwhile on the Lakes Ladoga and Onega newly created Red flotillas were active and distinguished themselves as the watchful guardians of these waters, gradually clearing them from the enemy.

The Kolchak offensive in Siberia also forced the Soviet Government to create naval forces on several rivers and the Volga was the first where the Red Flag of the revolutionary navy was hoisted. Here the Red sailors cooperated with the Red Army in perfect harmony, repulsing the attacks of the Kolchak hordes along the river.

The military operations in Russia, gradually increasing, required the assistance of naval forces in the other regions of the Republic. So in 1919 Red naval units were established in the Caspian Sea and it was no easy task to transport destroyers and submarines from the Baltic Sea to Astrakhan, particularly through the water system and partially by the rails.

The iron ring of the Allied blockade forced the strategy of the Soviets to counter-balance it by a similar ring formed of a series of flotillas established on several lakes and rivers throughout the territory of the Republic. Great was the surprise of the Allies and of the reactionary generals when they met along the whole system of the water communication of Soviet Russia the most stubborn resistance of the newly created Red naval force. Thanks to the superhuman energy of its members, the Red naval administration succeeded in establishing flotillas on the Lower Dnieper and Dnieper, on Chudskoie Lake, on the Northern Dvina and on the Western Dvina, on the Don, and later on the Pripet, Berezina, as well as on the other rivers, according to military circumstances and demands of the army command. And everywhere the enemy was met successively and in many cases suffered tremendous losses.

All this was accomplished in spite of disorganized industry and without the necessary number of experienced specialists. Besides these difficulties, there was another obstacle, perhaps the most important of all for a naval organization. There was a general shortage of coal in Russia. Denikin became the master of the Donets industrial region and practically left the Russian Navy without fuel. The difficulties which the Red Naval administration had to overcome can be imagined if we will take into consideration that the active part of the Baltic Fleet alone required more than 300,000 tons of coal annually without considering the necessi-

ties of the numerous lake and river flotillas. Only the revolutionary spirit of the Red Navy could have kept its guns constantly active and brought the Red ships where their help was required.

After the October Revolution the whole naval apparatus of the imperial ministry of marine was taken over by the Soviets and a great majority of the existing employes submitted themselves to the new regime. This to a certain extent helped the Soviet naval administration in their work of reorganization.

Comrade Dybenko was appointed Commissar for Naval Affairs, replacing the former Marine Minister, and a board was formed under his control with one specialist, M. Ivanov, and three political representatives: Raskolnikov,\* Saks and Kovalsky. Also a special board was established under the name "Centrobalt", which took the supreme command of the Baltic Fleet.

At the end of January, 1918, the imperial navy was completely liquidated and replaced by the "Workers' and Peasants' Red Navy". In the spring of 1918, Trotsky was appointed Commissar for the Military and Marine Affairs of the Republic.

When the Soviet Government established its headquarters in Moscow the center of the naval administration with the Naval Commissariat, the Marine General Staff, and all the technical and other administrative and supply branches of the naval management left Petrograd, where only one member of the Naval Commissariat remained as representative.

The former Admiral V. M. Altvater was appointed by the Soviets the member of the Supreme Naval Board. The appointment of one of the most famous admirals of the old regime produced a great impression on the reactionary elements of the Russian Navy. Altvater was known not only as a foremost expert, but as a man of high character and as a man of honor. It is said that when Kolchak learned that Altvater had joined the Soviets he was much upset and said: "If Altvater is with the Bolsheviki it is a very bad sign."

Admiral Altvater succeeded in attracting to the Red Navy many important experts, who henceforth became devoted and industrious elements in the organization for the support of the cause of the Russian workers.

Anticipating an attack from both land and sea by a numerous enemy, in the autumn of 1918 the Soviet Government undertook a general reorganization of the defense forces of Soviet Russia. The Red Navy with all its administrative machinery was submitted to the control of the Revolutionary Military Soviet. Altvater and Raskolnikov became members of this Soviet and formed its Naval section. Strategically Altvater was the head of all naval forces of the Republic. The Chief of the Red Naval General Staff was also an expert, a former officer of the imperial navy, E. A. Barena, a man of great ability, who is at present the Com-

\* Comrade Raskolnikov was later captured by the English during a raid undertaken by the Baltic Fleet on Riga in October, 1918, when the Red Navy lost two torpedo-boats *Astril* and *Sparta*.

mander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces of Soviet Russia, having succeeded Altwater, who remains on the board of Supreme Revolutionary Military Soviet.

Comrade Barens has at his disposal a special staff and is delegated with purely strategical and executive power, practically as an assistant of the Commander-in-Chief of all military forces of the Republic, who is, as we know, Comrade Trotsky. The administrative and supply departments are centralized under a Commissariat of Naval Affairs under N. I. Ignatiev, subordinate to the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic.

Thus it is clear that the Revolutionary Military Soviet of the Republic is the supreme authority of the military and naval organization of Soviet Russia. To this institution the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy is subordinate. By this organization was secured the coordination and cooperation of the land army and the marine, which is so important for Russian strategy.

The organization of the command of the Baltic Fleet is similar to the organization of the military command in the army. The chief commander of the naval forces is assisted by two political commissars, while in the flotillas one commissar is attached to each commander. This organization is considered as the most suitable to the existing regime.

The Naval General Staff, besides its purely strategical and scientific purposes, is also an advisory institution to the Revolutionary Military Soviet and under its control the general and special naval education is conducted.

The most important branch of the Naval Commissariat is certainly its technical department. The supply of the Red Navy with all kinds of the material, as well as the work in the shipyards is of the foremost importance. The task is a most difficult one in the presence of the economic conditions in which the country finds itself at the present critical moment. The Technical Department of the Naval Commissariat is divided in eight sections: shipbuilding, mechanical, ordnance, mining (torpedoes), submarine, radio-telegraphy, naval aviation, and fortifications. This institution, during the period of the civil war, had built and equipped on the rivers Volga, Kama, North Dvina, Dnieper, and Don as well as on the lakes Ladoga, Onega, and Chudskoie, more than ten ports, up to 1920, and had supervised the reconstruction and armament of more than one thousand commercial ships. Such a gigantic work could not have been accomplished without the most efficient organization for the distribution of material.

On its front page the *New York Times* published a cable from Warsaw in which the summary of Pilsudski's victory over the Red Army is given in such a way that an average reader might believe that the Russian Red Army in the West is completely routed and no longer exists. According to this dispatch, "sixteen Red divisions are routed by the Poles; 42,000 prisoners and

166 guns captured." "The staff of the 3rd and 4th Bolshevik armies," the message says, "are captured and the staff of the 21st, 41st, 55th and 57th Divisions and of several brigades and regiments also have been taken prisoners." "The Poles," it is said, "have taken from the Russians 166 guns, and in addition to 90 machine guns, 1,180 armored cars, 7 armored trains, 3 airoplanes, 21 locomotives, 2,500 wagons, 10 motor-cars and great stores of ammunition and other material which the Bolsheviks had assembled for a Fall drive against the Poles, have been taken."

There cannot be any doubt that these figures are much exaggerated, though they are still lower than those which appeared in the American Press after the Russian attack on Warsaw had been beaten off. In any case, the number of prisoners now claimed by the enemy, in comparison with the number of divisions engaged, namely, sixteen, is far from showing that the Russian army on the Western front was "routed".

In the Red Army a complete division represents about 25,200 men, formed of three brigades, each of three regiments of three battalions. There is no army corps in the Red Army and therefore the infantry divisions are completed proportionally with cavalry, artillery, engineers, aerial squadrons, ambulances and with other auxiliary units. Finally the "routed" sixteen divisions roughly represented a force of about 450,000. The Poles are claiming that they have succeeded in capturing 42,000 men, during the Russian retreat, when the Russians certainly were unable to collect their wounded and sick comrades. Therefore it is plain that most of these prisoners are founded and sick as well as a great number of surgeons, nurses, and orderlies of the medical staff of the Red forces.

At the present moment the Revolutionary Red Field Staff concentrates all its attention upon the South Russian Front where the Wrangel forces have become more and more active. There is no doubt that the Poles, after a long and costly campaign, have been brought by the Russian arms to such a state that they cannot and certainly will not repeat the invasion of Russia. Physically it is an impossibility. On the other hand, Soviet Russia never had any intention of annexing even the smallest part of the Polish territory and once its army succeeded in clearing Soviet Russia from the invaders, strategy had accomplished its task in case the Poles would move sincerely towards peace.

Now the bulk of all the reserves of the Red Army is directed against Wrangel in order to prevent the capture of the Donets industrial region and to put an end to his adventure. This new Russian movement has forced the French strategists to feel very uneasy and, according to the *New York Herald* of October 2, the French military authorities are expressing great doubts as to Wrangel's future success.

The French Government has already started to excuse itself for being forced to cease further military support of Wrangel's army and suggests that America might continue it alone.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

IT IS well to know how things stand. According to the Polish Minister of Finance, the total of American support to Polish chauvinism amounts to \$169,000,000, this being the sum of Polish indebtedness to the American Government and various American corporations for war materials and other supplies essential to the campaign against Soviet Russia. M. Grabski was quite frank. Unless the United States has this sum to throw away, he told a correspondent of the *New York Sun and Herald*, "she will have to continue patiently lending financial and economic assistance, and perhaps even military aid—until the Red menace is entirely crushed." M. Grabski must have imagined that the American people have forgotten the old adage about the questionable practice of throwing away good money after bad. Whether they have or not we do not know. At any rate, M. Grabski continued, "for the present there is no possibility of an early repayment of the huge sums we owe the United States." Moreover, he said, "we have nothing to offer the United States, as she does not need the small export surplus which we are directing elsewhere." Economically, said the Finance Minister, Poland is where it was upon armistice day. Only he neglected to reckon into the account the vast accumulation of debts to the United States and to the other Allies and the untold suffering and wastage of human life which have accrued as a result of Polish imperialism since that day.

According to M. Grabski, the largest items of indebtedness to the United States are distributed as follows: to the Baldwin Locomotive Works approximately one million dollars; to the United States Shipping Board nearly fifteen million dollars; to the United States Grain Corporation and the United States Relief Administration nearly one hundred million dollars; to the United States Liquidation Commission and the United States Army, items designated with significant vagueness as "several millions".

An American correspondent, recently turned propagandist for Polish imperialism, cites the generosity of the Baldwin Locomotive Works as an example to other American industrial concerns

whose duty it is to help "build up a strong Poland" which might successfully perform its mission of standing as a "bulwark". The securities which the Polish Government has given for its purchases in the United States, said the correspondent, "really amounted only to the word of honor of the Polish Government."

IT IS reported that the Chinese Government has at last decided to discontinue the payment of the Boxer indemnity to the Russian Czarist Legation in Peking. Accordingly, says the dispatch, it is expected that the Russian representatives will shortly withdraw from China. Thus is a rich source of subsidy to the counter-revolution cut off. Representatives of Russian reaction in China and elsewhere have made good use of these indemnity payments which China some time ago proposed to discontinue and was only prevented from doing by strong coercion from some quarter. The Soviet Government, of course, long since renounced any claim to the indemnity, and the continued forced payment to reactionary intriguers representing no government anywhere in the world was the sheerest swindling of the Chinese treasury. We must expect now to hear more talk of "Bolshevist propaganda" in China. Under this convenient phrase the imperialists attempt to disguise the fact that one of the early acts of the Soviet Government was to announce that it intended to treat the Chinese people as equal members of the human race and not as vassals of the West. For in renouncing the Boxer indemnity—that pitiless tribute which the European nations wrung annually from a people too weak to protest—the Soviet Government also renounced those other forms and symbols of western domination over China. The Soviet Government proclaimed the abrogation of the old treaties of the Russian Czar which were so unfavorable to China, and renounced also the principle of extra-territoriality and the system of maintaining "legation guards" on Chinese soil and other forms of oppression. The news of these features of the eastern policy of the Soviet Government has spread slowly but no less effectively.

TWO English journalists, returning from sojourn in Soviet Russia, were strangely moved by such a commonplace sight as the railway restaurant at Narva, the first station over the Estonian border. The return to this "outpost of Burgerdom," relates Mr. George Young in the London *Daily Herald*, produced an extraordinary exhilaration in his traveling companions. They joked and laughed over their coffee and buns, "like children home from school."

"But I felt suddenly very old—very old and dead. I was not coming home from school, but back from the next world—the world we shall all come to some day. A world where at first sight there is nothing to see but death and its terrors, because life there is lived in a different plane and at a higher power than here. A world where at first sight there is no beauty and no happiness; but where before I left I began to see a new beauty of social structure and a new happiness

in devotion and discipline. A world that has something of hell and something of heaven, but nothing of the happy home of the middle class limbo . . .

" . . . I felt curiously unsubstantial and unassimilated in the world of Burgerdom—a thin, melancholy spook haunting the old familiar railway restaurant of thirty years of foreign travel. That restaurant so expressive of Burgerdom—property, propriety, and pretension. I felt like hovering ominously between my reveling companions and their third go of coffee and buns—waving a warning of impending doom and vanishing back into the fourth dimension of Bolodom.—And some day I shall."

Mr. Charles Roden Buxton described the same scene in the London *Nation*:

"Here was the first refreshment room I had seen for two months! Nice cold filets of fish, and slices of ham, and delicious clean brown bowls of sour milk—lovely hot veal cutlets of gigantic size. The whole of my bourgeois instincts rose up in rejoicing. Here was the normal type of civilized life.

"And now that I am at Reval, I find that all the rest is of a piece with it. The shops are full of bewildering variety of wares. All is as it should be. The men drink alcohol; the women wear stays; the horses wear bearing reins. It is the old familiar thing again.

"But is it the right thing? How many share in it? . . . What of the countless ones to whom the refreshment room is as remote and inaccessible as it is to the dweller in Soviet Russia—to whom the brilliant shops of capitalist cities are merely a show, and not a thing that they ever expect to enter upon and enjoy? What of the innumerable submerged, packed away out of sight behind the glaring main streets?

"Here in Reval yesterday, poking about the back streets, I met a woman, a widow, who earns twenty-three marks a day in a factory. She pays twelve marks of this for bread, and eight for milk, each day. Does *she* ever go into the Wiru Ulitsa to buy in the shops there? Certainly not . . . If the Wiru and all its shops were to disappear tomorrow it would make no difference whatever to her. She has nothing to do with it . . .

"Some of us have said that a social transformation was possible. Did we really mean it? The Russian Communists have taken it literally, and engaged in the effort at a moment of history which, by its confusion and collapse, gave them the opportunity, but which at the same time was the worst possible moment for the experiment from the point of view of production. If they have not exalted those of low degree in the sense of giving them more to eat than before, they have certainly put down the mighty from their seat. And this was enough to make the world outside fall upon them with horse, foot, and artillery. . . ."

This leads Mr. Buxton into certain reflections upon the subject of "investigations", official and otherwise:

"There is something almost impudent about a minute investigation . . . When I think of the colossal effort that is being made, the tragic conditions of the experiment, the feverish atmosphere of excitement, of elation, of depression, now one and now the other, I feel I cannot isolate the machinery of the Revolution from the human elements that play round it and make, mar, or modify it . . . I cannot examine this people as if they were beetles or butterflies . . . And there is another side to the matter. Why do we not investigate and criticize *ourselves*? Here is Esthonia, for instance . . . Three days ago took place the trial of some twenty or thirty Communists . . . Two were sentenced to death; eleven to imprisonment . . . The offense may have been great, the trial fair; I have not been able to check the facts. All I know is that I have heard horrifying tales of persecution. But why does nobody investigate the matter? . . . The *Morning*

*Post* representative in Reval sends full accounts of what he thinks is going on in Moscow. Why does it never occur to him to ask what is going on in the next street in Reval? . . . My point is simply that if any capitalist state were to be subjected to the minute examination which Soviet Russia is now undergoing at the hands of numerous delegations, it would certainly be found far from perfect. But it is not thought necessary to examine it at all."

\* \* \*

**N**APROZOD, a Polish Socialist daily appearing in Cracow and for years the mouthpiece of Ignace Daszynski, the Polish Socialist leader and at present the Vice-Premier of Poland, contains in its issue of September 8 the following notice:

Vice-Premier Daszynski had also in that matter (controversy with Lithuania) a conversation with the papal nuncio, Monsignore Ratti, to whom he said that the Vatican must not be indifferent if catholic Lithuania concluded a union with Russia.

If we remember that Daszynski is a Socialist, who, by his creed, ought not to foster religious differences and animosities, that he is a member of the Polish Socialist Party which by its program is bound to recognize the separation of church and state, and that, furthermore, as an adherent of "western democracy" he should be expected to live up to the commonplace doctrine of liberalism which is antagonistic to any interference of the Vatican in state political affairs, this matter of asking the intervention of the Vatican may be seen in its true light. And then we may also apprehend the fathomless depth into which the Socialist *Gotterdammerung* has brought its unprincipled riders. What a calm and firm superiority over these men breathes from, let us say, the order of Trotsky, printed in the last issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, and calling to order some chauvinistic elements in the Soviet Russian military bodies. Is it not that the "reevaluation of values" by the variety of Socialists who, like Daszynski of Poland, are condemning the "autocracy" of the Bolsheviks, leads somehow not to democracy, but to the camp of black reaction?

## PEACE WITH FINLAND

The Moscow wireless states that, according to Kerzhentsev, a member of the Russo-Finnish Peace Conference, the fundamental work of the peace negotiations is practically finished.

At present an agreement has been reached by which Russia concedes Finland part of the Pechenga region, thus affording Finland access to the Arctic Ocean. Finland is, however, receiving less territory than was offered to her in 1918. Russia retains the right of free transit through Pechenga. In this way communication with Norway is maintained. Finland is evacuating the two cantons of Eastern Karelia, which she occupied, and these pass to the Eastern Karelian Labor Commune. In the Finnish Gulf, all the islands, including Hogland, are neutralized.

With regard to economic questions, an agreement has been reached by which all past relations are liquidated on the basis of the *status quo*.

The Finnish Delegation considers that the Treaty will be signed in the near future.—London *Daily Herald*, September 15, 1920.

## Profiteering a Hindrance to Trade with Russia

By PROFESSOR GEORGE LOMONOSOV

**T**HE conviction is becoming more and more widespread that the economic system of Europe may be much strengthened by the aid of Russia's raw material. But such a consummation is prevented not only by the military resistance of capitalism, but also by its lust for profit, as is shown by the negotiations which are now being carried on by the Russian Government and the German locomotive industry, on the subject of the delivery of locomotives. The following remarks are taken from the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* on this subject:

The head of the Russian transportation, Professor Lomonosov,\* who is at present in Berlin negotiating with the German locomotive factories, gave a long interview to our Berlin correspondent, Comrade Walter Oehme, and stated among other things, the following:

"The negotiations to conclude which I came to Germany developed as far as the technical side was concerned with a rapidity that I have not witnessed in any other country, and I may say, that during the war I was making purchases both in France and Sweden. We were able to arrive at an agreement very swiftly concerning all technical questions. But the negotiations concerning price have been extremely unsatisfactory. In fact, I now have hardly any hope that this extremely important contract may be concluded, unless the German locomotive manufacturers make serious concessions to us. The negotiations concerning price have now been in progress for a month. We have succeeded in lowering the first offer, which was several hundred thousand marks higher per locomotive than the one preceding it, by consenting to technical simplifications and easier constructions. The negotiations were originally carried on in Berlin. Somewhat later the German manufacturers tried to transfer the seat of negotiations to Stockholm. But I am of the opinion that it is best to negotiate with the English in England, with the Swedes in Sweden, and with the Germans in Germany.

"The German locomotive industry has established a firmly constructed combine, which is negotiating with us. They are attempting thus to shield themselves against underbidding by competing firms. I explain the demands of too high a price by the fact that the capitalists fear new wage demands, and that they wish to secure as much of a capitalistic profit as possible, under any eventuality. But I am convinced that this problem, so important for both peoples, cannot be solved if it is attacked from this standpoint alone. The whole German people, and particularly the Ger-

man workers, are profoundly interested in having this contract concluded.

"Russian foodstuffs and raw materials can only be exported if it is possible to reconstruct the transportation system, which has been much disorganized as a consequence of war. In southern Russia, in the Kuban district, and in Siberia, there are quantities of grain, but in consequence of the poor traffic conditions, it is not even possible to transport it to Moscow, far less to export it to Western Europe. Even though we have succeeded in improving somewhat, with our own efforts, transportation conditions, so that at this date there are two accommodation trains and one express train daily between Moscow and Petrograd, and although we already have 3,600 kilometers of new railway construction, we, nevertheless, by no means are in a position to cover our need of locomotives with the products of our own labor. We need about 5,000 locomotives. The annual production of the whole world is about 10,000. America can construct 5,000 locomotives a year, Germany about 2,500. Germany therefore occupies second place in its capacity in this field. This will give you some idea of the immensity of the prospect of profit in reopening economic relations with Russia. As far as I am informed the negotiations that were conducted in Canada have not yet led to conclusions, but are at present being continued in London. In the interest of both peoples, the German as well as the Russian, it would be very regrettable if our negotiations are a failure because of this matter of price, and we should be forced to depend entirely upon American production. Of course the question of exchange value of money has played no part at all in the negotiations, for all our calculations have been undertaken on a gold basis. It is self-evident also that we are in a position to furnish complete guarantees for the payments we are to make. But the question of price remains the *alpha* and the *omega* of the whole business. It seems necessary to me that the German public be informed that this contract for deliveries of locomotives is not only the beginning of the economic relations between Germany and Russia, but actually the basis and the preliminary condition for such negotiations. I have by no means any doubt that the German workers and the entire German people will recognize this significance of the contracts, or that they are unwilling to permit the great work of a common German-Russian labor in economic reconstruction to be frustrated by differences as to the question of price. The amiable reception and support which I have recently been given at the hands of the German Government, permit me to hope that (since you ask me about this) I may expect from a possible intermediation of the Government or perhaps from the negotiations which the Govern-

\* Professor Lomonosov is not the head of the Russian transportation system; he has the powers of a Commissar for purchases in Western Europe for the Russian railway system, but is not the People's Commissar for Means of Communication. The Acting Commissar for Means of Communication is now Trotzky, replacing Krassin, now at London.

ment is carrying on for all the German economic interests, a favorable influence on the negotiations which are still in progress. And my hope of this is all the greater since I have learned with pleasure that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Simons, has expressed his appreciation of our vast plans and labors of reconstruction. I cannot, however, close the conversation, without repeatedly emphasizing that the question of transportation is

at present the most decisive and significant one, the one on which all other economic relations are based, and that it therefore would be a great disaster to both peoples if difficulties regarding price to be paid on delivery of locomotives should cause the extremely important negotiations with the German locomotive industry to fail.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, August 24, 1920.

## The Managements of Petrograd Industries

THE question which form of management, collegium or individual, is the better, has been eagerly discussed in those circles interested in the reconstruction of industry in Russia, since the last Congress of the Economic Councils. The Statistical Bureau of the city of Petrograd together with the Statistical Subsection of the Petrograd Labor Committee has sent out a questionnaire with the object of determining how far these two forms of management are represented in the factories of Petrograd, and also to determine the membership of the collegiums directing the factories on March 1, 1920. From this questionnaire we take the following data:

Two hundred and sixty enterprises were investigated with a total working personnel of 81,069. As Petrograd, according to statistical reports had, at the time of investigation, 205 enterprises (each having over 50 workers on January 1, 1919), which employed altogether 87,578 workers, the investigation consequently covered enterprises embracing at present more than 90 per cent of all Petrograd workers.

### Number of Enterprises

| Size of the Enterprises   | Individual management |          | Collegium management |          | Total |          |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|-------|----------|
|                           | No.                   | Per Cent | No.                  | Per Cent | No.   | Per Cent |
| 50 workers or less.....   | 35                    | 64.8     | 19                   | 35.2     | 54    | 100      |
| From 51 to 200 workers 73 |                       | 60.3     | 48                   | 39.7     | 121   | 100      |
| Over 200 workers.....     | 26                    | 30.6     | 59                   | 69.4     | 85    | 100      |
| Total .....               | 134                   | 51.5     | 126                  | 48.5     | 260   | 100      |

Individual management is the rule, for the most part, in the small enterprises, of which 64.8 per cent are managed by one person. Among the medium-sized enterprises, we find individual management in 60.8 per cent of the enterprises, among the large enterprises, in 30.6 per cent. It is also mostly in the small enterprises that we find the former possessor acting as manager or retaining charge of the business. Of considerably greater interest are the large enterprises. The following table shows in what form and for how long the one or the other form of management has been introduced into these enterprises:

### Distribution of Enterprises According to the Time When the Present Form of Management Was Introduced (in per cent)

| Size of the Enterprises | The present form of management was introduced: |                      |       |  |                      |       |                       |                      |       |
|-------------------------|--|----------------------|-------|--|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------|
|                         | Before the November Revolution                 |                      |       | In the period from November 1917, to January 1, 1919 |                      |       | After January 1, 1919 |                      |       |
|                         | Individual management                          | Collegium management | Total | Individual management                                | Collegium management | Total | Individual management | Collegium management | Total |
| 50 workers or less..... | 53.3   | 46.7                 | 100.0 | 66.7   | 33.3                 | 100.0 | 57.9                  | 42.1                 | 100.0 |
| From 51 to 200 workers  | 67.4   | 32.6                 | 100.0 | 55.6   | 44.4                 | 100.0 | 64.4                  | 35.6                 | 100.0 |
| Over 200 workers.....   | 33.3   | 66.7                 | 100.0 | 16.0   | 84.0                 | 100.0 | 31.0                  | 69.0                 | 100.0 |
| Total .....             | 55.2   | 44.8                 | 100.0 | 39.0   | 61.0                 | 100.0 | 52.7                  | 47.3                 | 100.0 |

Of these 260 enterprises, 134, that is 51.5 per cent, with 27,639, that is 34.1 per cent of the workers, are managed according to the principle of individual management. Some of the enterprises have retained their former proprietors who, together with the factory committees, manage the enterprises. The form of management in these enterprises, therefore, has not been altered since the pre-revolutionary period.

Of those enterprises which have not altered their form of management since the first date mentioned above, the largest number (55.2 per cent) have been managed on the principle of individual management, while the principle of collegium management has held in the minority (44.8 per cent). After the November Revolution the expropriation of enterprises naturally reached its highest point; on this account it can easily be understood that

of those enterprises which have retained the same form since that time, in the larger number (61 per cent) collegium management is to be found. But lately, a reaction has taken place; most of the enterprises that have changed their form of management since January 1, 1919, have gone over to individual management; 52 per cent of all enterprises whose form of management has been altered in the course of the last 14 months, have decided on individual management.

This rapid change, which has taken place since the Revolution, is particularly interesting in connection with the size of the enterprises.

In the small and medium-sized enterprises the picture is exceedingly clear: they have retained their form of management only when the form was that of individual management. In reference to the small enterprises, individual management has been the rule since the first period in 53.3 per cent of the enterprises; since the second period in 66.7 per cent; since the third period in 57.9 per cent of the enterprises. The case is the same in the medium-sized enterprises: individual management has been the rule in 67.4 per cent of all enterprises since the first period; in 55.6 per cent since the second period; and in 64.4 per cent since the third period. The large enterprises, on the other hand, present a different picture. The transition from collegium management to individual management is accomplished much more slowly in these enterprises. Nevertheless, the number of cases in which individual management is introduced has increased from 16 per cent in the second period to 31 per cent in the last period.

As we see, a definite tendency in favor of the gradual transition to individual management is making itself felt. Collegium management has not demonstrated its ability to exist in the smaller enterprises alone, but also in the large enterprises, and as time goes on, is being more and more discarded for individual management.

which is now 312.8 workers, was at the beginning of the Revolution 920.6 men. The difference, therefore, is very great. But which enterprises suffered more, those with collegium management or those with individual management? Let us turn to the numerical data:

*Enterprises With Collegium Management*

*Average number of workers to each enterprise:*

| Size of the Enterprises | On March 1, 1920 | Before the Revolution | Ratio of prerevolution figure to 1920 figure |
|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|--|
| 50 workers or less..... | 41.4             | 119.7                 | 2.9  |
| From 50 to 200 workers  | 117.0            | 342.7                 | 2.9  |
| Over 200 workers.....   | 797.6            | 2,451.4               | 3.1  |
| Total average.....      | 345.2            | 1,313.8               | 3.8  |

*Enterprises With Individual Management*

*Average number of workers to each enterprise:*

| Size of the Enterprises | On March 1, 1920 | Before the Revolution | Ratio of prerevolution figure to 1920 figure |
|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|--|
| 50 workers or less..... | 29.0             | 86.7                  | 2.9  |
| From 50 to 200 workers  | 103.7            | 396.5                 | 3.8  |
| Over 200 workers.....   | 734.1            | 1,691.0               | 2.3  |
| Total average.....      | 206.8            | 573.3                 | 2.8  |

The decrease in the number of workers is very significant in both groups of enterprises. But there is no doubt that those enterprises which have the collegium form of management have suffered more. As a consequence of the disorganization of industry, they have been compelled to decrease their working force to one-fourth (3.8 times), while the enterprises with single management have decreased their forces only 3 times. If we view the single groups according to their size, we become convinced that of the enterprises with collegium management, just those have been affected the most that have resisted most obstinately the introduction of the system of individual management, namely, the large enterprises.

But what is the social position and what are the callings of the members of the managements, of what persons are they composed?

COLLEGIUM MANAGEMENT

*Number of Members*

| Size of the Enterprises | Total number of workers |             | Total number of clerks |             | Total |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|-------|
|                         | In per cent             | In per cent | In per cent            | In per cent |       |
| 50 workers or less..... | 26                      | 44.8        | 32                     | 55.2        | 58    |
| From 51 to 200 workers  | 82                      | 53.2        | 72                     | 46.8        | 154   |
| Over 200 workers.....   | 105                     | 46.6        | 120                    | 53.4        | 225   |
| Total .....             | 213                     | 48.7        | 224                    | 51.3        | 437   |

INDIVIDUAL MANAGEMENT

*Number of Managers*

| In per cent | Total number of workers |             | Total number of clerks |             | Total number of engineers and technicians |      | Total | In per cent |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|---|------|-------|-------------|
|             | In per cent             | In per cent | In per cent            | In per cent | In per cent                               |      |       |             |
| 100.0       | 11                      | 31.4        | 15                     | 42.9        | 9   | 25.7 | 35    | 100.0       |
| 100.0       | 20                      | 27.8        | 28                     | 38.9        | 24  | 33.3 | 72    | 100.0       |
| 100.0       | 7                       | 26.9        | 9                      | 34.6        | 10  | 38.5 | 26    | 100.0       |
| 100.0       | 38                      | 28.6        | 52                     | 39.1        | 43  | 32.3 | 133   | 100.0       |

Since the beginning of the Revolution, the enterprises have not only made alterations in their form of management; but also, of course, in the method of production and in the extension of the enterprises, great changes have taken place. In the greater part of the enterprises, the number of workers has decreased greatly; instead of 239,356 workers at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution, the enterprises investigated show that they now employ only 81,069 workers. The average number of workers to each enterprise,

The majority of the directors, in single management as well as collective management, are not workingmen. The percentage of workingmen among the collegiums, which amounts in enterprises with collegium management to 48.7 per cent, falls in enterprises with single management to 28.6 per cent. In the collegium management groups, this percentage fluctuates without showing any definite tendency. But in the single management the demands on the directors result slowly, but the larger the enterprise the more definitely,



in the appointment of specialists, technicians, and in fact, of the employes and former managers, to direct the enterprises. We see also, that the number of experts, technicians and in fact the office employes among the managers is not only larger in the enterprises with individual management than in the enterprises with collegium management (71.4 per cent against 51.3), but that it rises with the size of the enterprise, in enterprises with individual management.

The members of the managing groups belong to the most varied specialties. Unfortunately, in this respect, we have reports only from those members of the managing groups who were in Petrograd when the questionnaire was sent out (altogether 372 persons). Among the metal workers, the lathe workers (6) and the locksmiths (27) are particularly numerous; among the food stuff workers, the bakers (13); among the printers, the typesetters (16); among the needle trades, the tailors (10), etc. Among the officials the group of engineers (73), technicians (20), mechanics (12), bookkeepers (13), office employes (11), etc., is particularly noticeable. However, we find here also persons who, according to their former occupations have no relation to industry whatever, such as a lawyer, a literary man, a former officer, two teachers, two merchants, etc. It is hard to say how these persons came to be placed at the head of Petrograd enterprises.

The number of female members of managing groups is very small: there are altogether 34 women among 570 directors. The percentage of women is somewhat larger in the enterprises with collective management (7.1 per cent of all members of managing groups) and much smaller in the enterprises with single management (altogether 3.3 per cent).

Of interest also is the position taken by the Communist collectives in the enterprises towards the one or other form of management, for to the collectives fall the leading role in the organization of production in the enterprises. If we place the single groups of enterprises with individual and with collegium management in juxtaposition, we obtain the following picture:

| Size of the Enterprises | Form of Management | Percentage of enterprises with Communist collectives | Average number of members to each collective |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--|--|
| 50 workers or less..... | Individual .....   | 17.1   | 7.3  |
|                         | Collegium .....    | 22.2   | 13.3   |
| From 50 to 200 workers  | Individual .....   | 65.8   | 10.9   |
|                         | Collegium .....    | 54.3   | 10.1   |
| Over 200 workers.....   | Individual .....   | 88.0   | 37.4   |
|                         | Collegium .....    | 98.3   | 39.0   |
| Total .....             | Individual .....   | 57.1   | 18.3   |
|                         | Collegium .....    | 70.4   | 29.5   |

We see, consequently, that the number of Communist organizations in the enterprises depends on the size of the enterprises. The percentage of the enterprises with collectives increases with the size of the enterprise; in regard to enterprises with individual management it is 17.1 per cent (for enterprises of 50 workers or less), 65.8 per cent (for enterprises of from 50 to 200 workers), and

88 per cent (for enterprises with over 200 workers); and in enterprises with collective management it is 22.2 per cent, 54.3 per cent, and 98.3 per cent respectively. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the mass of workers in the large factories and works are always better organized than the workers scattered about in small enterprises. In the same manner, the power of the collective, the number of its members increases with the size of the enterprise. The single exceptions in this respect are the medium-sized enterprises with collegium management. Extremely significant, however, is the distribution and the influence of the party collectives in connection with the form of management. While of those enterprises with single management only 57.1 per cent have collectives, the percentage of enterprises with collegium management in which collectives are to be found reached 70.4 per cent. The number of members of collectives is smaller in enterprises with single management (18.3 members as against 29.5).

The degree to which the Party collectives contribute to the organization of production, can be seen by comparing the extent of voluntary work (worker's Saturdays and Sundays) in the enterprises with collegium management with that in the enterprises with individual management.

| Size of the Enterprises  | Individual Management   |  | Collegium Management  |  |
|--------------------------|---|--|---|--|
|                          | Per cent of the enterprises which organized voluntary labor in 1919 | Per cent of the enterprises with party collectives | Per cent of the enterprises which organized voluntary labor in 1919 | Per cent of the enterprises with party collectives |
| 50 workers or less.....  | 21.4  | 17.1   | 18.2  | 22.2   |
| From 50 to 200 workers.. | 10.7  | 65.8   | 34.1  | 54.3   |
| Over 200 workers.....    | 37.5  | 88.0   | 46.0  | 98.3   |
| Total .....              | 23.7  | 57.1   | 38.2  | 70.4   |

The Saturday and Sunday work is the more intense the larger the enterprise (with one single exception) and corresponds in this respect to the number of collectives in the enterprises. The significance of the collectives in this connection stands forth most clearly in the fact that the number of organized Saturdays and Sundays in the enterprises with single management, that is, in the group which possesses the smallest number of collectives, is strikingly smaller than in the enterprises with collegium management (23.7 per cent against 38.2 per cent).

### INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

The *Izvestia* reports that in the Shaitan works (in the Urals) a new production entirely for Russia of seamless tubing has been arranged for. The test of the tubes gave splendid results. The work on the installation of the pipes is taken care of by the plant.

In connection with the foreign goods exchange experimental work was started in the Ural emerald mines; preparatory work was also started on the exploitation of asbestos mines and putting asbestos factories into operation. This summer a few pounds of thorium has been already washed.

## The Lafont Affair

[The following interesting documents speak of a meeting between Ernest Lafont, a French Socialist, and the Polish "Socialist" Daszynski, with resulting revelations concerning the aggressive policy of the present Polish Government, and also concerning Lafont's subsequent expulsion from Russia.]

### *Order from the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic*

Moscow, July 31, 1920. No. 232.

The French citizen, Ernest Lafont, together with his wife, Zinaida Lafont, arrived in Soviet Russia via Poland. When he was in Warsaw he visited the French military mission, which is the center of all hostilities of the imperialist counter-revolution against the Socialist Republic. Having arrived in Russia, Deputy Lafont did not, on his own initiative, give any explanations to the government of the Soviet Republic, and did not take any immediate steps to aid the Soviet Government in the war against the bourgeois counter-revolution. In a private talk which he delivered in the presence of Comrade Jaques Sadoul, Deputy Lafont made a number of extremely interesting statements based on his visit to Warsaw. In the opinion of Jaques Sadoul, whose judgment and integrity are above suspicion, the import of these statements was perfectly definite, which he related in a letter appended herewith. The import of Deputy Lafont's speech, as related by Comrade Sadoul, shows that the social-chauvinist Daszynski, who is one of the persons most responsible for the Polish offensive, and who is now a member of the Polish Government, considers an armistice with Russia a respite to secure the concentration of military forces for a new attack on Soviet Russia.

When questioned by me, Deputy Lafont, while not disavowing this view of the "peace" steps of the Polish Government, emphatically denied the above stated sense of his conversation with Daszynski, who, as is well known, is looked upon as a Socialist by Lafont's party. Regardless of what may be the cause of Lafont's statement, the indubitable fact remains that at a time when the Socialist Republic is at war with a bourgeois republic, which besides is but a tool in the hands of the imperialists of the country in whose parliament Deputy Lafont has a seat, this Deputy, who considers himself a French Socialist, travels in the capacity of a neutral observer from Paris to Warsaw and from Warsaw to Moscow, exchanges "comradely" opinions with Daszynski, with the members of the French military mission, and with other organizers of the base and dishonest offensive against the Soviet Republic, and consciously refuses to stigmatize publicly the worst enemies of the Polish, French, and Russian proletariat. In view of citizen Lafont's refusal to unmask the perfidious, treacherous scheme of the enemies of Soviet Russia, there are no guarantees that his friendly relations with the former may not lead to consequences which make dangerous his presence within the boundaries of Soviet Russia.

In view of the above, and in order to protect

the Russian Socialist Republic from "socialists" who try to appear simultaneously as friends both of bourgeois Poland and Socialist Russia, which are at deadly grips with each other, I hereby order that: Deputy Ernest Lafont and his wife, who is bound to him by political solidarity, shall be expelled from the boundaries of the Soviet Republic, and the reasons for this extreme measure shall be widely announced in Russia and throughout the world for the information of the working masses.

The execution of this order of expulsion is entrusted to the special department of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.

*Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic,*  
L. TROTSKY.

### *Jaques Sadoul on Lafont's Statements Regarding the Polish Plans*

Ernest Lafont, a French Socialist Deputy, arrived in Moscow. This is not his first visit to Russia. He came from France during the Kerensky regime, to urge the Russian soldiers to continue the imperialistic war.

Lafont had just spent a week at Warsaw, where he met a number of political leaders. Speaking of the situation in Poland, he related as follows:

"I met Daszynski. Like most of the Poles, he declared that he did not consider as hopeless the situation created by the defeats inflicted upon Poland by the Red Army. In his opinion Poland was not defeated and, consequently, the war was not ended. The armistice, which Poland wants, is necessary for the reorganization of the army. The army has not been annihilated. It was forced to retreat owing to the lack of ammunition. Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, and Danzig are blockading Poland and hinder the arrival of ammunition. He stated further, "but we are negotiating with the neighboring countries, particularly with Germany. Through Entente pressure Poland will receive from Germany, for certain concessions in Silesia, a part of the arms and ammunition which Germany had to turn over to the Allies in fulfillment of the Versailles Treaty. When these arms and supplies are delivered our army will be rapidly reestablished by means of volunteers, for the approach of the Soviet troops has aroused great patriotic zeal in Poland. Thus, all that we need now, is to gain time."

We do not need to emphasize the importance of the statements made to Lafont by M. Daszynski, who is now the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs. At the very moment when the Polish Government is solemnly declaring to the whole world that it sincerely desires peace, one of the eminent cynically admits that his government de-

sires an armistice and enters into negotiations, solely with a view to gain time in order to be able to reorganize its military forces and to begin the war anew.

*Under a Socialist Mask*

By N. MESCHERIAKOV

The French "socialist" Lafont, who came a short time ago, was expelled from Soviet Russia. The circumstances which led to his expulsion reveal a very interesting view of conditions in the old socialist parties of Western Europe, and of the disintegration and decay which is now taking place in these parties.

In the midst of a bitter war between the workmen's and peasants' Socialist Russia and landlord's Poland, with the French workers unreservedly in sympathy with Soviet Russia, a member of the French Socialist Party, Lafont, travels to Poland, listens there to French generals and Polish ministers who confess that under cover of an armistice they want to prepare for a new war, a new attack on Soviet Russia; that they want to use once more the Polish workers and peasants as cannon fodder in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The French "socialist" listens to all this, and does not protest, does not expose these base, perfidious plans to his party and to the proletariat of the whole world.

When he came to Russia he spoke of these plans only among acquaintances. And when he was asked to make a public statement he cowardly refused to do so. Trying to cover up the vile perfidy of Daszynski, his friend through the Second Internationale, Lafont himself becomes a traitor to the proletariat of Russia and Poland, to the proletariat of the whole world.

It is obvious that such a "socialist" could not be tolerated in Soviet Russia. His expulsion from Soviet Russia was a necessary reply to his base complicity and betrayal . . .

**SOVIET MEDICAL SERVICE**

*(At the Congress of Physicians)*

By U. BOVIN

Close cooperation of the toiling intelligentsia with the working masses was always in the interest of both groups. The Soviet power has always urged such cooperation. Especially important is cooperation with the workers on the part of the medical profession.

This path has now been chosen by the physicians, who recently joined a common trade union with all medical workers. To be sure, the physicians have always lived up to the highest conception of their professional duty, have always unselfishly fulfilled their obligations. But, heretofore, a certain lack of sympathy with some measures of the Soviet power in general, and with those in the domain of medicine in particular, was apparent in their work.

The First Congress of the Physicians of the Petrograd province which is now taking place has shown that the physicians have found a common language with the Soviet power, that highly esteeming their professional duty, they firmly accepted a command basis of cooperation with the Soviet power.

A good deal of discussion was around at yesterday's session of the congress by the reports of Comrade Pervukhin and Dr. Gran on the question of Soviet and local medical service.

After elucidating the chief principles of Soviet medical service (popular or free service, etc.), Comrade Pervukhin pointed out that the Soviet power is striving to consolidate medical effort, and to put into effect a number of measures which will tend to bring order into medical work. The Department of Health and the working masses welcome all physicians who are willing to work in this field.

Dr. Gran, in his report, took issue with the opinion that the Soviet medical service is based on new principles. Its slogans, he contended, are the slogans of Russian social and labor medical service, and the Soviet power merely energetically brought them into life.

Yesterday's discussions centered around these questions. Most of the speakers held that it did not matter how the organization of medical effort would be called, whether it be called Soviet, social or labor medical service, but that the important thing was to carry these slogans into life without convulsion.

On the whole the speeches of the physicians showed willingness and readiness to work in favor of the new medical service, for the Soviet power has created all the possibilities of attaining this end, much more so than the bourgeois-capitalist order.

In his closing speech Comrade Pervukhin urged the physicians to cooperate. As to the criticism that there is bureaucratism in the Department of Health, he replied that this evil, which the Soviet power is now energetically combatting, is an outcome of the difficult time when the Soviet power could not obtain the necessary forces from among the broad masses of the medical workers and was forced to engage the old officials who brought with them their bureaucratic spirit.

Replying to other questions which were brought up at the congress, Comrade Pervukhin pointed out that many plans in the interests of medical reconstruction cannot be realized, and that a good deal of the work done is not at all what might be desired, principally because we are now using all our energy for the struggle with the external enemy, because many physicians and other essential medical workers have been taken away for work at the front; but after the victorious termination of the war we will be able to devote ourselves, with renewed energy, to the realization of the outlined measures.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, July 1, 1920.

## Documents

*Mr. Chicherin has sent, through Mr. Kamenev, the following reply to Mr. Balfour's Note:*

Mr. Balfour having acknowledged the receipt of our last dispatch with a few words of comment, we on our part cannot let these pass without making some remarks. After the British Government has recognized that the Russian Government was entitled to demand from the Polish Government guaranties against the recurrence of its wanton attack, Mr. Balfour now says that the British Government does not consider the limitation of the Polish army a just condition, but one which only does not involve British active intervention.

Taking note of this change in the British Government's attitude, we cannot help suspecting that the British Government is once more a victim of what has so often, unfortunately, influenced its Russian policy, namely, misinformation.

It seems as if Mr. Balfour labors under the illusion that a radical change has occurred in the military situation as between Russia and Poland. What has in reality occurred is the unsuccessful result of one particular operation, which, at most, means a delay in the attainment of the object of the campaign.

Mr. Balfour has been completely misinformed if he ascribes more than this to the military events which have taken place before Warsaw. Our relative strength with regard to Poland is the same as before; it has even altered to our advantage, owing to the reinforcements sent to the front. If, therefore, members of the British Government recognized three weeks ago that Russia was entitled to apply the rights of victor, the situation in this respect remains unchanged.

We, for our part, still adhere to the attitude which we adopted from the beginning: namely, that not one of our terms has the character of an ultimatum, and that each one of them can be discussed and examined during our negotiations with Poland.

Having a lasting peace as its object, the Russian Government's principal means of attaining this is the moral support and sympathy of the great working masses of other countries. In view of the constant action of the Polish workers for the cause of peace with Russia, the Russian Government, without endangering the cause of peace, felt itself justified in supplementing the Polish army by an armed militia consisting of workers; while any other composition of this militia would nullify the limitation of the Polish army.

Mr. Balfour once more repeats the insulting accusations contained in the unfortunate British communique of August 24 against the Russian Government's action in this matter. The original summary of the Russian terms consisting only of a few lines, and the final peace conditions having to be a lengthy document, the abundant material which the latter must contain, but which naturally

was not in the former, is open to the same objection of having been concealed from the British when the initial summary was communicated to the latter.

The Russian Government, therefore, cannot help seeing in this objection an outcome of the same delusion under which Mr. Balfour was laboring concerning an imaginary radical change in Russian policy, which, he appears to consider, justifies the new attitude towards Russia, as expressed in the above communique.

Nor can we help doubting whether the British Government would have come out with the same violent opposition had the proposal been to form the civic militia from members of the propertied classes. In fact, the British Government has given sufficient proof of its sympathies with victors imposing upon a vanquished people the strengthening of the power of the propertied classes. Great Britain was, for example, one of those Powers which put forward, as a condition of peace for the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the removal of its Proletarian Government; and the whole Russian policy of the British Government during the last two years has exclusively been an expression of the same tendency.

Mr. Balfour is therefore hardly justified in invoking an alleged principle of the British Government in this matter: and if he thinks that the creation of an armed workers' militia would upset civil order it is clear that he regards civil order as the crushing of the great working community under the domination of the propertied classes by sheer brute force.

Mr. Balfour's final observation as to the supposed failure of Russia's workers' and peasants' government to procure more well-being for the poor is in no greater measure a proof of impartiality. The Government which, for two years, carried on the so-called "economic encirclement" of Russia for a long time deprived the Russian people even of coal and oil, and cut it off from the richest grain-producing provinces, is hardly in a position to express astonishment that the Russian Government has not been able to secure to the Russian people more well-being than is now the fact.

The complete confidence which was so many times expressed by members of the British Government, or by their mouthpiece in the press, as to the effectiveness of the blockade in crushing the resistance of the Soviet Government, must lead to the conclusion that it is not the lack of well-being in Russia which should be an object of astonishment: on the contrary, no other form of Government given similar conditions could have called forth such a power of resistance in the Russian

people, or could have preserved it during the unprecedented trials to which it was subjected by the action of the Allied powers.

Under no other form of government would it have been possible for the Russian people to hold out without fuel, without the southern grain, without agricultural implements, and without the other machinery which Russia has always imported from abroad.

Mr. Balfour is once more completely misinformed if he thinks that the riches of the upper class in Russia have simply been destroyed and have not become the patrimony of the whole community; the marvels of art which formerly adorned the palaces of princes or great financiers are now available to the whole nation, and have become a source of delight to the great masses, who formerly were cut off from the highest joys of life.

These palaces are now palaces of the people and the home of great popular institutions, in which the life of the nation centers. The luxurious dwellings of the aristocracy have been converted into great popular clubs, in which the working community enjoys life, listens to music, sees good plays, participates in political discussions, attends scientific lectures, or simply spends its free time in friendly intercourse. Popular theatres, popular concerts, popular scientific institutions are multiplying daily in the suburbs of the great cities, as well as in remote villages.

Special institutes of proletarian culture are initiating the great working masses into all the mysteries of art and science, and every human talent finds generous encouragement, enabling it to develop its highest possibilities. The houses of the rich have been given to the poor, and those who formerly rotted in slums now enjoy the benefits of good housing. Technical inventions are now utilized to promote the welfare of the great masses, and electricity appears in villages where primitive conditions hitherto prevailed. Popular soup kitchens and communal feeding bring relief, in the painful conditions created by the blockade, to the great masses, which under any other system would have been a complete impossibility.

The great working community of Russia has taken its fate into its own hands, in the form of the Soviet system. Peace alone is needed in order to enable it to develop its incalculable possibilities. Peace is therefore our fundamental aim, and Russia's war with Poland is only an episode in her struggle for peace.

#### SITUATION OF THE NAPHTHA INDUSTRY IN THE BAKU DISTRICT

The *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* contains the following data on the situation of the naphtha industry in the Baku district:

In 1919 the production of naphtha in the six sections of the Baku district (Balakhny, Sabunchi, Romany, Bibi-Eibat, Surakhany and Vinagady) amounted to 225 million poods, against 192 million poods in 1918. But in comparison with 1913, when the production in the same sections amounted

to 443 million poods, the production of last year is almost 50 per cent less.

In the current year the production of naphtha in the Baku district continues to remain on the level of 1919. In the first third of the present year the production of naphtha in the six sections was 55.9 million poods; in January 18.7 million poods, in February 17.9 million poods, and in March 19.3 million poods.

The export of naphtha products from the Baku district, which was isolated during the whole of 1919 from its chief markets, was expressed by the insignificant figure of 40.5 million poods, of which 20.7 million poods were sent to Batum.

Under such conditions the reserves of naphtha products, which in the beginning of 1919 amounted to 126 million poods, mounted on January 1, 1920, to 275 million poods, on June 12 to 292 million poods, which is three times that of the reserves in peace time (9 million poods on June 1, 1913). They continued to increase in the early months of the current year, since the export remained as before, considerably behind the production. Only the export of naphtha products to Astrakhan, which began after the establishment of a Soviet regime in Baku, stopped the further increase of the naphtha stock and the overcrowding of the warehouses, which threatened to paralyze the production of naphtha.

The reserves at hand of the naphtha products in the Grozny region, as of June 16, 1920, are 33.5 million poods.

Work will begin in the nearest future on the construction of the naphtha pipe line Emba-Ural-Saratov. The construction provides for two shifts: the first, from the naphtha wells to the right bank of the Ural, in a period of four to five months, on a length of 200-250 versts; the second shift is from the Ural to Saratov, 500 versts in length. In Saratov will be built a plant for the production of naphtha products.

#### A POLISH COMMISSION IN BUDAPEST

BRUNN, September 3, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—*Der Tagesbote aus Mähren und Schlesien* of September 2, reports as follows: According to information we received from political sources in Budapest several days ago, a Polish Commission arrived in Budapest. Its main object is to draft into the Polish army citizens of Poland residing in Hungary. Its second object is to recruit soldiers for the Polish army from among the Hungarian people; this will be done with the consent of the Hungarian Government. In short, the Commission was given to understand that they might recruit all Hungarian citizens who volunteer for the Polish army.

#### DIRECT ALLIED THREAT

PARIS, Friday.—The Conference of Ambassadors has decided to send Germany a note protesting against the stoppage of vessels bound for Danzig in the Kiel Canal.

# Wireless and Other News

## CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### *New Library in Archangel*

Moscow, August 27, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—The building of a colossal library has been undertaken in Archangel. This library is to be the central point for the entire northern district.

### *New Polytechnic Institute*

Moscow, August 27.—The newly erected Polytechnic Institute of Kamyschlev began its sessions during the month of July.

### *Music for the Blind*

In Eiskla there has been organized a department for the musical guidance of the blind. The orchestra consists solely of blind people.

### *Courses in Science*

Moscow, August 27, 1920.—In the district of Gomel, active steps are being taken to instruct those ignorant of science. The courses are under the guidance of professional organizations.

### *Petrograd Schools*

Moscow, August 31, 1920.—The registration of Petrograd children for the new school year took place on August 22 and 25. From the 25th of August to the 1st of September, the entrance examinations will take place. A commission composed of five members determines the classes for which the children are fitted. Instruction will be carried on in buildings especially constructed for the purpose. In the schools, there are specially constructed rooms for musical and artistic studies.

## HYGIENE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 3, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—The following report from Moscow has reached us, dated September 2: Under the auspices of the Congress of Bacteriologists and Students of Epidemic Diseases, which is now in progress in Moscow, a National Institute of Hygiene was opened on the 30th of August. Diatropotov and other famous professors gave enthusiastic speeches on the subject. Moscow is making considerable headway in city hygiene through the appointment of hygiene instructors. The inhabitants of every house elect a delegate, who, after receiving special instruction in sanitation and hygiene, becomes the inspector of hygiene of his special group of public and private dwellings.

## RED ARMY HOSPITALS

Moscow, August 20, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—The great vigilance which the Workmen's and Peasants' Committees exercised in the nursing of the sick and wounded Red soldiers has already borne fruit. Sanitary conditions have improved noticeably within a comparatively short

time. We, in Moscow, can proudly and joyfully set to the credit of the Sanitary Army a number of successful undertakings. The daily order of Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russian Committee of the Soviets, points to the exemplary conditions existing in the war hospitals, in regard to the cleanliness of the wards, as well as to the treatment of the soldiers lying there for treatment in the hospitals. In regard to the technical question, the ruling powers there are carrying on a very obvious struggle against all defects of the past.

## LABOR INSPECTION

Report from *Rosta*, Vienna.—On the 27th of August, *Pravda* wrote as follows, with regard to the question of superintendence of labor: While there were only 212 labor inspectors on August first a year ago, the number has increased to 535. Nevertheless, the number is still too small, and provision will have to be made for labor inspection to include not only the immediate laboring population, but the country as well.

## PRIESTS IN FAVOR OF SOVIET RULE

Report from *Rosta*, Vienna.—*Izvestia* reports from Minsk: In several villages in the vicinity of Minsk, priests addressed public meetings, declared themselves followers of the Soviet Government, and called upon the peasants to turn over their stores of grain to the Red Army, and to help destroy the Polish advance by joining the Red armies.

## PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE

CHRISTIANIA, September 2, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—Moscow, September 1. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade was created in connection with the important tasks with which Soviet Russia was confronted at the time when she resumed her trade relations with foreign countries. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade is the only technical and executive body which concerns itself with export and import trade in all its aspects.

## LUMBER INDUSTRY

Moscow, August 30, 1920 (From *Rosta*, Vienna).—The All-Russian Congress of Lumber Committees adopted a resolution in which its report of successful activity during the past year was accepted with satisfaction, and the formation of a Central Committee approved. The Congress also declared itself in favor of a mobilization of labor in the lumber industry.

### IMPORTS TO RUSSIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 2, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—On September first, the following report came to us from Moscow: The *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* writes as follows: Statistical reports of Russian foreign trade demonstrate clearly the fact that importation is on the increase. Thus we see, for instance, in June, 1920, only 66,000 poods of paper were imported, while in July the quantity had increased to 190,000 poods. Electrical appliances, parts of farm-implements, instruments of various kinds, and other articles are being imported in large quantities. At present, Soviet Russia is dependent upon the good offices of Esthonia, but the conclusion of peace with Latvia will doubtless greatly influence Russian trade, and afford Soviet Russia wider scope for the transportation of her goods.

### THE RETURN OF RUSSIAN PRISONERS FROM BULGARIA

CHRISTIANIA, September 3 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—A report from Moscow, September 2, reads as follows: A transport of 350 Russian war-prisoners reached Odessa on August 31. These had languished in Bulgarian prisons for years. The prisoners relate what ill-luck the generals of Denikin and Wrangel had when they tried to force Russian soldiers into the White armies.

### ATROCITIES OF POLISH OFFICERS

ODESSA, August 11.—The Polish newspapers publish reports of the trial in the field court-martial of Lieutenant Malinovsky of the Polish army, who, acting as commandant of a camp for war prisoners, personally shot soldiers of the Red Army, without any trial. He buried one live soldier up to his neck and then cut his head off with a sabre.

Even the Polish court felt it necessary to sentence Malinovsky to imprisonment for four years.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, August 14.

### FORMER WHITE OFFICERS AGAINST WRANGEL

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—On the 30th of August the following report reached us from Moscow: Fifteen hundred officers of the one-time Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich armies assembled in a concentration camp on the Caspian Sea, and issued a proclamation to the Cossacks and all other soldiers fighting under the white banner. In this proclamation, they call upon these White Guards to desert their generals and join the Soviet Army, where, for the first time, they will be allowed to enjoy rights as free citizens of their fatherland.

Another group of two hundred officers, serving as instructors in the Soviet Army, have issued a similar proclamation to the officers of Wrangel's army.

### MARINES OF WRANGEL MUTINY

ODESSA, August 11.—A mutiny of the marines occurred on the volunteer fleet dreadnought *Volya*, which took part in the bombardment of Ochakov. After the suppression of the mutiny over a hundred marines were executed.

On August 7 the dreadnought *Volya* sailed out to sea, despite orders from Wrangel that on that day it should bombard the Dnieper-Bug firth. The local populace is extremely hostile to the Wrangelists. The repeated treacherous bombardments of Ochakov only intensified the hatred toward the Wrangel authorities.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, August 14.

### THE LOSSES OF THE POLES

CHRISTIANIA, September 1, 1920 (Report from *Rosta Wien*).—The following report reached us from Moscow on August 31: The radio stations of the Entente and Poland are vying with each other in spreading imaginary descriptions of reports of Polish victories, of the defeat of the Red troops, and are inventing tremendous numbers of losses on the part of the Russians, both in men and horses. The Poles seem to forget that in their steady retreat from the Beresina to the Vistula, across a distance of 500 kilometers, they, too, lost no less than one hundred thousand men, taken prisoners, and more than 200 cannons. Our army was compelled to withdraw for a short time, to a certain distance, but its war-power has by no means been broken, and with the addition of the inexhaustible reserves, and new fighting strength, it will soon be marching to new victories. Let not the Poles forget the example of their predecessors, the armies of Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich; let them remember that those, too, were victorious up to the time of their defeat.

### INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

In Petrograd, preparatory work has begun on the electrification of the soil in Petrograd and in the province of the northern region. It is planned to start, in autumn of the current year, the cultivation of the soil by electricity on an area of 300,000 dessiatins.

According to *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* there was mined in the nationalized mines of the Donetz Basin during May, 1920, 10,516,000 poods of coal of which 6,805,000 poods was consumed on the spot (that is 58 per cent of the total produced). The total production in the blast mines amounted to 4,755,000 poods, the consumption for own needs aggregating 2,322,000 poods, that is 48.6 per cent of the production.

Since the opening of the Volga navigation lines up to July 1 503,203 passengers were transported, besides 33,97924,0 poods of commercial freight, 34,647,206 poods of timber materials, and 22,041,134 poods of various naphtha products.

**A MASS-MEETING IN SERAJEVO**

SERAJEVO, August 10 (*Rosta*).—The labor leaders Zivota Milokovic and Sroten Jaksic protested at a mass-meeting against the enslavement of the Jugo-Slavic people by the Entente, against the attempt of the Jugo-Slavic bourgeoisie to decide the conflict with Italy by means of war, and above all against instigation of a war against Soviet Russia by the Entente. The Entente representatives had requested that the government of Jugo-Slavia send five divisions to the Bessarabian front. The speakers declared that although the Jugo-Slavic bourgeoisie proclaimed through its newspapers that it had no intention of playing the part of an agent in the war against Soviet Russia, one could not but be suspicious. Ninety-nine per cent of the Jugo-Slav people are, however, utterly opposed to a war adventure. They desire nothing but peace and friendship with the Russian Soviet Republic. The passing of a resolution and the appeal of the leaders at the meeting to sacrifice even life for the realization of these demands called forth long-continued shouts of "Yes, we will! If our blood must flow for foreign interests, then it can also flow for our own." The *Glas Sloboda* of Belgrade writes as follows concerning this matter: "Our government, as a vassal organ of the Entente, is ready to engage in an adventure, but fortunately it is prevented from doing so by united public opinion."

**RAKOVSKY ON THE SITUATION IN UKRAINE**

The Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars, Rakovsky, made a report at the all-city communist conference in Kharkov on the situation in Soviet Ukraine, the main points of which were as follows:

"The chief aim of the party—to give as great forces as possible for the front—has been brilliantly accomplished. In the provinces of Kharkov, Poltava, and Yekaterinoslav mobilization was completed ninety per cent. Though the mobilization in Ukraine was carried out under difficult circumstances, it succeeded none the less.

"The carrying out of the mobilization proves the strengthening of our influence all over Ukraine. Petlura's mobilization in Ukraine was a failure. This proves our popularity.

"Our provisioning organs," continued Rakovsky, "have given us 14,500,000 poods of bread up to the end of July.

"The exploitation of coal in the Donetz Basin shows a tendency to a twenty-five per cent monthly increase.

"Notable results have been obtained in the work on the improvement of transport. At present the haul of the military echelons reached 400 versts a day.

"We are progressing also in other fields of economic and industrial life."

**THE NEXT ISSUE**

of

**SOVIET RUSSIA***Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. ON THE CASPIAN AND IN PERSIA. *An interview with Raskolnikov, Commander of the Soviet Fleet during the period described in the interview, and since then appointed Commander of the Baltic Fleet.*
2. THE CONDITION OF WORKING WOMEN IN SOVIET RUSSIA.
3. THE AGRARIAN POLICY IN UKRAINE, *by A. Manuilsky.*
4. THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN RELATIONS, *by A. D.*
5. THE PEACE TREATY WITH LATVIA.
6. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, *by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.*

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## The Agrarian Policy in Ukraine

By A. MANUILSKY, *People's Commissar of Agriculture in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.*

IN NO country is the agrarian question as important as in Russia, in general, and in Ukraine, in particular.

Owing to the fact that Ukraine served as a field of war operations for almost three years of continuous civil war, the agrarian question has not been definitely solved. The shifting of regimes created among the peasant population a feeling that their possession of the land of the former estates was not secure. It resulted merely in the break-up and spoliation of the cultivated estates, stock farms, and sugar refineries, in the destruction of forests, in the reduction of the cultivated area, which in some of the Ukrainian provinces declined forty per cent, in the fall of labor efficiency, in short, it caused the retrogression of Ukraine and brought her to an economic state from which she can be redeemed only by years of hard toil and the exertion of an iron will. The German occupation, Petlurism, Skoropadskyism, Denikinism, Makhnoism,—all these followed each other chronologically and brought about such a state of affairs that not a single law passed by the Soviet power during its rule in Ukraine was ever fully enforced. We must candidly admit that in Ukraine all our laws touched merely the surface of things, and that before they could reach the peasant masses they were swept aside by the swooping down of a new ataman, hetman, or White general.

Coming for the third time into Ukraine under such conditions, the Soviet power faced the task of settling the land question in accord with the full implications of the November Revolution, that is of abolishing the private ownership of large

estates which still persisted under various disguised forms despite the previous decrees and acts. The mistake which the Soviet power committed last year consisted precisely in this, that new social forms of farming—agricultural communes and Soviet farms—were inaugurated before the remnants of feudalism in land relations had been removed. Last year, with large scale land-ownership still in existence, the peasants looked upon the attempts to socialize farming as a new form of communist state enslavement. Of the 15 million dessiatins (40.5 million acres) of arable land which had been owned by the churches, monasteries, and landlords, the Soviet power last year set aside 2.5 million dessiatins for sugar plantations and 634,000 dessiatins for Soviet farms, and this was enough to make the rich peasants in the villages vociferous against the "Communists taking the land away from the peasants." The fact that the Soviet power turned over 12 million dessiatins of land to the peasants of Ukraine was overlooked. The resulting wave of insurrections showed how far the peasants were from the Soviet power, how little they comprehended the Soviet land measures. And the Soviet power had to take this experience into account. The new land law of the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee of February 5 and the instructions of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture which were issued later differed from the former land policy in that, first, they broke away from the practice of a too hasty, mechanical institution of Soviet farms and agricultural communes, and set themselves the task first of all of sweeping out all the remnants of feudalism; and, secondly, that they left the prac-

tical enforcement of the law to the activity of the masses themselves, entrusting to the local land departments the task of attracting the peasants to the work of land distribution. Reviewing now the results of our land policy after four and a half months of the land distribution campaign, we can say with a clear conscience that the course taken by the Soviet power for the settlement of the land question was a correct one. The author of these lines has before him a pile of reports from local military and civil authorities as well as reports from the party organizations to the Central Committee of the party. In not a single one of them is there any mention of local dissatisfaction with our land policy. And yet these reports come from the districts where the insurrection wave of last year was at its worst. Hundreds of provincial and county non-partisan peasant conferences gave their whole-hearted approval to the new land law.

Indeed, this attitude of the peasants toward the new land law was but natural. If we recall the fact that the four and a half million peasant farms of Ukraine aggregated about 20 million dessiatins of land, we find that as a result of the new land law the land portion of the Ukrainian peasants has almost doubled. In some provinces, as, for instance, in the provinces of Taurida, Ekaterinoslav, Kherson, this increase led to the creation of strong peasant farms of from ten to fifteen dessiatins of land. In such regions as the provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, Chernigov and Kiev, where the scarcity of land was felt most keenly, the peasant farms will now have on the average from five to ten dessiatins of land. At the same time, the fears, expressed when the land law was being drafted, that the present land policy would ruin our sugar industry and lead to destruction of the model cultural centers of agriculture, have been proved unjustified. The new land policy made the allotment of land required for sugar plantations and experimental Soviet farms conditional upon an understanding with the peasant masses, and this produced very favorable results. About one and a half million dessiatins of land have already been secured for the sugar refineries and for the Soviet experimental farms. An average of 200 dessiatins was voluntarily allotted in each volost by the peasants for model farms and experimental stations. In a large number of counties in the provinces which have more land, as, for instance, in the province of Ekaterinoslav, the norm per volost was raised, on the initiative of the peasant congresses and conferences, to 500 dessiatins.

The comrades who found fault with our new land policy, arguing that it meant too abrupt a change from the extension of "agricultural factories", which was our policy last year, to land parcelation and to individually owned peasant farms, committed the self-same error as the immoderate admirers of the law of February 5, who saw in it the final stage in the land policy of the workmen's and peasants' rule. They forgot that the law of February 5 in Ukraine, just as in its day the land law of November 10, 1917, in Great Russia, were

but certain milestones in the land policy of the Soviet power, having as their sole object the welding of the whole peasant mass, during the primary stage of the Revolution in villages, in the fight for the abolition of large land ownership. The November period in land construction in Great Russia was followed by the so-called "Committees of the Poor Peasants" period in the Soviet land policy in the spring of 1918, which marked the beginning of the division of the peasantry along class lines. We are now approaching this division among the Ukrainian peasants. We must not overlook the fact that besides the solid usurer section (the "fist", strong arm peasants), there is in Ukraine a numerous agricultural proletariat, poor peasants possessing no horses nor agricultural implements, who, unless united for a merciless struggle against the rich peasants, the "fists", are doomed to economic enslavement by the "fist" elements who have become enriched during the war and the Revolution. Before the Revolution, Ukraine had about a million agricultural laborers and workmen in the sugar refineries; forty per cent of all the peasant farms had no horses, cattle or agricultural implements; the distribution of the land was monstrously unequal. The landless peasants who owned only their homes constituted fifteen per cent of all the peasant population of Ukraine, the owners of puny farms of about one dessiatin constituted five per cent, peasants who owned from one to three dessiatins—twenty-five per cent, and those who owned from three to five dessiatins constituted twenty per cent. We may assume without exaggeration that the poor peasants formed the vast majority of the peasant population. The real "fist" elements who owned from ten to twenty-five dessiatins of land formed only from eight to ten per cent of the peasantry and were lost in the general mass of poor and middle peasants. Of course, the war and the Revolution effected considerable changes in the proportion of the various groups in the villages, but the small peasant farms did not become stronger even after the general redistribution of land which accompanied the Revolution of November, 1917.

Last year we defended the poor peasantry by the organization of Soviet farms and agricultural communes; we helped them by transferring to them the land and the agricultural machinery of the former large estates; we did our best to unite and to organize them around the 1,500 Soviet farms and 300 agricultural communes which were scattered throughout Ukraine. After the Denikin campaign the Soviet farms were left without agricultural implements and without cattle, and they would have been doomed to a parasitic existence. To defend the interests of these poor peasants, who have been still more impoverished by the civil war and for whom additional land is but dead capital, is the next task of the Soviet power. Having completed in the spring of this year the campaign for the distribution of land, we will have to devote the fall of this year and the spring of the next year to a campaign for agricultural implements

and cattle; we will have to organize the poor peasants on economic lines for this struggle against the "fists". Under the existing scarcity of agricultural implements and cattle, the workmen's and peasants' government is unable to get new implements and cattle for the masses of the poor peasantry. But it can and should facilitate a more equal distribution of the stock on hand. And it can carry out this task with the aid of "Committees of the Poor Peasants." Only a network of such committees covering Ukraine will be able to uphold the economically unarmed poor peasant.

The wearing out of the agricultural implements, the extermination of cattle, the depreciation of currency and the insufficient supply of manufactured goods in the villages have caused the reduction of the cultivated area in Ukraine, which suffered, in addition to all these evils, from the civil war. Already during the imperialist war, beginning with 1915, the area of cultivation was reduced each year by six per cent. Under Denikin the land of the former manors remained almost untilled. The area of untilled land and of winter crops which have perished forms sixty-five per cent in the province of Kharkov, thirty-five per cent in the province of Chernigov, forty per cent in the province of Ekaterinoslav, and fifteen in the provinces of Poltava, Taurida, and Kherson. With regard to spring tilling in Ukraine we may

figure on a shortage of about thirty per cent. And if the reduction of the area of cultivation will continue at this rate, it may be expected that Ukrainian agriculture will not produce any surplus, that the Ukrainian peasants will sow just enough to provide the needs of their families. At the same time the phantom of world famine which is threatening Europe, the reports that this year's European crop was but forty-five per cent of the pre-war average prove that the reduction of the area of cultivation has become a universal phenomenon, that the struggle for the production of grain must become as vital a task as the struggle for the production of manufactured goods, as the struggle for transport. The recovery of impaired agriculture must be included in the general plan for the economic regeneration of the country. We are preparing for commercial relations with Europe, and our grain is our gold, our best medium of exchange. To secure economic victory over the European capitalists we must prevent the disappearance of this gold and must increase its production. We must not tolerate parasitism, laziness, and inertia among the producers of grain, the peasants. For only thus can we conquer capitalism most strongly entrenched—among the small property owners of the rural districts.—*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, June 11, 1920.

## Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Continued from our last issue)

IN THE winter of 1919, during a lecture which I was giving at the Lessing College in Berlin, on various problems of Socialism, the question of dress under a socialist society came up. One lady asked anxiously: Would everybody dress alike? I reassured her. The fear of monotonous standardization is exaggerated, I told her. If she had no other objections against Socialism, she could become a Socialist today.

So far, there is no trace of a change in dress in Moscow. Of course, there is really no Socialism in Moscow; Socialism is only just beginning. Of Communism there is still less; there is a Communist Party, nothing more. But even in a finished Communist Society (if it could ever be called so) dress revolutions would hardly be characteristic. An extraordinary variety of color and style is even conceivable. However, the fate of the world will not depend on it.

At any rate, the Russian Revolution has not been a dress revolution, so far, although one of its results has been an increasing scarcity of clothing. For the army needs immense quantities of cloth, and there is a decided lack of tailors for civilian purposes. Cloth there is in abundance. One billion arshins are already on hand, and 700 million arshins could be finished in a short time. But the step from the yard to the finished suit is consider-

able. This problem is especially well-known to the Marxian student, who has tackled the Marxian theory of value. If the step from yard to suit were short and easy in Russia, the entire population could be dressed in new clothes.

I was told that the workers of Russia are better dressed now than they were in peace times. I had no means of comparison, as I did not see Moscow in peace time. I can bear witness, however, to the fact that the clothing of the workers whom I saw appeared to be far from hopeless. I never saw a single workman in rags. The workers in the factories, which I visited, were well dressed without exception. I saw immense numbers of workers in great organizations, especially meetings. Not one of them came in rags; neither did the women. The wife of a workman in Russia still wears the well-known head covering. She is dressed very simply, but her dress is neat and clean. The Revolution has accomplished a good deal in this respect.

The problem of clothing for the workers is first of all being taken care of by the system of clothing rations. In times of peace, the Moscow worker made an average daily wage of 79 kopecs. During the war the wage scale rose, prices rose also. The average was so insignificant, that good clothes were never even thought of. This was true also of

living quarters with even the most rudimentary sanitary necessities. The average wage barely sufficed for the rent of a cellar, for some inferior bread, and a bit of vodka. Even in peace time, the price of a room in the heart of Moscow was at least fifteen to twenty rubles per month, and that of a cellar about three to five rubles. A worker hardly ever afforded himself the luxury of a room above ground. He was glad to be able to live in a factory tenement. Today the housing problem is practically solved for the worker. There are still a great many difficulties, but the worker's housing troubles are a thing of the past. The contention that the worker has driven the bourgeois from his home is incorrect. As a rule families were allowed to remain in their homes, but were compelled to submit to the per capita housing regulation, and to take in their quota of homeless workers. I was in one "bourgeois" home in Moscow, whose space was entirely adequate. It was the old home of that particular family.

The wages of the Moscow workman of today (on an average of 6,000 to 7,000 rubles per month, without bonuses) would not cover the expense of new clothing. At least they would not suffice to acquire them in the open market where the price of a suit is about 50,000 to 60,000 rubles. The worker is dependent upon clothing rations. Of course, he is furnished with very few street clothes; working clothes must be the first concern in the official apportionment. These working clothes are made according to one standardized pattern. I saw several standard patterns in the Clothing Department of the Textile Trade in Moscow. But this is only a beginning. The official distribution is not universal as yet, by any means. The demands of the army eat up most of the necessities. For instance, when I was in Moscow I was told of a gigantic order of overcoats which had been filled for the army at the Polish front.

Clothing in the Soviet stores and bazaars is very cheap. But buying it is a troublesome affair. The way to such a piece of wearing apparel leads through miles of red tape, and even after a successful passage along this road one does not obtain the desired article at once. Women Soviet workers complained bitterly to me of the lack of clothing, and my women translators in Moscow begged me to give them clothing instead of money. Among other things, they took my bathrobe, which they intended to convert into flannel waists. They also suffered from a scarcity of stockings. One of my translators told me that she was forced to patch together two stockings to make one. Of course Russian women as a whole are extraordinarily clever with the needle. Most of them make their own clothes, and very often even their own shoes. To be sure, they are cloth shoes, the leather soles of which must be left to the shoemaker to supply.

The lack of knitted wear for hose, and the scarcity of dyes, has resulted in the most remarkable styles in some cases. For instance, many women wear white socks, which extend only a little way above the shoe tops. Otherwise the leg is naked.

This nakedness disturbs not a soul in Moscow, however, and occasions not the slightest erotic commotion, nor does it appear indecent. At first I thought it to be an old custom due to the summer heat, but was informed later that it was due to the scarcity of knitting materials.

There was no sign of a clothing famine in Moscow. Although there are beggars in rags, as in other cities, Moscow is far from being in tatters. To be sure, the question of how it is possible for a city with at least one and a quarter million inhabitants to be so well dressed in times like these goes unanswered. Not even the Russians in Moscow are able to answer it. Or they say simply: Life helps itself. Just as Moscow eats and looks well nourished, so also does it clothe itself.

Dress distinction in Moscow continues to exist. There is still carelessness, simplicity and luxury of dress. Ladies continue to arrive at the theater amid the soft swishing of silken gowns, sweet fragrance still breathes from delicate blouses, young dandies swarm daintily as before in elegant tailors' confections, or in bright Russian jackets. And as always, there are the industrious ones, unconcerned with raggedness or tatters. And there are the shabby and unambitious, who are neither pushing nor on the lookout for bargains, satisfied with anything. I saw unblushing trouser holes, unblushing coat fringes, and shoes from which the unblushing corns stared haughtily at an inquisitive world.

As for shoes; I have never seen in any other city such elegant foot gear as in Moscow; such elegant men's shoes, high shoes reaching well up over the calf of the leg, and especially elegant ladies' shoes, not quite so high. There is still much leather for uppers in Russia (I believe it is even permitted to export it), but there is a lack of sole leather, and yet these elegant shoes are well soled. I have seen most distracting Kirghiz boots, worn by ladies. I saw high shoes, low shoes, bright colored slippers, shoes with ribbons and shoes with rosettes, and patent leather shoes. The women of Moscow cannot complain of a shoe famine. Officially speaking, there is a serious lack of shoes, but the unofficial shoe situation is satisfactory. At least this was the case during my stay in Moscow. It goes without saying that there are exceptions, hardships and scarcities. Also I have seen shoes down at the heel and other shoe atrocities. But it cannot be said that Moscow is down at the heel any more than it is out at the elbow.

#### *Beggars*

One would think that a Socialist Society has no beggars, and that therefore begging would be unnecessary and prohibited. But Soviet Russia, the Soviet Russian people, are not a Socialist Society as yet. The Communist Party of Russia has done away with property rights in regard to the means of production, and has thus prepared the ground for Socialism. But it is a far cry from that point to an accomplished Socialism. That is why social insurance is not as successful as it

should be, and even if it functioned successfully, there would still be beggars in Moscow. For beggars beg from sheer laziness as well as from poverty and need. There are whole beggar families, who inherit their street corner along with their profession from generation to generation, just as the Paris speculators inherit their profession with their seats on the Bourse. There are very wealthy beggar families, and whole beggar dynasties, as well as beggar princes, beggar dukes, and beggar kings. It is very often quite a profitable calling, and so long as the profitable business opportunities are not completely done away with, so long we will have beggars. Soviet Russia had hardly the rudiments of a practical policy before the November Revolution, and admired the German official model, which was after all so far from admirable. It is no small matter to steer a practical social course in Russia. The program of the Communist Party in Russia says: "The Soviets have legally full and complete social maintenance, in all cases of incapacity to work, or loss of work, for all workers who are not exploiting the labor of others."

That is true, fundamentally true, and yet maintenance is not sufficient. For it is simply impossible so far to care for the workers as one would like. The maintenance will finally come up to the planned intention, but it cannot be done today. And even if it could be done, the beggars would not die out at once.

The beggars of Moscow are not like the beggars of other cities. At least not like the beggars of Western Europe. They are beggars with a semi-asiatic patience, at least. Beggars with a definite stand, who never leave their place; moving beggars, who weave back and forth between two fixed points, from morning till night; mandarin-beggars, who bow their heads before each passer-by; religious beggars who cross themselves incessantly; murmuring beggars, who whisper to themselves all day long, as though they were reciting an endless chapter of the Koran.

You sit in the Theater Square in Moscow. A beggar passes—a tall man, somewhat bent, a long, grey beard. His coat is shabby, torn, felt boots are on his feet, or only one foot is in a felt boot, the other in a dilapidated shoe. The right hand is missing. The stump of an arm is hidden by a sleeve. As he reaches your bench, he draws the sleeve back and holds the naked stump of an arm close to your face, mumbling the while. You give him a few Bolshevik rubles. He passes on, without changing his tempo, from bench to bench, everywhere mumbling and showing his stump of an arm. You think, now he is gone, for the day at least, finally gone. But you are wrong. A quarter of an hour, and he is back, repeating the same beggar performance. He never scolds, never becomes impatient if you give him nothing. He simply returns every quarter hour, and knows well that finally you will give him another ruble, or else the bench may have a new occupant.

A woman stands at the corner of the general post office, near the boulevard entrance, with her

head sunk low upon her breast. Opposite stands a church with a green dome. She is singing softly to herself, and bows incessantly like an automaton. You think she is praying. Perhaps she really is praying to God to make those who pass generous. At any rate praying and begging are all one to her. So she stands, for many hours, slowly moves her bowed head up and down, and mechanically extends her hand. Many pass by without giving, but now and then there is one who leaves the great stream of passers-by in order to give.

Women, their heads monotonously moving up and down, stand in front of the Iberian madonna, who stands guard at the Red Square. Women with palms outstretched, not without fervor—beggars women. When several ruble notes have accumulated, they vanish into the skirt pocket. One or two ruble notes remain as a kind of bait. They stir the emotions. They say, these rubles notes: You see, there are some kind hearts still; won't you be kind to us, too? They have stirred me again and again, these ruble notes, although my constant companion advised against it. For he was a rationalist, and a rationalist in Moscow gives nothing to beggars. Begging must be abolished, root and branch. If you give to beggars, they continue to beg, refuse to work while they are able-bodied, and when they are incapacitated, they will not take the trouble to obtain the necessary social insurance. I was acquainted with this theory from my university days. I used to defend it, I defend it still, but I violate my own principle. One should not violate one's own principles. When you go to Moscow do not give to the beggars.

Furthermore, there is the genteel beggar, a kind of society mendicant. This form of begging is abominable. They are usually not beggars from poverty, but from sheer laziness. Helping those who are willing to work, but who are temporarily in need, is not supporting beggars, it is a duty. If society is not yet able to take care of its people, our fellow men must come to our assistance. For society, even a beginning socialist society, is a beast. Genteel begging, however, is disgusting laziness, is turning human compassion to a profit, full of hypocrisy and brazen insolence. Such beggars should be thrown out of the house and the dogs sent after them, even though they may come with diamonds on their fingers. For such beggars often wear diamonds. They can afford it.

But there are also beggars in Moscow who are beggars by conviction; proud beggars, people who have lost everything, who have nothing, and yet who will not submit. People who once were great figures, people of position, people of brilliance. Not tinsel brilliance, but brilliance of diligence and application, brilliance of family or of daring. They sell their last possessions, refuse to take advantage of the parasite allowance, scorn to play the role of the obsequious government clerk, and beg.

One evening I saw, in front of a well preserved old house on the boulevard, a tall and stately old man in uniform. He only spoke to the well dressed

men and women. I inquired about this man, and was told that he was a former Czarist general turned beggar. Every one to whom he spoke must have given him no inconsiderable gift. I saw this man several weeks later, in the Theater Square. Again he only spoke to well dressed people. He did not address them with a servile air, with the air of a beggar. He begged just as one would exchange greetings with an acquaintance. He accepted the gift as a tribute, and always he received a gift. No one knew the exact details, but I thought to myself: Here is a man who begs, not from laziness, or from gentility, but from principle. A beggar from pride and from conviction. Many Czarist generals have put themselves at the disposal of the Soviet Government. Brussilov heads them all; he had been a kind of people's general. I believe they did this from conviction; not perhaps from communist conviction, but from patriotic conviction, because they think that the Russian Communists will save the country. But this general, this begging general, did not place himself at their disposal. He would rather beg.

I do not like people who are able to change front suddenly. I do not like dishonest people, opportunists, people with a turn-table heart. I know, too, what might be said against the begging general. But he struck me as a man.

#### *Churches and Chapels*

Moscow boasts forty times forty churches and chapels. Forty times forty says the Russian when he wants to signify a great number, when he would express their power, their variety, their teeming multitude. I do not know how many churches and chapels there are in Moscow. Perhaps there are more than 1,600—perhaps less. It really matters not at all. Every one who visits Moscow knows that it is a city of churches, a city bedomed and bespired, a city of a thousand church bells, a hundred thousand devotees, and ten thousand popes or more.

This is true even today. The churches and chapels are still standing. Many facades are crumbling. They lack the scrupulous care which they received under the Czarist papalism. Their walls have been gnawed a bit by the revolution. But still they stand, and few of them are closed. They stand in streets and corners, on stony hills, on city squares, surrounded by convent walls; they are everywhere. Their bells still call the faithful to prayer; here and there a devotee sits or stands on a roof, as on the roof of a minaret, semi-asiatic, careless and indolent, making an uncle of his God.

I saw chapels where prayers were said from morning till night; I saw churches which were empty during the day. There are still Eastern processions in Moscow, there are still churches and chapels where the images of the saints are fervently implored for miracles. There are still pictures and picture frames in these churches, heavy with gold and encrusted with many precious stones. No one knows exactly how these churches and their popes are being supported. But they are being

supported, in spite of the state, which has washed its hands of them.

However, the state is not satisfied with the separation of the church from the state, and the separation of the school from the church, but is making every effort to sever "the connection between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda, by means of a widespread organization whose task it is to enlighten and finally free the working masses with the help of scientific and anti-religious propaganda. Great care must be taken to avoid any injury to the sensitive feelings of the faithful, as such injury would only result in a strengthening of religious fanaticism." As may be seen, this is not tolerance, but a fight to the finish. It is not merely to be a separation from the church, but the church is to be fought tooth and nail. But the churches in Moscow seem to pay small heed to this fight, or to the posters of enlightenment, to the slurs against the old, decayed, pope-ridden regime, which so many Russians have fought long before the Bolsheviks; Leo Tolstoy first of all.

I have spoken of the Chapel of the Iberian Madonna in the Red Square. There the flickering light of candles, gold and precious stones mingle constantly, and prayers never cease, even at night. Here the most fervent miracle fetish of Moscow is centered, a fervor which reached a climax of religious jubilation when religious insignia on one of the towers of the Kremlin miraculously escaped the gunfire of the revolution. Often I have stood in front of this chapel with its small, time-worn, somewhat elevated, stone court, and its begging women standing guard. More people cross themselves in front of this chapel than anywhere in Moscow. Constantly one sees people passing these churches and crossing themselves, or standing still a moment and murmuring a prayer. The Revolution has not killed the church, or at least not yet. And there are a great many people in Moscow who predict a much longer life for the church than for the Revolution. There are still poor-boxes in these churches, by no means empty. The popes no longer strut confidently, it is no longer a majestic strutting, but they go about unmolested. I have seen laughing popes, popes praying in the streets, slinking popes, dirty popes, and even smartly dressed popes, priests such as the French novelists love to describe. I even saw a sort of Rasputin, a pope flaunting his peasant vigor, with high boots, immense black beard, and seductive eyes.

There is that wonderful Cathedral, with the great, golden dome, which absorbs the sun in the evening, and which expels it again during the day, which throws out fire that blinds and consumes. This church grows up out of a lovely landscape, its great square stones rising up free and powerful. It is a wonderful church, an inspiring church, even for those who do not worship the God of this church. When you walk along the wall of the Kremlin, look for this church; you will find it if you look for it in summer, on an evening full

of the warm gold of the evening sun, and the glowing tints of a hot Moscow sky, an evening that makes the heart restless and yet strangely quiet.

But the great marvel, the real marvel is the church of St. Basil. It is not a church, it is a phantasy, a mosaic of domes, an undreamed fairy tale, a riot of colors, a color illusion. It is hard to believe that a man, an architect can have built this church. It changes constantly, in the morning it is different from the evening, afternoon different from noon. If you approach it from the Moskva bridge, it looks like a great ship with many bulbous masts. If you come upon it from the Red Square it is like a castle made of toy blocks. It has bewitching little windows, gratings and crumbling corners of incredible antique charm. It has really no symmetry, and yet it is an organism. It looks as though it were built piecemeal, and yet it is a harmonious whole. Sometimes it seems a massive heap, and again delicately scaled. Sometimes it looks large, sometimes small. It moves the soul, it charms, it shocks the eye, it is a delusion. It is the most wonderful thing that I have ever seen; the entire forest of domes of the eternal Kremlin fades out before this church. No one visited it, an old scaffolding embraced one of its towers, when I was in Moscow. I did not see the interior, and yet I saw it, because I saw the outside. It is an epic, a small lyric poem, a ballad, a toy, it is a mother and a fresh young girl, it is all that your heart desires. If you do not go to Moscow to look at the beginning of Socialism, go there and look at the church of St. Basil.

They say that an architect under Ivan the Terrible built this church, and that the Terrible Ivan had killed the builder, to prevent his building another church of equal wonder and beauty. That is what they told me. I don't know how true it is, but it is possible.

#### *The Great Opera House*

When the English delegation arrived in Moscow I received an invitation from the Bureau of the Third Internationale to attend the Grand Opera, an opera with ballet. They were giving Prince Igor, an opera whose music my friends praised very highly. All my friends tell me that I know nothing about music. For I hate opera, and I am quite frank in saying so to my friends. I wonder at those who can enjoy the opera, who are able to hear and to see at the same time. It is impossible for me to watch a dramatic performance, and at the same time hear the orchestra. I can not get over that conflict. There is only one opera whose music takes hold of me to such an extent that I can bear the dramatic action: *Carmen*. Read Tolstoy's criticism of Wagner's *Rheingold*\*. That is my criticism too. It leaves me untouched.

Hence the opera, Prince Igor, was of no importance whatever to me. It was the audience which drew me to the theatre. A new audience. The

\* This criticism, which differs considerably from that of most musical persons, will be found in Tolstoy's book, "What is Art?" (1897).—*Editor*, SOVIET RUSSIA.

six gigantic rows up to the very top abundantly sprinkled with the proletariat. The parquet almost entirely filled with workers, in the boxes many workers. There was a sprinkling of Red soldiers. Also Soviet women secretaries, Soviet officials, women officials. Any one wishing to go to the theatre must be organized, else he receives no ticket. For instance, tickets are issued by trade unions. Of course, not all theatres in Moscow are city theatres or people's theatres. The Korsh Theatre, for instance, where I saw a most horrible play, is still a kind of private theatre. In this theatre there is no trace of a proletarian influence. Nor in the Great Opera House, where the stage is still working with its old material, is a proletarian influence to be noticed, although it is patronized mainly by the proletariat. There is no trace so far of a new art, an art of the people, of a socialist art, or hardly a trace.

But the audience, such an audience! Today it is made up of proletarian children, thousands of children, dressed in white from tip to toe, from the parquet to the very topmost gallery. Childish awe, childish whispering and applause from little hands. A new world is in the making here. This is the nursing future, drinking its fill, this is flame and fire, the great hope of Russia.

Then again they are trades organizations, an audience still colored by the past. But always it is a public made up from the ranks below, a proletarian foundation, a proletarian majority, working men, working women.

Trotsky had arrived in Moscow from the Polish front, in order to receive the English, to attend to parades and to war affairs. The public was quieted with difficulty. It stood up, it shouted, it went mad with applause when Trotsky appeared in his box. He bowed as he seated himself near the railing, with Mrs. Snowden, the coldly intelligent, wet-blanket-like English woman, at his right, and the remaining English delegates ranged to the right and left. With a gallant bow to the English lady, who was only half a comrade, he took his seat. A gallant bow, for there are such things even in Soviet Russia. For almost a quarter hour the people continued their ovation to Trotsky.

The performance was sumptuous. It was the play of a bourgeois composer, played before red draperies and red minds. Enjoyed with enthusiasm and great applause. It was a touching flame to flare up for this opera, which has so little fire, which is so full of yearning, of melancholy and sentimental love. But it is Russian, and the artist, the singer, the actor is loved in Moscow still. He is called again and again, he beams, he needs applause. That is true everywhere, but especially is it true in Russia, it is more true than ever before. I believe that it is even more so in Soviet Russia than it was in Czarist Russia. For art finds new receptive grounds here, the most delicate appreciation, a promise of fruitfulness never dreamed of before. Unfortunately it is still the

old art, representative art, academic art, silly art, and not an art of the people.

I did not come to see Prince Igor, I came to see the public, and the ballet. After a period of hard scientific work I wanted to see a Russian Ballet: Nizhinskis, Pavlovas, butterflies, yellow wagtails (a la Kerr), humming birds (a la Kerr). They gave us a savagely sumptuous women's scene, with heavy animal skins, richly embroidered cushions, and inconceivably beautiful Russian costumes; with brocades, semi-oriental slippers, rug fantasies, tent mysteries. Katherine Geltzer appeared; she is forty-eight; forty-eight, and a vigorous fawn, fleet-limbed, with firm white flesh, unspeakably graceful. Wonderful muscles on the limbs of a Diana. Little covering. She appeared and the house stormed. She danced little. She made long bounding leaps like a setter, she crouched down like a shamefaced peasant girl, she strode majestically like a queen. She is madly beloved in Moscow. Every workman knows Katherine. She is fragrant with perfume, she wears rings, she is fashionable as always. She is a ballerina for the proletariat too. She dances happily, she grows happy with her dance, joy flings her high as if caught by the wind, she is a sprite, she turns her toe upon your heart, she whirls herself into your soul, she is a great artist, at forty-

eight. A fawn—at forty-eight. With the years of a grandmother and yet a fawn.

It was fearfully hot in the theatre. But every one remained to the very last tone. And then came the wonder, the surprise, the thing that did not belong to the play at all, the proletarian thing. For now it was no longer the stage who was singing, it was not alone the orchestra, the people were singing. They stood singing, they left singing, they crowded singing through the exits. They marched down the stairs singing. The house sang from the gallery to the pit. The song rose up, the song grew, the song threatened, swore, pounded, that proletarian song, that song of humanity, the song made up of awkward words, that uncouth, that fighting song, that primitive, rallying, uniting song:

Arise ye pris'ners of starvation!  
Arise ye wretched of the earth,  
For justice thunders condemnation,  
A better world's in birth.

No more tradition's chains shall bind us,  
Arise, ye slaves! No more in thrall!  
The earth shall rise on new foundations,  
We have been naught, we shall be all.

'Tis the final conflict,  
Let each stand in his place,  
The International Party  
Shall be the Human Race.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**T**HE readiness of the Soviet Army to meet the coming winter campaign on the Western Front produced a decisive effect upon the Polish policy towards Russia.

The Polish General Staff, in spite of all its bellicose sentiments against the Bolsheviki, has at last realized that Trotsky is right in his declaration that the whole Russian nation is ready for new sacrifices, and that the Red Army is strong and vigorous enough to continue the war.

The Polish victory over the Soviet forces which tried to capture Warsaw was greatly exaggerated, and now we can see that the Russians have finally won the war against the Poles strategically in spite of the fact that they lost their last battle tactically.

Soviet Russia fought imperialistic Poland in order to obtain a suitable peace. This the Soviet Government openly declared at the time when in March, 1920, the Poles so treacherously attacked the weak Red forces, and peace negotiations were so abruptly broken off by Pilsudski. Let us recall the declaration of the military leader of the Polish army, that Poland would never make peace with Russia unless the Soviet Government were dismembered.

Therefore, Polish strategy had to carry out the policy fixed by the Polish Government, namely,—to defeat the Red Army, thus opening the gates of Moscow, and by force of arms, and with the support of the counter-revolution, to put an end to Bolshevik rule in the Russian Republic.

The policy of the Soviets was far different. The Russian Soviet Government never thought of dismembering Poland. The Soviet peace delegates on several occasions met with the Poles in order to come to a possible understanding. The Russian policy toward Poland never was based on the policy of conquest and annexation of Polish territory. On the contrary, Russia at first adopted the most peaceful methods of forcing the Polish Government to withdraw its troops from occupied Russian and Ukrainian territory. When it became clear that it was impossible to reason with the aggressive Polish leaders, the Soviets prepared to meet any possible surprise on the western frontier of the Republic, and began to concentrate their forces in the west only when the Poles had completed the concentration of their military forces and unexpectedly attacked the Russians.

Summing up all that has happened since March, 1920, we come to the conclusion that Soviet Russia attained its political and strategical aim during the Polish war. Soviet Russia won peace, and won it at the most important moment, when her southern part was seriously threatened by counter-revolution supported by the capitalistic coalition of the world. Polish strategy, on the contrary, failed to accomplish the gigantic political plan concocted in Paris.

The efforts of our enemies to create a powerful military alliance of the Scandinavian states, Baltic republics, Lithuania, and Rumania, failed com-



pletely. The moral and material support of the Allies, and the counter-revolutionary movement of Baron Wrangel, to a certain extent, only helped the Polish shlakhta to exist longer than would have been the case if Poland had been left to her own fate. With great fear and prejudice the Polish political leaders approached the new Russian adventurer Wrangel. They knew very well that each success of the Polish army over the Bolsheviks was also a victory for Wrangel, that such victories were very dangerous not only for the Polish shlakhta but for the very existence of Poland as an independent state.

In reality a victorious Wrangel would have been more dangerous to the Poles than was Denikin, whose defeat was partially due to the obstinate neutrality of Poland at that time. But in spite of realizing the danger of reestablishing a strong monarchical Russia, the Poles, thanks to military circumstances and, to a great extent, to the insistence of their French advisers, were forced to enter into an alliance with the Crimean baron, who, after all, supported them at the most critical moment. Let us not overlook the fact that Wrangel began his active offensive at the time of the recent attack of the Soviet Army against Warsaw.

This dangerous alliance of Poland with one of the worst Russian reactionaries produced a very strong effect on some small European states, which in spite of the alleged collapse of the Red armies, not only did not join the Poles in their campaign against Soviet Russia, but hastened to establish friendly relations with the latter. This was the case with Lithuania, Latvia, and Finland. Rumania, holding Bessarabia, a part of the late Russian empire, also looked suspiciously on the Wrangel-Polish cooperation, and remained neutral in spite of all efforts of Polish and Allied diplomats to force her to attack Soviet Russia. Had the capitalistic coalition succeeded in enticing all these nations into a war with Soviet Russia, there is no doubt that Wrangel would have reached Moscow, and the old regime, with all its terrible consequences for the states formerly constituting the Czarism of Russia would have been established. France and the other capitalistic supporters of Poland, in case of a decisive Wrangel victory over the Soviets, would undoubtedly have deserted the Polish shlakhta, leaving Poland to her own destiny. France, first of all, needs a strong military and financial Russia, a Russia that will repay all the debts of the Czars. In reality, what does Poland alone mean for France? Poor, burdened with debts, with an unstable government on the eve of an unavoidable political crisis and social revolution, exhausted by war, such a Poland, with Russia hostile, would never be a support for France in case of the restoration of German militarism. The real aim of France is to strengthen Russian counter-revolution, and the Poles, finally understanding the real aim of their protectors, have rejected all further military assistance, preferring peace with the Bolsheviks to the danger from

Wrangel's victory.

Therefore, unable to defeat the Russian army in the field, and to overthrow the Soviet Government, driven from the territory of the Soviet Republic by the force of the Red Army, the Poles are now forced to sign an armistice, and to enter into peace negotiations with the representatives of the Soviet Government, leaving their ally Wrangel to his own fate, namely, to complete destruction.

Can such a situation be considered a victorious end of war for the Polish shlakhta?

The victors, politically as well as strategically, are the Russian Soviets. Never was the Soviet Government so strong and stable as at this moment; never was the Red Army so enthusiastic and ready to fight the foe as it is now. The Russian dash on Warsaw, though a failure from a tactical standpoint, brought the Russian people to a great strategical victory—to peace with Poland. Had the Red Army occupied Warsaw, the war with Poland would have been prolonged, and the Russians would perhaps have been forced to move their armies farther to the west, thus complicating the gloomy political situation in Europe. The set-back of the Red Army prevented this dangerous movement, and there came the possibility of stopping the war. Now both belligerents are frankly seeking peace, and peace must come. Even the reactionary bandits understand the real situation of the war and are deserting Wrangel. Only a few days ago, it was reported that the famous Petlura captain, the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, Makhno, succeeded in joining the advance of Wrangel's cavalry twenty-five miles south of Yekaterinoslav, and that these united bands were moving on Kharkev.

According to the *Associated Press*, on the following day, Kharkov, this very important center in South Russia, was captured by Wrangel. To determine the truth of such news, it is sufficient to look at the map; Kharkov is situated 120 miles northeast of Yekaterinoslav.

After having carefully studied the situation on the Crimean front, I consider that all the news referring to the fall of Kharkov and to the alleged danger to Odessa and Kiev, is nothing more than the usual fabricated stuff of the capitalist press agencies and is not even worthy of discussion. But the important fact is this: that Makhno, according to a dispatch published in the American press on October 7, has left Wrangel and joined the Bolsheviks. Now it becomes clear that under such circumstances, it is quite possible that Makhno entered Kharkov with his troops.

This extraordinary Ukrainian adventurer changed sides on several occasions during the civil war in Russia. First, with the Bolsheviks, he fought the Germans, then he joined Denikin against them, and at the most critical moment of Denikin's retreat, after his defeat at Orel, he, together with Petlura, betrayed their ally, attacking his left flank and his rear, thus aiding the Reds to finish Denikin's army.

During the Polish campaign, Petlura, as is known, led the Ukrainian nationalists and the Poles, while Makhno stood at the head of the so-called insurgent parties. These parties, mostly recruited from rich peasants ("fists") and Cossack landlords who had lost their property to the poor peasantry, were armed by Wrangel and financially supported by him. The most important of these bands are led by the very well-known bandits, Yazenko, Savchenko, Grishin, and Prokhan, whose names are inscribed with the blood of innocent victims in the history of the Russian Revolution.

The forces of Makhno are not numerous. He had under his command about 30,000 horsemen divided into many small parties which were instructed not to come in contact with the Red Army. On the contrary, they had to raid behind the battle front of the Soviet forces, and to penetrate, as far as possible, in the rear of the Reds. Not being in immediate danger, they traveled from one village to another, distributing printed pamphlets and manifestos printed by Wrangel. The main idea of such raids was to stir up the peasants of South Russia, as well as the Don Cossacks, against the Soviets. But as far as we can see, this plan failed completely. Makhno himself realized that, in case of peace with Poland, it would be an easy task for the Reds to put an end to the existence of Wrangel's army, and being a practical man, he again joined the side which is destined to win.

This last step of Makhno's, from a strategical point of view, is very important. Once more the left flank of the reactionary army is absolutely open for a counter-attack of the Reds, and a part of its rear is also threatened. On the other hand, the name of Makhno is very popular among the Ukrainian nationalists, and especially among the insurgents, and his decision to join the Bolsheviki will certainly produce a great moral impression upon the Ukrainian reactionaries.

Finally, our enemy in the south is confronted with precisely the same situation in which Denikin found himself a year ago.

Such deplorable conditions of Wrangel's armed bands produced great anxiety in Paris, and General Weygand, the famous "savior" of Warsaw, was ordered to proceed to the South Russian front immediately, in order to take supreme command of Wrangel's forces.

But even the reactionary press of France is suspiciously watching developments in South Russia. *Le Matin*, for instance, is bitterly attacking England for her treacherous Russian policy, and energetically denies that the French fleet intends to attack Black Sea ports, although such a discovery was recently made by the Revolutionary Field Staff of the Red Army.

The approaching peace of Poland with Soviet Russia was met by French military experts with great dissatisfaction, and according to despatches from Paris on October 7 (*The Evening Post*), military circles in France "are concerned over the effect the conclusion of an armistice between Rus-

sia and Poland will have on the campaign of General Baron Wrangel in South Russia. They assert there is no doubt that the Bolsheviki will at once send reinforcements to the Crimean front." The most remarkable part of the report in the French press is that it denies that "the Soviet regime is nearing its end; for, despite the gravity of economic conditions, certain gains of the revolution have been consolidated.

Thus, one of the most irreconcilable of the enemies of Soviet Russia has begun to recognize the failure of its fruitless adventure. Then why continue these useless experiments? Would it not be better to keep hands off Russia, and at last allow her alone to settle with the enemies at home?

### THE GRAVE-DIGGERS OF WHITE POLAND

By KARL RADEK

White Guard Poland is fighting to the death. She realizes this fact, and asks herself if ruin, which she is experiencing, and from which there is hardly any escape, is unavoidable? She points her finger at the Commander-in-Chief of the army, Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, as upon the person guilty of having brought this catastrophe upon Poland, and reproaches him with having followed a romantic illusion, the dismemberment of Russia, and the liberation of the border countries, and for the sake of this illusion having refused a favorable peace.

The White Guardist press bases its similar assertions simply upon facts commonly known, facts of which the documents made public in the "Red Book" of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, speak. But there are documents which compromise White Poland even more than do the documents which are to be found in the "Red Book".

We have reference to the negotiations carried on in October of the past year in the name of the Soviet Government by General Machlowski, and Captain Ignace Berner, the representative and personal friend of Joseph Pilsudski, in the town of Miklashevichi. Machlowski was at that time in the territory occupied by Poland, attending a formal conference dealing with the affairs of the Red Cross. Independently of these conferences, and under their cover, political conferences were also carried on.

When Captain Berner was reproached with the fact that the Poles were directly aiding Denikin and Yudenich in invading Russia, and that the latter, in case of victory, would seize independent Poland, Berner tried to prove, by analyzing the military situation, that, in their advance upon the southwestern front, the Poles were not moving against Soviet Russia, but on the contrary, against Denikin. He explained that, despite the fact that the Poles had been compelled by the Allies to negotiate with Denikin, these negotiations were merely carried on for the sake of appearances; and as to the matter of taking joint action with Denikin, that was out of the question. He pointed out the line which the Polish army would not cross, if the

Soviet Government would abandon the revolutionary propaganda on the Polish front. This line corresponds precisely to the line which the Soviet Government had officially promised not to cross, on January 28, 1920.

Captain Berner assumed a majestic mien. He asserted that it was not Pilsudski's purpose to treat with the Soviet Government; he dictated the front line. But General Machlowski was perfectly right in ignoring the knightly and commanding posturings of Pilsudski's representative, because these attitudes were assumed to cover up a very ugly fact—the fact that Pilsudski had sold us to Denikin and the Allies.

The Allies did not create the Polish army in order to have Marshal Pilsudski clank his sword, single-handed, but in order that the White Guardist Polish army, cooperating with the White Guardist Russian armies, should destroy Soviet Russia. The Polish bourgeoisie, led by the National Democrats, were for an alliance with Denikin, whose imperialist ambitions against Poland they hoped to render harmless, with the help of the Allies.

Pilsudski, like any other narrow provincial, hoped for the death of Russia, but feared the method that would lead thereto, and shrank from an alliance with the Russian White Guard. He sought the aid of the Allies, but wished to be more than their vassal—he sought to carry on an independent policy. Being the narrowly provincial nationalist that he was, he hated Denikin no less than Soviet Russia, out of hatred of everything Russian. Despite the fact that he was in the power of the Allies, and could not exist for a day without their aid, he knew, nevertheless, from the time when he had been a Socialist, that the Allies were not to be trusted. As a result of this distrust of the Allies, as well as of Denikin, he sold out both the Allies and Denikin to Soviet Russia. He not only allowed Russia to rest, because she was threatened with grave danger, but went so far as to enter into a military treaty, with reference to the front line fixed by her, which was directed against Denikin and the Allies. And it is because he is a narrow provincial that he was unable to keep consistently to a fixed course of action. Pilsudski was only capable of betraying the Allies and Denikin, but he was incapable of reaping the fruits of his betrayal.

When Machlowski proposed to Pilsudski the drawing up of a treaty of peace, Russia was in the direst possible straits, all her powers were strained to the utmost to vanquish Denikin. But Pilsudski could not make up his mind to make peace with Russia, for despite the fact that he did not trust the Allies, and in fact had betrayed them, he nevertheless and at the same time feared, as befitted the provincial that he was, the wrath of the Allies. Pilsudski declined to make peace with Russia.

When the Allies lifted the blockade of Russia, and began to negotiate with Litvinov, only then did this provincial in the coat-of-mail of the Polish Commander-in-Chief decide to treat with Russia. Pilsudski took the typically adventurous path—

he tried "corriger la fortune"; with the view that the hesitancy of the Soviet Government to enter into peace negotiations at Borissov meant nothing less than refusal to sign the peace treaty under the command of the cannons of Pilsudski, he determined to surprise the Soviet Government by an invasion of Ukraine.

This narrow provincial, Pilsudski, swinging from the extreme of pessimism to the extreme of optimism, was convinced that the Soviet Government was made of the same metal, and that having once learned to know the power of the Polish army in battle, it would not try it again. Like the provincial he was, Pilsudski was incapable of weighing and judging the relative strength of the two nations; he did not perceive that in case of a Russian-Polish war, after the Denikin adventure had failed, the lapse of time would operate in Russia's favor; he did not take into account the international situation, which had not permitted the Allies to support Poland in her war with Russia with the same energy they had given to the support of Denikin and Yudenich.

#### RUSSO-RUMANIAN NEGOTIATIONS

BUCHAREST, August 12 (*Damon*).—The Rumanian Government has answered the note of the Soviet Government concerning peace proposals as follows: Rumania is not in a state of war with Russia and, therefore, can not begin any peace negotiations for the purpose of terminating a war which has not been waged. Inasmuch as a state of peace actually exists between Rumania and Russia, this fact needs only to be recognized, which can be done between their governments by means of plenipotentiaries.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna, August 15, 1920.

#### RUSSIAN-LATVIAN TREATY OF PEACE IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF "SOVIET RUSSIA"

Complete peace treaty translated from the Latvian text. A study of this treaty will show the actual peaceful aims of the Soviet Government towards its neighbors, its desire to right the wrongs committed by the Czarist regime, and even more, its regard for the interests of the broad masses of the people in the country with which the treaty is made.

SOVIET RUSSIA will also publish the Lithuanian peace treaty in the near future.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**A**NOTHER long news item of October 2 from Washington, telling about what are the present objects of the "attention of diplomatic observers", appears in the *New York Times* of October 3. The subject is the refusal of the Chinese Government to continue to pay the Boxer indemnity to the representatives in China of the no longer existing Russian Czarist Government. What the "diplomatic observers" say to the *Times* on their fears of the consequences of such discontinuation of payments, is the subject of the following paragraph:

"For some time there has been reason to expect that China would attempt to use the temporary disability of Russia to forcibly repudiate the international obligations into which she entered with the government of the late Czar. The coup that has just been executed, however, has come rather suddenly and is occasioning the more concern because it affects directly one of the basic principles on which the development and welfare of European and American activities in China are founded—the so-called right of extra-territoriality, or, as it is sometimes called, the capitulations."

Now, although this "right," as the "diplomatic observers" go on to say, "has been established gradually by consecutive treaties between all the white nations and China," it is a "right" which flies directly in the face of any pretense of self-determination of nations, for, as the "diplomatic observers" put it, it provides that:

"Subjects of European powers and American citizens, as well as European and American corporations and institutions doing business or engaged in trade with China, are exempt from the direct application of Chinese law and from the administration of Chinese officials."

This means that the Chinese cannot rule their own country, but must consult foreign governments instead of being permitted to enforce their own laws.

Should the Chinese declare their unwillingness to allow the capitulations to remain in force, the diplomatic informants of the *Times* would be beset by the following fears:

"Thus such a course by China would be a new blow at the principle of the inviolability of treaties and would exemplify anew the old German maxim that *Might makes Right*. Above all else it is felt here to be essential that the principle be well established that treaties can be changed only after proper reconsideration and

agreement by all parties, and that if one party to an international compact is temporarily prostrate it is the duty of the community of nations to uphold the principle of inviolability of the status quo. There are friends of the League of Nations in Washington who are saying emphatically how different the situation would be if the league were at hand, with American participation, as an instrument to adjust international troubles in the Orient."

Of course, China lay prostrate when the capitulations were forced upon her, but she must respect the dead Czarism when the Soviet Government of Russia, the only Russian Government in existence, and the only government therefore that has any right to represent Russia in China, publicly denounces the Czarist concessions and renounces any desire to profit by the past military weakness of China. The morality that the Western powers appear to oppose to the alleged principle of "Might makes Right", is that it is right to despoil a prostrate colony or an incipient proletarian state, but wrong to withdraw from an effete tyranny capitulations imposed by force by that tyranny. For "diplomatic observers" to object to China's using the "Might makes Right" principle on Western nations is a rather sad joke.

And let us not forget the Boxer indemnity itself. By the treaty of September 7, 1901, the Chinese Government, after foreign troops had put down the Boxer uprising, and after Chinese mandarins had been legally sentenced to commit suicide in the presence of foreign troops, in the streets of Peking, the indemnity to be paid to the United States, France, Germany, England, and Russia, which had been fixed at 450,000,000 taels, was divided into thirty successive annual instalments, of which each of the powers mentioned was to receive an equal share. This humiliation Czarist Russia permitted China to bear, but Soviet Russia has declared its unwillingness to accept this money. We may note, in passing, that the United States Government had (in 1908) already taken similar action, and thus taken an important step toward gaining the friendship of the Chinese people. But how do the diplomatic informants of the *Times* greet the new Russian proposal to treat China as an aggregation of human beings? Let us quote:

"China's decision is closely connected, in the opinion of informed Washington observers, with the renewed and energetic activities of the Bolshevik delegates in China, who with fresh vigor are evidently carrying out the program announced as long ago as April, soon after the Kolchak collapse brought Bolshevik power into contact with the very frontiers of China. At that time a note, which may soon assume historic importance, was addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Peking, to the Chinese people and to the Governors of East and West China, by Janson, Bolshevik plenipotentiary of Foreign Affairs in the Far East. Informing the Chinese people of the approach of the Red Army, Janson, as envoy of Lenin, called upon the Chinese people to join hands with the Russian proletarian forces to throw off the "hated yoke" which foreign capital and "imperialistic government" had imposed on the Chinese people in order to exploit them." The Soviet Government, on its side, proposed to pay for the affiliation of the Chinese, the price of repudiation of all the treaties, including the agreement covering the Chinese Eastern Railway, which had been concluded between Russia and China."

In other words, when a proletarian government rights an ancient wrong, it is "paying a price for the affiliation of the Chinese," while the honorable Czarist Government was no doubt unwilling to "bribe" the Chinese people in this way. It makes a great difference "whose dog is bit," and it will be a long time before American newspapers apply to proletarian governments the yardstick with which other institutions are measured. We are surprised the *New York Times* should not go so far as to permit its informants to tell it that the United States Government, when it remitted the payments on the Boxer indemnity in 1908, was "bribing" the Chinese people, or "paying a price" for some concession. It would be no more ridiculous than the misrepresentation of which the *Times* is guilty with regard to Soviet Russia's attitude toward China.

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VICENTE BLASCO IBANEZ is a Spanish writer known in his own country and much better known in the United States. When he turned from the production of novels of Spanish peasant-life, such as *Barraca*, *La Catedral*, *La Bodega*, and other works dealing with things he knew, to the creation of *Los Cuatro Ginetes del Apocalipsis*, and other even less literary labors in the service of French and English propaganda in Spain and in Spanish-America, his reputation perforce rose in France, England, and America, while it somewhat declined in Spain. We have not read the illustrious journalist's remarks on the Mexican Revolution of 1920, but an article from his pen in the *New York Times* of September 26, entitled "Bolshevism as a Tyranny," has come to our notice. Mr. Ibanez in this article says he has certain friends, and they are represented by him in the course of his remarks—chiefly quotations from these friends—as having misinformed and lied to him to a rather unfortunate degree. These friends seem, some of them, to be former Russian revolutionists who turned their backs on the Revolution as soon as it became a reality, and Mr. Ibanez expresses some surprise that these men should now be "persecuted" in Soviet Russia. Some of these gentlemen live in Paris because there is freedom of thought in that city! One of them, doubtless practicing the "new freedom" of thought, told Mr. Ibanez, who quotes his remarks as if approving them, that "Lenin is a Czar without the crown and without the scrupulous sense of responsibility of the old emperors." So Mr. Ibanez also is willing to have the *New York Times* pay him for aiding in the rehabilitation of Czarism! And they used to tell us Mr. Ibanez had begun as some sort of a radical in Spain.

With some understanding of the recent course of European history, Mr. Ibanez writes a few paragraphs, of which we quote three, on the Second Internationale:

As the reader knows, there now exist two "Internationals", the Third, which met in Moscow and is composed of adherents of Bolshevism, and the Second, which met recently at Geneva, and is composed of

what people think of as the "Common Sense Socialists", but whom Lenin refers to as the Opportunists.

The Second International always does everything "in theory". That is why it is inferior, as an organization, to the International of Moscow. In 1914 the Second International expressed itself as opposed to the war "in theory". It does not want a Soviet world, but it will do nothing to prevent such a catastrophe from taking place.

The Second International is an assemblage of celebrated nonentities, men who are famous the world over, but have no power anywhere.

It would be far from us to deny the accidental hit Mr. Ibanez makes when he alludes to persons whose principles are at variance with their practices as nonentities, but we consider it unfortunate, from his standpoint, that he should at once continue with a quotation from one of his nonentities in support of his hope that Soviet Russia may be going to the "demnition bow-wows."

Mr. Vandervelde, the illustrious Belgian Socialist, uttered some undeniable truths in his speech to the congress.

Said he: "Russian Bolshevism is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the dictatorship of a small group of individuals resting on bayonets and machine guns. The work of the Soviets will be simply that of preparing for the restoration of the Czars."

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CZAR NICHOLAS II OF RUSSIA was considered in the editorial columns of American newspapers during his lifetime as a tyrant, the head of an undemocratic and cruelly autocratic government. But now that all the newspaper editors have been told that they must fight "Bolshevism" to the last drop of that fluid which in other men would be called blood, the former exaggerations of the personal wickedness of the Czar are beginning to be replaced by a kindly respect for his "gentlemanly" qualities, and no doubt the newspapers will soon have placed him on a pedestal fully as high as that to which they elevated William II of Germany on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession. We are informed by persons who read the newspapers carefully that the details of the execution of the Czar by a certain Soviet commissar—who, by the way, was later executed by the Soviet Government for this alleged and unauthorized act—are again being paraded before the public, of course with many indications of the truly noble nature of the poor maltreated sovereign. If any of our readers have seen these accounts, and if the details should have represented the act as one of unparalleled cruelty, they should not forget that the whole business is the report of a Commission instituted by Kolchak to study the manner of the taking-off of Kolchak's illustrious rival (for there can be little doubt that there would have been many questions requiring heated discussion between the Little Father and the Supreme Ruler, had both remained alive and in control of a sufficient number of "subjects" for mutual mobilization)—and perhaps Kolchak commissions, like Kolchak propaganda organs in America, have not always told the truth.

## Chicherin's Note to Baron Avezzana

October 4, 1920.

*The following letter has been sent by the Russian Soviet Representative in the United States to the Italian Ambassador in the United States:*

His Excellency, Baron Camillo Romano Avezzana,  
Washington, D. C.

Excellency:

I am instructed by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of my Government to transmit to you his despatch in reply to the note of the Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, addressed to you under date of August 10, 1920. The despatch of the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, George Chicherin, follows:

"Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby's note to the Italian Ambassador contains an attack upon Soviet Russia's policy and her political system. Soviet Russia cannot leave unheeded these false and malicious accusations of a character quite unusual in diplomacy, and desires to bring them before the bar of public opinion.

"The American Government bases its objections to the policy of the British and Italian Governments on the principle of the territorial integrity of the former Russian Empire and would enter into friendly relations and intercourse only with such a Russian Government as would not be a Soviet Government. The only exceptions made by Mr. Colby from the principle of the territorial inviolability of the former Russian Empire are Poland, Finland, and Armenia. The demand for independence of those nations is considered by him as legal, inasmuch as they were annexed to Russia by force, wherefore their secession does not infringe Russia's territorial sovereignty. Mr. Colby imagines that the other oppressed nationalities of Czarist Russia were not annexed by force, and that the aspirations of the Georgian, Azerbaijan, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Ukrainian peoples for independence in the form of either secession or state sovereignty and federation with Russia are illegal. The discrimination on the part of the American Government in favor of some of these nationalities as against the others is unintelligible, being probably due to lack of information concerning national conditions in Eastern Europe. The condition precedent for Mr. Colby's friendship towards Russia is that her government should not be a Soviet Government. As a matter of fact any other government at present would be a bourgeois or capitalist government, which in view of the present economic unity of the world, would mean a government identified with the interests of the world's dominating financial groups. The most powerful among the latter, as a consequence of the world war, are the North American financial groups. The condition upon which Mr. Colby would extend American friendship to Russia is therefore that her regime should be such as to permit of the domination of the American financial groups in Russia. Mr.

Colby displays in his note a strong friendly feeling towards the Russian Government of 1917, i. e. towards that Russian Government which coerced Russia's working masses to bleed on the side of the allied and associated powers in the world war which was fought for the interests of financial capital; of that Russian Government which under the cloak of a pretended democratic regime supported the domination of the bourgeoisie in Russia, i. e. of the capitalist system and in the last resort the domination of the world's leading financial interests over Russia. As far back as 1905, when the weakness of Czarist Russia and her dependence on the western financial interests for the first time became clear, Maximilian Harden wrote that Russia was in fact a colonial land which must be governed in a business-like manner by commercial agents and clerks of business firms. This idea, so cynically avowed by Harden, in reality underlay all those plans which were elaborated by the Entente during the period of the intervention against Russia's Soviet system, and likewise explains the hostility towards Soviet Russia of the interests Mr. Colby speaks for. At the same time it must be noted that Mr. Colby, in his desire to maintain the integrity of the Czarist territory, not merely dissents from Britain's policy, but is actually engaged in a struggle against her policy. Obviously the groups he represents perceive that other, viz., British, interests have established themselves in the new states separated from Russia, and Mr. Colby sees no other way of combating those interests than to abolish the independence of these states. Quite different from this policy of maintaining the integrity of the Czarist territory with the object of establishing on this territory the domination of foreign financial interests, and quite different, on the other hand, from the more successful policy of establishing the domination of those interests in the new bourgeois border states, quite different from both, is Soviet Russia's policy,—the policy of complete abolition of the exploitation of the workers by the former owners of the means of production, which is the basis of the Soviet system. The Soviet Government unwaveringly upholds the right of national self-determination of the working people of every nationality, including the right of secession and of forming separate states. This is the cornerstone on which it wishes to establish friendly relations with the new border states. This system, represented by the Soviet Government, under which the working masses govern themselves and determine their own fate, is the only present day challenge to the domination of the exploiting interests of the leading groups of world's capital, foremost of all the American groups; this is why Mr. Colby displays such an implacable hostility to the Soviet regime and hurls his false charges at it, which are the exact opposite of actual facts. Mr. Colby asserts that the Soviet system is based, not upon the rep-

resentation of the popular masses, but upon brutal force, notwithstanding the fact that this system is at present the only one under which the working masses are free from exploitation by the privileged few and from the domination of the exploiting financial capital, a domination really based on brutal force. The latter dominates in all countries where the parliamentary regime is in force, and yet this regime is held by Mr. Colby to be the only one deserving recognition. The substance of the parliamentary regime is that the working masses being in an unorganized condition are under the absolute domination of strongly organized political parties which are completely subservient to the leading financial groups. This organization has its ramifications throughout the country, which are connected with innumerable local interests; it subjugates the minds of the masses through a subservient press, through inspired literature, through the pulpit, etc. Under the so-called democracy the semblance of freedom of the press, of freedom of assemblage, and of association, and of free speech is in reality a *mise en scene* of the domination of the leading financial groups acting through a venal press, venal politicians, tribunals, writers, clergymen, etc. The Soviet system alone is a permanent organization of the working masses under which the real sovereignty and the executive power in every locality are vested in the local Soviet, this permanent organization of the working masses on the spot. The structure of the Soviet regime invests the working masses with such power and draws them to such an extent into the workaday functions of government that the mere suggestion of the central power being able, under the Soviet system, to rule against the will of the masses, is sheer absurdity. It is the masses themselves, who, in the fight for liberty, amidst a sanguinary civil war which threatens all their conquests, have come to realize the necessity of a firm centralized revolutionary power for crushing the last resistance of the exploiting classes at home and for carrying on the unprecedented struggle against the capitalist governments of the whole world, which stand united against the Revolution whenever the working masses attain power in a particular country. At the time when all the capitalist governments of the world are united against the workers' and peasants' rule in Russia in an attempt to crush her resistance by the force of arms, by the hunger blockade, by fostering perennial conspiracies of the exploiting classes against the working masses in power,—at this time the working masses have become fully conscious of the fact that only a relentless proletarian dictatorship can defend their revolutionary conquests against the attacks of capital and of all its agents from within and without. The Communist Party, which directs this implacable struggle against the exploiters of the whole world, rules in Soviet Russia for the only reason that the masses themselves consider its rule as the only effective means of successful warfare against the deadly danger threatening them from world capital.

“But the Communist Party arouses Mr. Colby's ire also for another reason, viz., because the Communist Party is at the head of the revolutionary movement of the working masses in all countries, and also in the United States. Its world-wide struggle is rooted in the actual conditions of all countries, but Mr. Colby attempts to account for it by alleged propaganda of Russian Soviet agents. It is not for the first time that we witness attempts on the part of American financial groups to discredit Soviet Russia by calumnies. We have not forgotten the publication by the United States Public Information Division of the absurd Sisson documents charging the Bolsheviks with being German agents. The forgery was so crude that the least examination was sufficient to disclose that fraud. Owing to the subserviency of the press to the financial interests, which is almost complete in the parliamentary countries, calumny against Soviet Russia is one of the principal means of combating the movement of the working masses in every country including the United States. Mr. Colby, too, in his note to the Italian Ambassador, has resorted to coarse slander against Soviet Russia. We most emphatically protest against his false allegation that the Soviet Government violates its promises and concludes agreements with a mental reservation to transgress them. Not a single fact can be quoted in support of this calumny. Even the Brest-Litovsk Treaty which was imposed upon Russia by violence was faithfully observed by the Soviet Government. Whenever it was accused of violating its diplomatic obligations, a frame-up by enemies of the Russian Soviet Government was shown to be at the bottom of the charges. If the Russian Government binds itself to abstain from spreading Communist literature, all its representatives abroad are enjoined scrupulously to observe this pledge. The Soviet Government clearly understands that the revolutionary movement of the working masses in every country is their own affair. It holds to the principle that Communism cannot be imposed by force but that the fight for Communism in every country must be carried on by its working masses themselves. Seeing that in America and in many other countries the workers have not conquered the powers of government and are not even convinced of the necessity of their conquest, the Russian Soviet Government deems it necessary to establish and faithfully to maintain peaceable and friendly relations with the existing governments of those countries. That the elementary economic needs of the peoples of Russia and of other countries demand normal relations and an exchange of goods between them, is quite clear to the Russian Government, and the first condition of such relations is mutual good faith and non-intervention on both parts. Mr. Colby is profoundly mistaken when he thinks that normal relations between Russia and the United States of America are possible only if capitalism prevails in Russia. On the contrary we deem it necessary in the interests of both nations and despite the differences of their political and social

structure, to establish proper, peaceful and friendly relations between them. The Russian Soviet Government is convinced that not only the working masses, but likewise the farsighted business men of the United States of America will repudiate the policy which is expressed in Mr. Colby's note and is harmful to American interests, and that in the near future normal relations will be established between Russia and the United States.

(Signed) CHICHERIN."

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) L. C. A. K. MARTENS,

*Representative in the United States of the  
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.*

### POLISH-LITHUANIAN RELATIONS

By A. D.

The relations between Poland and Lithuania were never too friendly, but at the present moment these two countries are actually, if not formally, in a state of war. In the first days of September the Polish legioners crossed the Curzon line, ostensibly for strategic reasons, and occupied the county seat Seyny (of the Suwalki province), situated within the boundaries of ethnographic Lithuania. By order of the Kovno government the Lithuanian troops then took the offensive, recaptured Seyny and forced the Poles to retreat to Suwalki. And but for the fact that Grodno is defended by the Russian Red Army, the Lithuanians would now be battling the Poles in the Grodno region.

To show why the Polish-Lithuanian relations have become so strained we will have to recall briefly the events which preceded the Russian offensive.

In the course of 1919 the Poles occupied almost a third of ethnographic Lithuania. They seized not only the whole province of Vilna, but also most of the Suwalki province and the southeastern part of the Kovno province. The Polish authorities and the Polish legioners acted in the most flagrant manner. Requisition followed requisition, extreme measures of compulsion were used to force the Lithuanian youth to join the Polish army, all the Lithuanian newspapers were suspended. Socialists and even moderate nationalists were thrown into the jails. Everyone who could be suspected of the slightest connection with Lithuanian culture was thrown out of the University of Vilna.

To provide itself with "spokesmen" in the name of the Lithuanian people, the Warsaw government used all means to promote and to support Lithuanian *Petturism*. It dug up a few mercenary Lithuanian nationalists, appointed as their chief the well-known adventurer Augsztolaytis, and began to publish in Vilna a Lithuanian newspaper, *United Lithuania*, which voiced the views of the Polish Government. This newspaper advocated the union of Lithuania with Poland, which

would thus form the strongest part of the anti-Bolshevist cordon. In this respect the Polish occupational authorities of Lithuania followed in the footsteps of the German occupational authorities, who closed all Lithuanian newspapers and began to publish their own organ *Dabrtis (The Present)* to propagate their views. But the Lithuanian *Petturists* had no influence. Their newspaper was generally boycotted.

The Lithuanian nationalist government at Kovno was not in a position to fight the Polish occupants and confined itself to protests. Moreover, this government could not even wage an ideologic struggle against the Poles, since it pursued an aggressive policy against the working class and the small peasants in that part of Lithuania which was under its rule. It submitted in political affairs to the direction of the British mission.

The role of liberator of Lithuanian territory from the yoke of the Polish landlords fell to the Red Army. This is a fact of great significance. But in driving the troops of the Polish landlords out of Lithuania the Red Army did not intend to conquer Lithuania for Russia. According to the peace treaty which was concluded between Soviet Russia and Lithuania, the whole province of Vilna (except the Disna and Vileyka counties), and part of the Grodno county were given to Lithuania. Soviet Russia concluded peace with a government which can by no means be called a workmen's and peasants' government. But the establishment of such a government is the task of the toiling masses of Lithuania. The Soviet Government does not interfere in the internal affairs of the neighboring countries.

The fact that the Red Army liberated almost a half of the Lithuanian territory from the oppression of the Polish nobles naturally aroused great sympathy to the Bolsheviks among the masses of the Lithuanian people. Of late the Communist movement in Lithuania has grown stronger. As a result, the Communists and their sympathizers are attacked with more ferocity than ever by the government circles and the reactionary Lithuanian press. The British diplomats, and of late the French diplomats also, are doing their utmost to bring about an understanding between the Lithuanian reactionaries and their Polish brethren. As Millerand himself admitted recently, France has recommended to the Poles to be moderate and to refrain from invading Lithuanian territory, because an open war between Lithuania and Poland would indirectly aid the Red Army. If the report of the Paris correspondent of the *New York Sun* is authentic, several French diplomats recently expressed themselves emphatically in favor of immediate peace between Poland and Lithuania, for such a peace would strengthen the anti-Bolshevist coalition and, consequently, weaken Russia.

That is why the Allied imperialists are opposed to a war between Lithuania and Poland. They are well aware that this would make a very considerable gap in the "cordon sanitaire." It is possible that their efforts will be temporarily success-



ful. Poland may agree to some insignificant concessions to the Lithuanian nationalists.

But this will not at all solve the nationalist conflict in the southern part of the Suwalki province and in the provinces of Grodno and Vilna. The Lithuanian nationalists are getting ready to act as the masters of this region, just as the Polish nationalists acted as its masters before they were forced out by the Red Army. The Polish nobles who left Lithuania and White Russia, and took refuge in Warsaw, have organized there a so-called "Vilna-Grodno conference" and have sworn to restore the power of the Polish nobility along the Nieman and Vilya. A secret patriotic military organization of "Nieman sharpshooters" is active on Lithuanian territory. Only a really popular Lithuanian government, which would bring about the union of Lithuanian, White Russian, and Jewish masses, only a Soviet government could wage an effective struggle against the Polish counter-revolutionists. But as long as Lithuania is ruled by the present nationalist government there will

be no end to the intrigues of the Polish nobility, the nationalist problem will not be solved, nor will there be a solution of the social question. And at the same time the foreign and internal policies of Lithuania will be dictated by the British and French missions.

The popular masses of Lithuania, as is becoming ever more obvious, are in favor of a "Russian orientation." The congress of the trade unions (the largest organization in Lithuania) has given unequivocal expression to the opinion that the economic and political interests of Lithuania demand the closest possible union with Soviet Russia. The eyes of the Lithuanian masses are directed toward Moscow, not toward Paris or Warsaw. The Allied imperialists are striving to enslave Lithuania economically and politically. Russia alone has nothing to gain from the enslavement of Lithuania. Only in union with the Russian revolution will the Lithuanian toiling masses be able to secure the final defeat of their sworn enemies, the Polish landlords.

## The Condition of Working Women in Soviet Russia

THE transition from the monarchical to the republican form of government, bourgeois democracy, has brought political equality to the women of Germany and German Austria. It has, however, inasmuch as it did not touch the system of individual housekeeping, prevented women from progressing from formal equality on paper to real equality in life. In Russia, the Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, has not only freed women from political injustice, it has at the same time (and therein it decidedly throws into the shade the much vaunted progress in the capitalistic states) cleared the way for actual liberation of women from exploitation and oppression of every kind.

In the resolution of the All-Russian Women's Congress of November, 1918, it is pointed out that with the passing of the power into the hands of the Soviets there becomes possible not only the full political and civil liberation of women, but also the complete abolition of her sex and family slavery, and that the thing to strive for now is the concrete realization of these conditions. As a result of the November Revolution, as a result of the coming into power of the Soviets, the complete social liberation of working women, by way of the abolition of the old forms of family and of household economy, becomes not only possible, but appears also as one of the necessary conditions for the development of Socialism. The resolution continues as follows:

The first All-Russian conference of working women declares that working women have no special problems that differ from the general problems of the proletariat, for their liberation depends upon the same conditions as that of the proletariat as a whole, that is to say, the proletarian revolution

and the triumph of Communism. At the moment of the socialist revolution which is now in course of development, which demands the putting forth of every proletarian effort for the development and defence of the Revolution as well as for the cause of constructive Socialism, all working men or women must become soldiers of the Revolution, ready to offer all their forces for the triumph of the proletariat and Communism; thus appears as the fundamental problem of working-women the active cooperation in every possible form of the revolutionary struggle, at the front as well as behind the lines, by way of propaganda and agitation as well as by immediate armed struggle. Likewise, the conference states that the old forms of family and of domestic management weigh as a heavy yoke on the woman worker, and prevent her from becoming a fighter in the cause of the Revolution and Communism; and that these forms can be abolished by means of the creation of new forms of domestic economy. The belief is also expressed that the working woman, in taking the most active part in all expressions of the new order, must also devote her particular attention to the creating of new forms of feeding, social distribution, and public bringing-up of the young, by the help of which also the old form of family slavery will be destroyed.

So long as the care of feeding her people rests with woman, so long as it is her office to buy and prepare the necessary food for her family, and to keep the house clean and in order, she cannot attain professional equality with man; nor can she find time and strength to take part in public life to the same extent as man, and develop herself further mentally. To deliver woman from the duties of individual housekeeping means, there-

fore, to afford her the possibility of freeing herself from ignorance and narrow-mindedness, of becoming man's fellow-worker and fellow-combatant, instead of being his inferior and creature. The first step toward unburdening woman of domestic duties is the establishment of community kitchens in which the cooking for a considerable number of people is done by trained hands. In Russia, during the dictatorship of the proletariat, the number of community kitchens has steadily been increased. That has also been the case among us, although not to the same extent. But in Russia—and therein lies the merit and the power of attraction of this institution in the eyes of women workers—the character of the community kitchens has at the same time changed. They are no longer, as before the Revolution and as with us today, more or less charitable institutions whose beggar's soups the workers must gulp down without a protest on pain of being cast out, but they are real democratic establishments that are managed and controlled by the men and women workers themselves. Particularly highly developed is the system of community kitchens of Petrograd. There a complete transition to communal feeding was made in July, 1919; that is to say, nearly the whole population receives its food from the general municipal caldron. In July, 1919, there were already in Moscow 679 eating houses and their number has since increased considerably.

So long as the task of caring for and bringing up children falls on the family, so long is woman not only seriously hindered in her freedom of movement, but it is also impossible for her to free herself from economic dependence on man. For the sake of providing for her children she is forced to enter marriage, which in many cases robs her of her economic independence; for the sake of providing for her children she is compelled to tolerate an unhappy marriage, submit to torment and humiliation of every kind. The liberation of woman from the predominance of man will therefore be possible only when it is no longer the duty of the individual partners, but of society, to feed, clothe, and educate children. In Russia they are on the way toward this new order. As early as May, 1919, a decree appeared which established gratuitous feeding of children up to the age of sixteen. In Moscow and Petrograd, as in all industrial centers, the cost of the maintenance of children has since been borne by the state. Of how much nerve-shattering care, how much trouble and labor are women thereby relieved! The number of creches, kindergartens, children's asylums, and recreation homes has been increased enormously during the dictatorship of the proletariat. And these institutions are no longer, as in capitalistic society, charitable institutions to which mothers must reluctantly and only out of need entrust their little ones; they have become establishments which exist not only for, but also through the workers. Managed by specialists, physicians, and educators, they are under the control of the proletarian parents. In the homes and

schools the children are provided with clothes and shoes. Instruction is free of charge from the kindergarten to the academy. Noteworthy, and particularly important, for the position of woman is also the fact that illegitimate children enjoy the same rights as the legitimate.

If a prisoner who has never known freedom is to find his way into the open, it is not enough to unbolt the door of his prison, he must also be taught to open the door himself. Through having been bound to the house for thousands of years woman has become accustomed to a narrow sphere of action. The desire to be active in public life, to take part in men's battles, to cooperate in the building up of the new order, and, through the perfection of the above-mentioned arrangements, to realize the conditions necessary for their own complete deliverance, must first be awakened in the great majority of women. In Russia, with her numerous backward peasantry, this is a particularly difficult problem. One of the most important means of solving it lies in the "propaganda of action." An effort is made to attract women workers of the cities and peasant women directly to work that is carried on by the Soviets or to any other work. "Delegates of women workers and peasant women," says Comrade Kollontay, "are divided into groups that work in some one of the Soviet districts. They cooperate in the creation, investigation, and control of creches, homes, kindergartens, and elementary schools, in the control and inspection of kitchens and dining-halls, in the elimination of abuses and disorder in the latter, in the supervision of the proper distribution of clothes and shoes in the schools, in the collection of information and in assisting the work of inspectors, and in the strict enforcement of the regulations for woman and child labor."

To be sure there is in Russia, for the present, only a small advance guard of women who are consciously and actively cooperating in building up the new social order. But, as we have seen, the provisions for freeing the great mass of women from domestic confinement and slavery have been made in Russia. What the future development of these things will be depends not only on the Russian working woman, but also on the workers of other countries. If Russia finally arrives at peace with her external enemies, and that depends essentially on the revolutionary determination of the non-Russian workers, if she can devote to internal constructive work the forces which she is at present consuming in war, then these beginnings in behalf of the liberation of woman, for which we can even now envy Soviet Russia, will have a truly wonderful development.—From *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna, August 15, 1920.

#### MARRIAGE LAWS

The pamphlet containing these may be somewhat delayed, but the new edition of the Labor Laws will probably be ready by October 20.

## Easter in Moscow

By DR. BOHUMIR SMERAL

Moscow, Wednesday, April 14.

WINTER lasts a long time in Moscow, but in the middle of April, it suddenly transformed itself into summer. A week ago, I still trembled from the cold in my room. Today my overcoat seems too heavy. And Easter is behind us. Life here is so strenuous and the impressions received so strong that we were hardly conscious that we were in the midst of the holiday season. Even the leader "The Paskha of the Proletariat" appearing in *Pravda*, failed to bring the fact to our consciousness. We were surprised when on the third of April the streets of the city were full of branches and pussy-willows. I look at the calendar—Holy Saturday.

With these first pussy-willows, official Easter was inducted. It is the "Soviet Easter", in reality, however, celebrated by no one. Officially, the western European calendar has been inducted. But that part of the population, which is subject to religious feeling and to the old orthodox traditions, notwithstanding state decrees is, in matters of the Church, guided by the old calendar, and will celebrate a second—its own Easter—twelve days later. No holidays here for the Communists! Only work, work, work. Among the indifferentists, religious feeling has not been entirely weeded out. Already, the very first Sunday of my stay in Moscow, I did not fail to notice how full the churches were. Moscow has a greater number of churches than any other city in the world. Forty times forty, as they say here. The gilded or blue domes supported on their low steeples give each street an individual character. In every church which I entered there were services and attendance. Through the streets, accompanied by the tinkling of small bells and singing, and with flags flying, religious processions pass. In former days, it was of course unthinkable for even one man not to uncover. Today a large number of passers-by greet it with indifference, but a good half of them remove their hats, and I have seen a Red Guard, who was doing guard duty in the middle of the street through which the procession was passing, remove his cap and cross himself in the orthodox manner. I almost have the impression that there is a large number of people here whom the crucial time is driving to mysticism and to God. The Workmen's Government should, in a sense, imitate these religious functions, organize meetings in beautiful halls and among beautiful surroundings with music and song, with a short talk, not about the daily cares and battles, but dealing with inspiring thoughts of the High Ideal, and with music and song ending the program. The proletariat in power has the means for it, and taking into consideration the psychology of the people here, I believe it would have a good effect.

The unofficial but the real Holy Saturday occurred a week later. By that time, spring had truly made its entry into Moscow. We have

warmth and thaw. The waves of the river have just borne the last ice away, the water rose two meters in four days. Children are swarming in the streets. They play in the same way as our own children at home, in that they jump on one leg kicking a pebble from one square to another in a traced pavement, or they play foot-ball with a large leather ball (where did they get it here?). One new game I have seen here which has been born of the spirit of the times. Just as at home our boys play "soldiers", so here they play "revolution". In one of the side streets about twenty boys, between six and eight years of age, stand in a semi-circle around a lamp-post, with pockets full of stones and with yells begin bombarding the lamp-post. Bang! Bang! the stones fly against the metal post, and the greater the noise the throwing of the stone makes, the greater the glee. Two fishermen have betaken themselves to the Moscow quay and are trying to catch fish with a long pole. I fail to see that they have got anything, however. At another spot near the river lies a wet fishing net. In the park sits an eighteen-year old lover with a still younger maid. Hand in hand, tenderly gazing into each other's eyes, their words flowing with the soft breath of love. I pass by and overhear that they too address each other "tovarishch". A group of people sit on the steps of the Church of Christ the Savior, awaiting the beginning of the services. Here too, I hear the word "tovarishch". Were I to describe the clothing of the people in the Moscow streets on week days, I would say that I did not see clothes strikingly beautiful nor extremely poor. On this day, people are generally better dressed—more holiday-like than usually. It is therefore not true that they have worn out their last.

In the evening and at night I walked with Sirola and Olbracht through the city. We wished to witness the night service in one of the cathedrals. In the churches within the Kremlin there will be no services. In the afternoon a rumor was spread among the indifferentists that the members of the Soviet Administration would participate in the services of the Uspensky Coronation Cathedral. Obviously this was not true, yet it is characteristic that there were people who believed it. At midnight we went to the Church of Christ the Savior. The church adheres not only to the old calendar, but also to the old time (hours). Therein lies, perhaps, a tacit rebellion of the clergy against the Soviets. The midnight service does not begin until three in the morning. We could not wait so long. At two o'clock in the morning, we were tired and went to bed. In some of the smaller churches services had already begun. Attendance was not as large anywhere as I had anticipated, considering the full churches of the Sunday previous.

Easter Sunday is one of the most important holidays in the orthodox church. Through the

entire city of Moscow the bells toll. In the impressive clanging of the chimes, the small bells of the passing processions are discernible, with their higher and quick tones—just as at home on the day of Corpus Christi. At the Savoy, we get pure white bread and a side portion of good Siberian cheese; at noon, besides soup, a portion of tasty goulash with good potatoes; in the evening two meat balls, potatoes, and butter. How reverently do all the people here take up pure white bread! And to the spell of the holidays which to them brings also the recollection of their young and peaceful days, even the extreme communists succumb. We spent the morning together with Olbracht and Vajtauer at Miligina's. To a good revolutionist, religious holidays are obviously "Bourgeois Prejudices", but today, it is evident that she gladly succumbs to the spell of the day, which, even for her, is not an ordinary day. Sunshine streams in through the windows, the table is at least half-covered with a clean cloth. At other times, we take turns in bringing in from the kitchen water for tea, where it boils all day long in a copper kettle. Today it bubbles in a large polished samovar standing on the table. Four more comrades come in, two men and two women. We do not know each other, do not ask each other's name, we naturally belong together: "All Communists are good." In the afternoon Sirola and I strolled through the remotest corners of the city.

The house in which I live, in the meantime, received additional inhabitants. One day, there appeared at breakfast, for the first time, a patriarchal-looking man, of an aristocratic countenance—a beard like that seen in pictures of St. Peter. He wore an old shabby plush coat—Chertkov, well-known as a friend and disciple of Tolstoy, formerly a publisher in London, now propagandist of his ideas in Bolshevik Russia. Now and then we read on street corners notices of his meetings of protest against violence and against war, and with a prophet's indignation, he proclaims it a crime, even if carried on by the Bolsheviks. On the door of the room next to mine, there is a new visiting-card. "Jean Mayerhoffer, Chef de la Mission Autrichienne pour la Russie". Oh, Viennese, then! Then I am accosted by a young man who says he knows my name: he was, last year, a member of a Mission of the Russian Red Cross in Prague, and was given three days by the government to leave the country. From Germany a new comrade was added to the delegation, which is negotiating for collective immigration of German workers into Russia. He speaks pessimistically about internal conditions in Germany, is in despair over the split in the labor movement, over the sectarian spirit, which with its heated quarrels weakens even the Communist wing. Says he has no faith in the development of German affairs, and that he would rather not go back at all. Several of the old inhabitants moved out. Sirola departs today for Petrograd on a special train for the delegates of the trade congress. When he took leave of me in the dining room, a "tovarishch", who before

the war had been an official at the Consulate in Prague, said to me: "He is an important personage here. In Finland, the government would give many thousands for his head." It is peculiar how quickly people get acquainted with each other here. When alone in the dwelling which we had mutually occupied, I miss Sirola, and I feel that he will miss me too. We worked well together and in observation supplemented each other. Last night before retiring, in my last conversation with Sirola, he was explaining to me his interesting ideas about the necessity of having a knowledge of military science for the purpose of revolution, and how he, during the Revolution, came to know the meaning of the religious movement; and further how hard it is for him to think that Finnish revolutionary Socialism has no real scientific expert for military navigation, so important for that country. At home, no one could imagine with what seriousness the Finnish comrade thinks of these problems. He reads Tirpitz' memoirs and speculates how things could be made to become a reality when transferred from the experience of a German militarist into the arsenal of the fighters for the liberation of the proletariat. He especially became discursive on the subject—that those who stand at the head, are not, in fact should not be specialists, but should be able to govern the specialists (Trotsky); and that the one who stands before a great achievement, should beware of wanting to do everything himself (a leader of a revolution can only work with success when he surrounds himself with efficient, reliable co-workers). I recollect now also that the Finnish comrade Usenius, on his way from Reval to Moscow for revolutionary reasons, read Ludendorff's memoirs. Now I am beginning to grasp why Engels, when he graduated from the 1848 Revolution, in which he participated during the armed uprising of Willich, profoundly submerged himself in military science. Until now I did not realize this connection with the principle of his life, and saw in it merely a whim incidental to his inclination to sportsmanship.

After Sirola's departure, I go to report to the commander of the house that one room is at his disposal. Comrade Commander is in bad humor. He grumbles that the Department Soviet sends him so many bourgeois strangers. "I put three in one room and they have plenty of space. You are a comrade, and you are working and cannot be disturbed by another occupant: you will, therefore, for the time being, remain alone in both rooms." For the first time in my life then, I live alone, bourgeois-like—have two rooms, one for sleeping, and one for visitors and work.

Now that the season of congresses and holidays is over, I feel it a necessity to lay out a definite constructive plan for my work and for my observ-

ations for further stay in Russia. Although personally I prefer to conduct myself unobtrusively I must needs act quickly, definitely, clearly. I cannot stay away from home indefinitely and I am obliged to use the short time to the greatest possible advantage. I went to the building of the Internationale, where I said to Berzinov and Radkov as the representatives of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, in substance, this: "I have been here fourteen days. During the Congresses all official persons were so occupied that I could make no demands upon them. Also, I used this time to look around for myself and to accustom my ear to the language, so that I should be able to understand at least the most essential and that I might become somewhat acquainted with the city and its people. Now I have to have a strict plan for my activity. Either I shall carry on here merely elementary political talks, leaving deeper penetration to Olbracht and Vajtauer, and return to Bohemia—or I shall remain longer. In the event of my prolonged stay, I shall have to be afforded an opportunity of free entry everywhere, so that, if time permits and if I should find it expedient, I can look into every department of the state administration and economic life, and that I may be able to investigate everything personally and form an independent judgment. This, after my prolonged stay, the workers would expect of me, and I shall have to answer for it. I am putting this question to you for decision, because in the event of your deciding that it is advisable that I should not be limited to political questions only, but that I should stay on, then you would be in duty-bound to make things accessible to me, and I, who am generally unobtrusive and retiring, shall be in a position to ask energetically and squarely all the support you can give me for facilitating my work." (The Comrades were of the opinion that even in the event of my longer stay in Russia, it would be impossible for me to investigate everything, yet they requested that I stay in Russia at least a month. I shall, of course, have admittance everywhere. And they ordered for me by telephone a special legitimation card signed by Comrade Lenin, and we agreed that the next few days I was to devote to the study of Moscow wholesale merchant in the street of Denezhnyi ill at present, has recovered, that I am to accompany him, Radkov, and Berzinov to Petrograd to a conference with Zinoviev, on which occasion I shall have an opportunity of becoming acquainted also with the organization and social administration of Northern Russia.

Today for the first time I inspected the house in which the Third Internationale has its offices. It is a large house of a one-time millionaire Moscow wholesale merchant in the street of Denezhnyi Pereulok. The house is furnished in bad taste with overdone luxuriousness. The largest of its salons, overfilled with rare treasures, is not used by the Internationale, and is closed so that nothing can be damaged. This entire palace served for the exclusive use of one family consisting of four

members. While visiting this bourgeois Croesus, the German Ambassador Mirbach was killed by bombs hurled by Social-Revolutionists. Until the present day in the same corner stands the same chair from which Mirbach fled when the bombs were hurled at him. Berzin, the Chief Secretary of the Third Internationale was, in the first phases of the Soviet Republic, its ambassador to Switzerland. I am of the opinion that he is tired, overworked, and that he has incipient tuberculosis. He admits nervousness and smokes a great deal. He will last at his work possibly a few weeks, but then he will have to go to a sanitarium. I made new and interesting acquaintances at the Internationale! A French comrade, the writer Guilbeaux, the Servian comrade Mikic, an English correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, and a young Italian journalist, Kappa. Guilbeaux tells me of Sadoul who is organizing the work in Kharkov. Mikic too is active in the Ukraine. Joy is mirrored in his eyes, when he tells me what spirit rules the Yugoslav movement and how bravely stands Comrade Lapcevic. Comrade Kappa is better acquainted with Olbracht and is very much interested in Prague. His wife is a Czech, Zatkov's daughter. He is separated from his wife's family by an abyss of world's creed, but humanly it seems to me, he entertains for them tender affection and devotion.

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## Wireless and Other News

### APPEAL OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN UNION OF WORKERS IN THE BUILDING TRADES

Moscow, September 15, 1920 (via Stockholm).—To all Unions of Building Trades. Although our government of workers and peasants readily puts at our disposal all means of communication, and in spite of its incessant appeals to our comrades and brothers in capitalistic Europe to enter into constant and organized relations, we have up to now, thanks to the ruling classes of the West, been deprived of the possibility of communicating with the unions abroad. On account of this lack of information, it is uncertain whether our delegates will be in a position to attend the next international congress of the unions of the building trades workers. We shall be informed about that congress only by the bourgeois press, from which, moreover, we will receive only garbled reports which may come late.

We are sending to the International Union of the Building Trades Workers and to the kindred unions an urgent request to send us detailed information on all matters that interest us, and to keep up live communication with us through the medium of the Communist parties which will readily undertake the task of coming to our aid.

With brotherly greetings.

*Central Committee of the All-Russian Union of Workers in the Building Trades,*

BURAGOL, *President,*  
BOGDANOV, *Secretary.*

### THE RUSSIAN MANCHESTER

Moscow, September 17, 1920.—*Pravda* publishes the following report about the conditions in the district of Ivanovo-Voznessensk:

In this Manchester of Russia the power belongs to the workers, who have instituted complete order and maintain an exemplary cleanliness. All branches of the public service are functioning with the greatest exactness. The political activity of the people in the entire district is energetically encouraged. Industry has reawakened to a new life. Everybody, beginning with the ordinary workman and ending with an engineer, is consciously working in the interest of the Soviet Republic. In the center of the district, as well as in the villages, one finds the same zeal as in the first days of the Revolution. On the Volga, a busy traffic of steamers and barges, carrying corn, timber, cotton, chemical products, etc., is developing. All workers compete in the work of production for the proletarian state (as well as for themselves), and not for the privileged classes. Meetings are being held regularly for the discussion of internal and foreign political affairs. This state of affairs is the more noteworthy since the majority of the best revolutionists are at the front.

### SHLYAPNIKOV SECRETLY SENT TO NORWAY

CHRISTIANIA, September 17, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—From Bodo, Norway, the following is being reported to *Rosta*: The head of the Russian Trade Union Delegation, Shlyapnikov, who had been arrested in Stockholm and brought to an unknown place which the police refuse to disclose, was, according to *Nordlanets Social Demokrat*, brought over under police guard from Stockholm to Norway. He arrived in the company of a Swedish detective on Sunday in Narvik, whence a Norwegian detective brought him on to Vardo. The Swedish as well as the Norwegian Government has done everything to keep the voyage a secret.

### OIL DRIVEN LOCOMOTIVES

*The following information is taken from a statement made in a London periodical by W. McLaine upon his return from Russia.*

Last week's London papers made a tremendous fuss about a new oil driven locomotive that had drawn a train from London to Birmingham.

In the Volga region in Russia, now that the British have been cleared out of Baku and oil is available, oil driven locomotives are performing daily service. The steamer *Belynsky* that took us down the Volga was oil driven, and I spent a profitable half-hour looking round her engine room, where everything was in apple-pie order.

### ANNOUNCEMENT BY TROTSKY

CHRISTIANIA, September 3 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—Moscow, September 2. Trotsky issued the following announcement, at the time of the defeat of the troops landed by Wrangel on the coast of Kuban: The railroad workers of Kuban suffered a great deal, in order to bring about the defeat of the new Wrangel offensive. The self-control, the exemplary conduct and rapid movement of the Red troops, made it possible to move them from 700 to 900 versts in twenty-four hours. Railroad workers! Remember that you have a great responsibility and that it is you that are next in importance to the Red Army in the fight for freedom and labor.

LEON TROTSKY.

ALEXANDROVSK, September 1, 1920.

### REORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Moscow, September 13, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—The Petrograd *Pravda* communicates that the well-known rubber-boot factory *Treugolnik*, which occupies a space of sixty hectares, is in operation again. The operation aims first of all at satisfying the needs of the army and navy. In some sections of the factory, the production exceeds that of 1916, which was a record year.

### WORKERS' RING ROUND POLES

BERLIN, September 9.—The *Rote Fahne* accuses the German Government of allowing shiploads of munitions to pass through the Kiel Canal with the full knowledge that they are meant for Poland. The *Rote Fahne* is evidently right, for this morning the Greek steamer *Iolanthe*, carrying airplanes and munitions, passed through the canal unhindered.

The Swedish steamer *Cavalla* was stopped by the workmen at one of the locks, and the Danish steamer *Dorxit*, coming from France with 10,000 tons of munitions for Poland, was held up by workmen near Kiel and Brunsbuettel.

To organize more efficient control over every lock, the Control Commission of Berlin Workers has circulated a manifesto, insisting that the greatest vigilance over the railways and canals is necessary in order to maintain German neutrality in the Russo-Polish war, and pointing out that the government, contrary to its promises, is not genuinely trying to stop war material from reaching Poland.

The Exchange reports that a British steamer is also held up.

### GERMAN WORKERS DOING THEIR DUTY

RATIBOR, August 14 (*Wolff*).—The workers of the Ratibor Main Works held up early today a French troop-train and, according to the *Oberschlesischer Anzeiger*, insisted, with success, that the train be switched off onto a side track where it remains guarded by the workers.

MANNHEIM, August 12 (T. U.).—A street demonstration in favor of Soviet Russia, which had been called for by the Spartacus League, took place yesterday afternoon. Many thousands attended, among them a surprisingly large crowd from Ludwigshafen and environs. Street-car traffic was interrupted for a considerable length of time by the procession in which several bands of music marched also. No clashes are known to have occurred.

### DANISH COUNCILLOR OF STATE ON SOVIET RUSSIA

STOCKHOLM, August 19.—A few days ago there arrived in Copenhagen about fifty Danes, some of whom had been prisoners of the Red Army in North Russia. Among those returning from Soviet Russia there was the Danish Councillor of State, Kofoed, who had worked in the services of the Russian Ministry of Agriculture during the Revolution, and has been a resident of Russia for about forty years altogether. *Nationaltidende* has had an interview with the Councillor concerning conditions in Russia, and his statements on Bolshevism are noteworthy, particularly in view of the fact that he is an opponent of the Bolshevik ideas. On the matter of provisioning, the Councillor of State says: "I assume that they now have overcome the worst difficulties. Hunger is not past, and things still look bad for those who are not particularly healthy, but the people in general are

beginning to adapt themselves to the existing conditions."

The Councillor particularly emphasizes the care of children, as follows: "I have had occasion to visit a number of the public children's colonies, both at Moscow and Petrograd. Everywhere I received the most favorable impressions; the children look happy and healthy, and the teachers took their tasks seriously and with understanding. Instruction in general has not yet been completely regulated, but the plan at least is good."

The interviewer asked: "Is it possible to place children in the schools chosen by their parents?" "Yes, the parents are at liberty to send the children where they will really learn. The Bolsheviks, furthermore, devote much care to arts and sciences; the great art collections remain intact. Society looks after the professors and the scholars, who get big rations and are not obliged to resort to additional work to eke out their income." Finally, the Councillor definitely denounced the contemptuous attitude of the bourgeois press on the subject "mob in power". He had met a number of the leading men of the government and had found them to be men of clear vision who are open to negotiations even with those who do not share their ideas. In one respect the present government is far superior to the earlier governments: "It maintains justice within its own ranks."

### FOR THE RECOGNITION OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

PRAGUE, September 3, 1920 (Report from *Rosta*, Vienna).—Dr. Benesch, Minister of Czechoslovakia, delivered an oration on the question of the alliance of his country with Jugo-Slavia and Rumania, and on its politics with regard to the Entente, in which he made the following statements: Our attitude to take every means possible to resume commercial relations with Russia as soon as possible, marks one of the policies of Czechoslovakia's peace and neutrality activities. The Russo-Polish War hindered this." During the debate, Dr. Heller, the German senator, declared that he agreed with the speaker. He said that this should be done as soon as possible, since Italy and England have entered into friendly relations with Russia. The speaker declared, however, that the Russian Government should be recognized, and that this should be done independently of the Entente.

### RIGA PEACE PROPOSALS

The following interview sent by the special correspondent in Riga of the London *Daily Herald*, appeared in that newspaper on September 15, 1920:

RIGA, September 13.—The Russian-Ukrainian Peace Delegation has arrived, Yoffe and Abolinsky representing Russia, and Manuilsky the Ukraine. Kirov, the Russian representative in Georgia, is on his way. Among the advisory experts are Polivanov, the former Czarist War Minister, and Novitsky, a Czarist general.

I interviewed Yoffe, who said that he would urge that the conference be open to the press, and that the British Labor representatives (Adamson and Purcell) should take part in the deliberations if they wish. He stated that the Russians expected immediately the Polish counter-proposals, though they would consent to discuss on the basis of the Russian proposals, which are still pending.

The most important issue was the guarantees that Poland would give of a lasting peace. This point involved practically all the Russian proposals, but most of all disarmament.

Territorial considerations are not, he said, a fetish with the Soviet Government, but it could not handle the principle of self-determination. The new nationalities of Lithuania, Lettland, White Russia, Ukraine, and so forth, were established facts. The new nationality issue in East Galicia, however, would be a matter for discussion. Thus far Western Europe had considered the principle of self-determination as it applied to the diminishment of Russia only. It must also be applied outside Russia, as in the case of Eastern Galicia, whose status the inhabitants should decide.

A Moscow wireless message states that the Polish delegation is expected tomorrow.

#### A JEWISH RABBI OF A LITHUANIAN TOWN ON THE BOLSHEVIKI

[The following is part of a letter which was received by Mr. S. Minkin, of 196 Canal Street, New York, from his father, David Minkin, who is the Rabbi of Dubnes, province of Kovno. The letter was published in full in the Jewish "Forward" of September 1.]

July 19, 1920.

I will briefly relate to you the miracles which

the Creator has shown toward us, be He ever as merciful. On July 3 we heard that the Poles were retreating and that they were looting Breshlov. You can imagine how we felt. Monday, 10 A. M. People were walking around, awaiting the fate that might befall us. Suddenly a report came that the Poles were retreating toward Wanighishok. This was a great miracle. Had they marched through Dubnes and halted there for one moment we would have been lost. In Zakistcheny they set fire to seventy houses and did not allow the fires to be put out.

Suddenly a Gentile came riding up and reported that the Reds had already reached Plusse (eight versts from our town). An hour later Red scouts arrived. Then our dread left us, for we had heard that wherever they came they did no harm.

A little later the Reds came riding in thousands, like a flood. They stopped in the streets and in the houses. I can describe to you how kindly and gently they acted toward us. All night long we cooked for them, but we rejoiced. They thanked us for everything. In some houses they paid very well.

The whole world should take lessons from Trotsky. What a wonderful teacher he is (the Lithuanians, however, need no lessons, as I will explain below) to have taught millions of soldiers to be so honest and fine! They did not trouble anybody. Even the children played with them, addressing them as "Comrades" . . .

### THE NEXT ISSUE

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## On the Caspian and in Persia

By E. V.

[The following interview with Comrade Raskolnikov,\* in which he gave a brief review of the conquest of the Caspian Sea and of the capture of Enzeli by the Soviet forces, appeared in the Petrograd "Pravda" of July 15. Comrade Raskolnikov was Commander of the Soviet Caspian fleet during the period described in the interview and has since been appointed Commander of the Baltic fleet.]

### The Conquest of the Caspian

THE conquest of the Caspian Sea took two navigation seasons of 1919 and 1920. In 1919 our fleet waged an active defence of Astrakhan from the Sea and from the Volga, assisting at the same time the forward movement of the Red Army along the banks of the Volga, and helping it to drive the Denikin army from both banks.

In the beginning of 1920, after the capture of Petrovsk, our fleet took up the task of clearing the Caspian Sea of the British and Denikin fleets. The base of our fleet was transferred from Astrakhan to Petrovsk, whence the fleet commenced its active operations.

The first battle of our torpedo-boat *Karl Liebknecht* with two cruisers of the enemy near the Alexandrovsk fort, showed clearly the fighting ability of our fleet and the demoralization of the enemy's forces. As a result of this battle we seized two enemy boats and the remnant of the Ural White army of General Tolstoy, which consisted of 2,000 men.

Arriving at Baku, the crews of the enemy ships brought the news of the defeat which was inflicted upon them by our torpedo-boat. The Whites in Baku were confronted by the question whether they should remain in Baku and give battle there, or should go to Enzeli. Under pressure

\* Comrade Raskolnikov, whose capture by the British was announced in SOVIET RUSSIA some time ago, returned to Russia on May 28, 1919.

of the British command, it was decided to transfer to Enzeli the whole Caspian White fleet, a part of the army, and all the military stores. But a part of the crews and of the officers, who were demoralized by the defeat, resolved not to take part in the sea operations against our forces, refused to go to Enzeli, and disembarked at Baku.

When the White fleet entered Enzeli the British military command interned the White crews, believing that if the White ships were placed under British protection our Red fleet would not attack them.

At this time the British began energetic preparations to convert Enzeli into a base for their rule on the Caspian Sea. They began to send their marines and officers through Mesopotamia and Persia to provide crews for our naval ships at Enzeli. Simultaneously they began to fortify Enzeli and make it ready for defence. They hoped by fortifying Enzeli to transform it into their foremost outpost which would cover the approaches to Persia, Mesopotamia, and, what was most important for them, to India.

After an insurrection had broken out in Baku, and the insurgent workers had called upon the brotherly Red troops and Red fleet to come to their aid, our fleet was sent from Petrovsk to Baku and arrived there on May 1, almost concurrently with the Red Army.

After the proclamation of the Azerbaijan republic

lic, knowing that Soviet Russia and the Azerbaijan republic cannot be sure that the British will not make a new attack on Baku from Enzeli, I decided to seize Enzeli and to remove from there all the White ships, thus depriving the British of their main-stay on the Caspian Sea.

#### *The Capture of Enzeli*

On May 18, in the early morning, our fleet approached Enzeli and opened fire, bombarding not the city itself but Kazan, where all the staffs and military forces of the British were located. Simultaneous with the bombardment of Enzeli our torpedo-boat made a demonstration near Resht, whither the British immediately sent their cavalry.

To the east of Enzeli, about twelve to fourteen versts from the city, we landed a force which cut off the British from the road to Resht. They thus found themselves in a trap. At first the British tried to offer resistance and sent two detachments of sharpshooters against us. But after a few volleys from the ship cannon the British troops became disorganized and retreated. Finding the situation hopeless, the British sent emissaries to us to ask for an armistice.

I told the British emissaries they must immediately surrender Enzeli, in view of the presence in the port of ships and military stores belonging to Russia.

As to the future fate of Enzeli, I told them that this question would be settled through diplomatic negotiations between Russia and Great Britain. My ultimatum was reported to General Shampein, who asked for an extension of the two hour limit, pointing out that he could not so quickly get a reply from the Persian Government, whose interests he claimed to represent.

Some time after this, the Governor of Enzeli came to my ship and declared that he came to greet the Russian Red fleet in the name of Persia. He agreed to evacuate Enzeli.

Since the British could not present an answer from the Persian Government before night, I proposed to General Shampein to allow the British troops to leave the city if he would turn over to us all the marine stores which he had seized from the Denikin fleet and part of which was still at Enzeli (a part he had already removed from the city). General Shampein accepted this demand and gave a formal promise to return all our stores unharmed. Shortly after this, Indian sepoy brought thirty cannon locks and turned them over to us.

After this I gave permission for the evacuation of Enzeli by the British troops, but on condition that they should not take along the Russian Whites. When the British troops were leaving the city we watched carefully that no Denikin officer should slip through with them.

The morale of the Indian troops, the English, the Turks, and the sepoy seemed to be very low. When we opened to them the road from Enzeli they started at a run, apparently eager to get out of Enzeli as quickly as possible. Before

the evacuation of Enzeli the British announced to the local populace that they were leaving but for a short time, and that they would soon send an army a hundred thousand strong for a new occupation of Enzeli. But watching their hasty evacuation of the city and how submissively they turned over to us the military stores, the local populace did not believe their boast.

#### *Reception by the Population, and Our Booty at Enzeli*

Before the British had evacuated Enzeli, we landed troops which occupied the city. All the streets and squares were packed with people. The whole city was covered with Red flags.

From the very first moment of our entry we announced that we had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Persia. The Persian Governor and other official representatives of the Persian authorities welcomed us as liberators from British oppression. The whole populace cursed the British as exploiters.

In Enzeli we captured an enormous military prize: Denikin's whole fleet which had been armed by the British, and which consisted of armed ships and transports, came into our possession. In addition to this we captured over fifty cannon, 20,000 shells which were brought from abroad, 160,000 poods of cotton which had been removed from Krasnoyarsk and sold to the United States, but which is now being sent to Astrakhan, 8,000 poods of copper, 25,000 poods of rails, forty cars, over twenty ship radio stations and three field radio stations, six hydroplanes, and four destroyers. It is impossible to enumerate the smaller materials. We have removed these military stores to Baku and Astrakhan.

#### *Kuchuk-Khan*

After the occupation of Enzeli we entered into negotiations with Kuchuk-Khan, urging him to advance on Resht. When the British heard of this they hastily evacuated Resht and retreated toward Bagdad.

Kuchuk-Khan had been at one time a mullah, but disillusioned of religion and seeing how his people were exploited by the British, he changed the cassock for a rifle. Escaping into the mountains, he gathered a small band of reliable men and for seven years waged bitter warfare against the British, fighting for the liberation of Persia. The British repeatedly dispatched against him much stronger military detachments, but to no avail. The local populace supported Kuchuk-Khan and always notified him of the approach of British troops. After making a sudden attack on the British and inflicting heavy losses, Kuchuk-Khan would retreat into the mountains through paths which his pursuers could not use.

The arrival of the Red fleet at Enzeli enabled Kuchuk-Khan to seize Resht and to form there a revolutionary government of Persia. The revolutionary government formed by Kuchuk-Khan was greeted with enthusiasm not only by the poor, but

also by the landowners and even by a part of the khans, who had suffered under the British yoke.

Kuchuk-Khan is an idealist and revolutionist. He will act in cooperation with the wealthy classes until he drives out the bourgeois Persian Government and turns over the land to the poor. He does not like to be called khan, declaring that the khans are the oppressors of the people and that he is simply a representative of the people—*Mirza Kuchuk*.

Comrade Raskolnikov expressed the belief that the struggle of Kuchuk-Khan for the liberation of Persia from the British yoke would be successful, for the Persian Government has no real power in the country. The Persian cossacks and gendarmerie, the best organized troops of the bourgeois government, are in sympathy with Kuchuk-Khan and against the British. Knowing that the people of Persia hate them, and fearing a rebellion in India and Mesopotamia, the British will not dare to send any help to the Persian Government.

To fight the British, Kuchuk-Khan formed a revolutionary military council, of which he is a member. Kuchuk-Khan himself is fairly well acquainted with military operations, but he is more

capable in guerrilla warfare than in field mass warfare. But since the topographical conditions preclude any other but guerrilla warfare, Kuchuk-Khan's victory seems to be assured.

Kuchuk-Khan's government is revolutionary in its composition and is made up of men who, like Kuchuk-Khan, fought for years for the liberation of Persia. Closest to the Communist Party is Comrade Ecsanula, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of revolutionary Persia and a member of the Persian revolutionary military council.

The government itself acts in close contact with the Communist Party of Persia. The government understands that the Persian revolution cannot be confined within narrow national forms, but must aid also in the liberation of other peoples of the Orient. The government is in touch with the revolutionary movement of Mesopotamia.

Kuchuk-Khan himself is an ardent sympathizer of Soviet Russia. "When I was leaving," concluded Comrade Raskolnikov, "he asked me to give his sincere regards to Comrade Lenin and to tell him that he will act as his disciple, and that the alliance between Soviet Russia and revolutionary Persia will never be broken."

## Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Fourth Instalment)

### *The English Speak*

AGAIN the Great Opera House. Something was being done with the English, they were being fawned on, pawed over, petted and tickled with inscriptions, warnings, challenging placards. "We are for children, for future, for humanity." Or: "We started the social revolution, we started it alone, let us go together to the end."

Or, they were welcomed in view of the new color of Russia: "Welcome, comrades, to Red Russia."

They were being played up to, they were being belabored with their own principles, to convince them. They were not loved and yet they were flooded with kindness. All this was to spur them on. It was unnecessary in my estimation. For English trade union leaders look upon things with clear eyes, they have an appraising eye, that sees a thing as it is. They do not look for the goal far away, they are no problem hunters, no emotionalists, but they see things as they are. They see the present rather than the future, even when they seem very revolutionary.

Several of them spoke in the Great Opera House, surrounded by many Soviet leaders (Lenin was not present). They spoke very violently, very revolutionary. They spoke and sweated, they shook their fists, they set one firm foot forward, they spoke themselves hoarse, and they were cheered wildly. No one understood them, but they spoke from conviction, urged by the flame of the moment, before this public hungry for help, this peo-

ple abandoned by the world, that desires peace with such consuming fervor. England is lord over war and peace, and the English labor leaders in England are no inconsiderable factors. They do not approve of a great many things in Soviet Russia, but they want to help the country, and this government. They do not desire that system for England, but they approve of it for Russia. They would have approved it even without the challenging posters, without petting and lashing. For they are shrewd, but not cold-blooded. This visit was really a victory for Russia.

So they spoke: red overhead, red at their feet, and before them a people yearning for help. Here and there a word of censure, a cutting remark, some bitter comment. But the workers listened quietly and cheered. The last to speak was Mrs. Snowden, a lady correctly booted, delicate but not lovely, confident but not cold. Not a woman storming for a goal, not a woman with a red flag, but a rosy-tinted woman, powerful of word, but pale of color. She said what she meant. She declined: "Go your way, we go our way to Socialism."

After every speech the content was translated for the hearers. At first Balabanova translated. Clearly, fluently, without hesitation, almost word for word. A fabulously gifted linguist. All well-educated Russians speak several languages, but Balabanova, one might say, has a number of mother tongues. Now they understood, and they applauded again. It was not Communism that

was now being translated, that the English speakers had spoken, but it was gratefully applauded.

Russians spoke. Tomsky, the Chairman of the Trade Union Federation, spoke. He spoke fast, with vigor, familiar with the public. Other Russians spoke, and always there were cheers. And now came Abramovich, the Menshevist leader. He spoke to an audience that was unfriendly to him, and was greeted by small scattered groups of followers only. He was pale as he spoke. He was often interrupted by violent calls of opposition. He spoke smoothly, courageously. He made the most of the presence of the English. They tried to force him to end his speech, but the chairman of the meeting called the meeting to order with: "Behave like Communists." He finished his speech. It was a long address. They called him Kolchak, but he continued to speak. I do not know what he said, I only know that it came from the soul, that there was fervor in him, too. He spoke in a rage, he unburdened himself. The Mensheviks today are united with the Communists on the great questions, especially on the question of war with Poland. But they are an opposition party, and they are by no means a weak party. When he ended, the applause was again only group applause from his followers. Otherwise there was hostile coldness. It was plain this man was respected, not loved.

But then came that wonderful thing again. Even during the meeting the public had been singing the Internationale. Now it sang the song of the Red Flag. It was steeped in this song, there was military rhythm in the song, while they were descending the stairway. There was massiveness, determination, power, in this song of the masses. It begins with a ringing clearness, and gains force and momentum as it proceeds. Slowly the crowds rolled out through the exits, in step to the tune, held in check by the song, pushed along by it, down the stairways and through the doors, and out upon the wide sunny square in front of the Great Opera House.

#### *A Proletarian Meeting*

At the end of the Red Street, the proletarian main thoroughfare of Moscow, is the Zoological Garden. There are only a few animals left. The cages at the entrance, a long row of cages, are empty. But otherwise nothing has been destroyed. Water birds are perched on the rocks in the lake of the park, and the meeting halls are ready for the meetings. We are in a large hall, an auditorium with light effects like those in a gigantic tent. The light streams in through the door with such force that the ceiling seems transparent. In front beside the stage are a few boxes, constructed of wood. On the stage is a small table for the chairman of the meeting. In front of the center of this table is the chairman of the Communist Party of the district. He is a small, black-haired, long bearded workman, smartly put together, whom we already knew. He has been abroad and is a linguist. He speaks fast, one might say with graceful violence, with his hands behind his

back, applauding his own particularly apt points. That seems to be a Russian custom among speakers. This hand clapping does not denote self-applause, but is meant to emphasize important points, and to denote reverence for things mentioned as worthy of such reverence. The public applauds also. Or the public first applauds the striking passages, and then the speaker joins in the applause.

Next to him is a man with a blond mane, a tender, bony face, a mild leader's face. He is half-woman, half-hero. He is the head leader of the Red Ukrainian army. He speaks later, thunderingly, lifting the public up with his hands, filling the hall with his voice, giving the effect of a cyclone. He speaks of the Paris Commune, he hurls giant blocks into the audience, he throws his fists at the people, he is transported. A fervent flame burns in his eyes, he is fire and sword. We spoke also, brought greetings, and promises. I speak plainly to 5,000 people, and all understand me, even in the most obscure corner. But this man swept and raged through the audience, he hammered against their heads, he shook them, he tore at them as at young trees. A powerful speaker, a man to speak to troops, to armies. There was a sigh of relief when he ended, for the pressure was becoming unbearable.

Meetings are tape worms in Moscow. However, the public is patient, it cheers again and again, it listens, sits up and holds out. It is attentive, does not flutter and whisper in corners during a speech. Silent and enthusiastic, absorbed and explosive. I have never had such a proletarian audience before me. The German audiences are more visibly disturbed, more spoiled, need to be brought oftener to the platform. Possibly they are more critical, more experienced. But the speaker makes a greater effort, is at a higher tension, for he must arrest their attention every moment if the audience is not to slip from his grasp.

Everywhere in Moscow there is a wave of applause at the mention of Spartacus. It is the firm name of the German revolution, so to speak. The chairman spoke the word, spoke the name of Liebknecht, and the cheering doubled in volume. I shall speak later of the effect of this name. It is immense.

A resolution was accepted and passed, and applauded. We were then asked to enter one of the boxes, for the performance was to begin after a short pause.

This was no Grand Opera, this was a proletarian performance. It was not yet new art, proletarian art, but it was proletarian in spirit.

For this audience was purely a proletarian audience, and the acting, the singing, the speaking was accepted with a childlike readiness and simplicity that touched the heart.

First there were several pertinent scenes, with folk-songs historically arranged. For instance, there was a Volga boat song, a melancholy towing song, a drifting song, a song of the deep, wide river, a Gorki song. The last was a scene from

the days of the shooting down of the proletarian masses demonstrating before the Winter Palace in Petrograd in 1905. A wounded man stumbled in, and a proud, angry, passionate song was sung over this blood.

Thereafter song upon song was sung by artists, men and women, whose names were whispered with approval. Heavy melodies, playful village songs, rhythmic stamping songs, jubilant songs, also the Internationale. They sang again and again, they repeated the songs when the audience called "bis, bis". Next to me sat a curly-haired, apple-cheeked, round-headed proletarian girl, of about fifteen. She raged, she perspired from exuberance, she was quite beside herself. She pounded upon my ear drums with her "bis, bis". I was completely overwhelmed.

But there was something in the center aisle which drew me and would not let me go. It was a girl, youthfully delicate, covered with a red veil. The small peasant face with a small, almost snub nose was visible, and her black hair gleamed through the veil. Her head rested on the shoulder of a young giant, a blond, short-haired, Russian Cheruscan. His arm was about her waist, and he adored her from under his blond lashes. He held her tightly, for she wept with almost every song. She was stirred to her very soul, moved beyond words, and was weeping her heart out against his strong breast. It was a proletarian tribute, a memorial of the primitive soul, that I beheld there. Again and again my eyes were drawn to this group, which stood so alone in the surrounding throng.

Children were sitting upon the orchestra parapet. No one disturbed them, they were not fetched down with authoritatively threatening fingers. They bent toward the stage in childish awe. They laughed, twittered and murmured sadly, when the song was melancholy, when a song lamented the death of a proletarian hero.

At the last a boy, a proletarian boy, came upon the stage. Possibly twelve years old. He recited a proletarian song in ringing tones. The audience knew him. It was plain he was already used to reciting poems at meetings, was used to speaking at meetings. He was wide awake, put the right leg forward with energy, and proceeded without a tremor. But he stuck fast in the midst of it, he couldn't make it go, he pulled on it, he improvised a little, but it would not go. The audience laughed, applauded, consoled him. Women petted him to make him happy again. No one heckled him. He had simply broken down in his speech, that was all. He had done his best.

Finally the closing speech, applause, curtain—going home.

In going out some one said behind me: That must be a German comrade; his pipe never leaves his mouth.

#### Posters

You will find posters on every wall, in a thousand stores of Moscow, on telephone poles, in rooms, in factories; they are everywhere. Picture posters for propaganda purposes. Perhaps a pro-

letarian rock, flaunting a red flag, with a capitalist ship going to pieces at the foot of it. Or a poster recruiting for the Communist Saturdays, with a description of the consequences of laziness, and beside it the results of industrious work. Or else a picture poster attacking the old greasy Czarist officials, the pot-bellied popes and the aggressive military officers. Placards with red stars, recruiting posters of the Communist Party, showing a procession of workers passing by some representatives of the old order with an air of refusal, and entering a house upon whose gable are the initials of the party.

But these are not the most interesting posters. More remarkable, more significant are posters of a different order. For instance some wall bears the information that somewhere proletarian courses are being given on world problems, literature, problems of natural science, with excursions into the field of bacteriology, geology, agriculture, accounting, finance, etc. Entirely gratis, of course.

Another poster requests people with a love for inventing and inventors' talent to invent all sorts of substitutes. For there is a great scarcity of raw materials in Russia. For instance a substitute for soap. For such a substitute a premium of 25,000 to 30,000 rubles is offered. The invention is tried out. It is distributed and the public is asked to report on its usefulness. I read of such a distribution of trial soap in a Moscow paper while I was in Yamburg. This practice is to be well recommended. During the war the German people were flooded with every conceivable trash as substitutes. Powdered chocolate of clay, powdered eggs of chalk, cake and pudding of bone glue, and such like whitewashed horrors. Had the people been asked first, the manufacture of substitutes would probably have been less variegated, but cleaner and a great deal more honest.

It goes without saying that study in the conservatories is gratis also, just as there is no charge or expense to any school or university training. Of course, there are still private teachers, especially for languages, but there are no more school fees or expenses necessary for a course of study. There is a poster of a state conservatory which recommends its course of history of music, a course of folk music, physiology of breathing, a course in instrumental technique, etc. Nor are the conservatories over-crowded. The system of free instruction seems already to be sifting the wheat from the chaff. Formerly every blockhead struck with the finger or vocal madness indulged his weakness as long as father's money bag held out. The so-called monopoly of education was a monopoly for blockheads. A removal of the education monopoly will result in setting real talent free. The music fraud, the sickening pedagogic fraud, the advertisement regime, the hunt for pupils is at an end.

Another poster calls the proletariat of a certain district to an evening discussion of questions on art. One comes to these discussions, and discusses valiantly, clashes with the others, brandishes sophistries, is clever or dull, as the case may be.

At least such things scratch the surface, oil up one's thinking apparatus, and make for mental agility. The so-called musicales with their lemonade souls, their long-haired atrocities and their badly brewed tea are sufficiently tiresome. They are mostly match-making institutions, nothing more.

Another poster announces an industrial exhibition, with a platform where the principles of a technical education may be discussed.

The Department of Economics of the City of Moscow is setting aside one evening a week for discussion of the problem: "What is the best method of growing vegetables?"

One poster asks the public to attend several lectures given by technical experts, dealing with the technique of the use of clay as a building material. They will show that as far back as antiquity clay was used in construction; they will discuss the economic advantage of brick construction, and they will make every effort to interest their hearers in the use of bricks as building material. They are not interested in winning over, say a group of profiteers, or a syndicate, or possibly a sleepy Minister of National Economy, who is not even able to telephone without aid, but they want to interest the people. Here again I am tempted to become nasty. I feel the gorge rising within me at the memory of such impotence on the part of German Ministers. The projects for German workingmen's homes were submitted to them on a silver platter, so to speak. But some highly paid blockhead could not be aroused from his lethargy. He could not even telephone. He referred the project to the regular routine for such matters, disclaimed his competence to deal with it, and continued his slumbers. The next day he published a speech both disarming and agitating, that for sheer stupidity, meaningless piffle, and school boy logic could not well be equalled. I feel the gorge rising, I feel myself getting hot under the collar, when I think of that idiot.

Another poster announces lectures on forestry.

Further along there is an appeal of the Social-Revolutionists against the Poles, and not far from it another invitation to take part in discussions about religion or about some technical problems.

The Soviet Republic makes a determined propaganda in favor of sports. In every corner, on every wall, and other spaces lending themselves to the purpose, there are sporting posters. Whoever has the desire may become a sportsman. Private yachts, tennis court rentals, and expensive yacht club memberships are not required.

Only the men at the top of their profession have charge of instruction in technical courses and lectures. There are no entrance fees of any kind. Also the people are being familiarized with all the facts and possibilities of science. The discussions on art, philosophy, religion, and politics serve to liberate the people from heaviness, self-consciousness, and timidity. One becomes acquainted with one's own resources, it is good training. This also is only a beginning, but at least it is a beginning.

I do not believe that one with half an eye for soundness can find fault with this activity. Nations are hungry for inspiration, for knowledge. Whoever knows proletarians, whoever has been able to understand them, knows how great this hunger is.

It may be noticed in the morning at the news stands. The workers stand in line, they form long queues as in Berlin in front of the cigar stores. Every worker in Moscow reads several papers. In Moscow the posters are read, the passages pasted on at the Rosta, the official telegraph station, are read. The various writers of articles are known, their style, the incisiveness of their various pens is known.

Whenever any one group has a grievance, the wound is plastered with placards. Whoever wants something or other, speaks from a wall and later from the platform. There are thousands of opportunities in Moscow to go before the people, so long as one has something to say.

All nations are thirsting for enlightenment. I believe that the time of beginning enlightenment is here. Even other countries use more and different placards, not alone Russia. Placards express the soul of a people, the tendency of the times, they speak the will of a people. They reveal whether a people is heading upward or downward. There is a marked difference between the posters of Berlin with their skirt dance allurements and the posters of Moscow. I do not mean to speak politically. I merely mention what I saw, no more, no less. I repeat this assertion, else I might be condemned for a miserable fanatic.

#### *Lenin and Liebknecht*

Not an office in Moscow, not a Soviet house entrance is without a picture of Lenin, without a picture of that half-smiling head and the slight turn of the body at the desk; with the soft collar (there are no stiff starched collars in Moscow, for there is no starch). This picture is everywhere. One sees it in all sizes. Lenin everywhere. There are also pictures of Radek, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Balabanova. There are group pictures of the principal figures in the Third Internationale, arranged in such a way that Lenin appears at the top. There are many pictures of Marx in many rooms, in many store windows, in many offices, especially a Marx portrait which in my estimation is not a good likeness. But more often than the head of Marx, much more often, one sees the head of Lenin.

The history of Lenin, Lenin's development, is well known. His personality has often been described. Perhaps it is not commonly known that he, too, for a time stood alone, and was even ridiculed by his comrades. They called him a brakeman. Radek and Bukharin did not agree with him. But Lenin was right—he was right for Russia. That cannot be questioned. He was right—for Russia.

Today every one loves him, even his political enemies. Not one opponent speaks of this man with disrespect. Not a Menshevist, not a Social-Revolutionist

lutionary, not a Kerensky man, not a monarchist. They all respect him. In one bourgeois family, of which I will speak later, he was being praised for his idealism and his sense of justice.

Lenin wields a colossal influence over the Russians, over entire Russia. He is like a warm gulf stream. He is feared because he is loved. He is the court of last appeal. Every one knows he works hard from morning till night. His work is divided, well organized. His work calls him, stimulates him. He is a living example. His name is used as a threat and as a spur to greater effort. Wherever he shows himself he is cheered. People who have spoken with him several times admire Lenin the fiery diplomat, the sure-footed on the brink of the abyss, the Jupiter, the smiling Lenin, the punishing Lenin. He is one of the best publicists of Russia. His pamphlets are examples of a literary virtuoso, of a prospector for words and ideas, of a systematic thinker. They are clear, concise, free from bombast, and real. One does not have to agree with his conclusions in order to admire their logic. They are unobtrusive, like himself, the man who has so much power by reason of the confidence placed in him by the proletariat, and who lives so simply. He never dines, he eats, he satisfies his hunger. He draws no larger salary than the salary of a Moscow workman, 6,500 rubles per month. He lives in the Kremlin. But he does not live there like a prince, rather he lives there to escape the crowds, to escape the love, the complaints, the appeals. He lives in the Kremlin as a symbol. He is no longer the revolutionary leader so much as he is the expression of the will of the people, the longing of the people, their development. He does not lead with a sword, he is not a dictator from above, he is being carried and holds the reins, while the people voluntarily carry him upon their backs.

One day as I was working with one of the managers of industrial combines (Centrals), a letter came from Lenin's office.

He turned an ashen grey, hastily tore open the envelope, and then breathed a sigh of relief and smiled. "Why did you turn pale?" I asked. He said, "It is a letter from Lenin." A letter from Lenin is no ordinary letter, not the letter of some people's delegate. It is a letter from Lenin. It is like a toga, it holds happiness and pain. The man has an unheard-of power for good, the power to elevate, the power to inspire, as no Russian Czar has ever had. Lenin is Russia today. With him or against him, Lenin is Russia today. That is true, it is a fact, people are saying it on the streets in Moscow.

Karl Liebknecht has become a saint in Russia. I have seen hundreds of pictures of him in Moscow. I saw pictures of Liebknecht in his prime, pictures of the assassinated Liebknecht, pictures of Liebknecht on the stage of theaters, pictures of Liebknecht lying in his shroud, strewn with red tulips and lilies of the valley.

Proletarian clubs are named after Liebknecht,

streets and regiments are named after him. At every mention of the German proletariat and the German Revolution, Liebknecht is mentioned also.

But he is not only identical with the German Revolution, his influence extends far beyond the German boundary. Liebknecht today is the hero of freedom in all the proletarian schools of Russia. Poets have sung of him, he is being imitated, he is loved as one loves a beneficent natural element. One might say that he is the Siegfried of the proletariat in Moscow.

Liebknecht would never had reached such power had he not been murdered. His influence is only just beginning to be felt. He will attain fabulous power, a name which will resound far beyond Germany.

The pictures of Liebknecht which appear in Moscow are often pale likenesses. I have seen very few striking pictures of him there.

You have the feeling in Moscow: Liebknecht will become a legend. He will become an epic, a passion way, a Golgotha of the proletariat.

Liebknecht's death was a sacrificial death. Moscow feels that.

#### *Transportation of Flour*

Eighteen heavy drays are passing the wall of Kitai. Eighteen transport wagons loaded with flour. Fifteen sacks of flour to every ton. That makes eighteen times 3,000 pounds, or 54,000 pounds of flour.

The drivers are dozing upon their seats. Not a soldier accompanies the transport. The horses walk slowly. It is a hot day. A gallop or a trot in this weather would be uncomfortable.

54,000 pounds of white flour, wheat flour, not potato flour. 54,000 pounds of flour are slowly being transported through Moscow.

There is no quality bread in Moscow, at least not quality bread rations. There is bran bread, heavy with a reddish tinge. One longs for white bread, fresh white bread, flaky white bread with light yellow butter.

There are hungry people in Moscow to whom white flour would almost mean an escape from death.

But not a soul pays the least attention to the flour load. No one disturbs it, no one stares at it. The wagons pass by undisturbed along the Kitai wall, across the wide square near the Kremlin. Nobody thinks of taking the wagons by storm, of stealing from the load, of cutting open a flour sack while the driver is asleep.

And the eighteen wagons pass through the city, across the square.

Stealing has not yet been abolished in Moscow, robberies are still being committed in Moscow. Stealing does not disappear so rapidly, nor are souls changed overnight.

But the transports of flour, eighteen wagons each with its load of 3,000 pounds, 54,000 pounds altogether, a joy for the hungry, a life-giving load, a life-saving load, pass on their way through Moscow, unmolested.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**"EVEN** if the Bolsheviks make peace with the Poles and have no other enemy than Wrangel, they are not at present in condition to maintain against him a really formidable army." The *New York Herald*, October 11, published this statement by Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, one of the few English military experts of any importance.

Is it only propaganda or does it represent the sincere belief of this highly educated soldier? The question is difficult to answer, but if we must assume the sincerity of General Maurice, then it must be said without hesitation that he is mistaken.

First of all, in dealing with the failure of the Russian attack on Warsaw, General Maurice not only exaggerates the tactical importance of this victory of the Poles, but also exaggerates its consequences upon the general strategical situation of the Russian Red armies. Had General Maurice a chance to study the press of Soviet Russia and to understand the military situation on both Western and Southern fronts, as a man of great military vision, he could never have issued a statement which so clearly damages his authority as a military critic. The most expert critic can easily make mistakes in judging the tactical situation from day to day, but there can be no excuse for misjudging the strategical situation, with the facts so plainly before us. Still less was it to be expected that General Maurice, who claims to be a learned strategist, should have belittled the tremendous importance of the Soviet strategical position, based as it is upon operation on inner lines, especially if the Bolsheviks make peace with Poland. General Maurice does not speak about an armistice between Poland and the Soviets; he specifically states that it would be impossible for the Soviet Government, even in case the *peace* were signed with Poland, to create an army suitable for the defeat of the Anglo-French adventure under the leadership of Wrangel. This is an unpardonable blunder by this famous British military authority.

Everyone must understand that in the case of a stable peace with Poland there would no longer be any necessity to keep a huge army on the Polish front for the protection of the frontier. But even in the case that a permanent peace cannot be secured, there will still be a cessation of hostilities on the Western frontier for a considerable period. This period will be sufficient for the Red Army to finish with Wrangel, who has achieved his present strength only because the Soviet military command for six months past has been directing its principal military effort against Poland.

General Maurice admits that "the Bolsheviks have shown themselves good strategists and have followed the sound military principles of trying to do one thing at a time." When first the efforts

of their enemies became dangerous," he continues, "they concentrated their attention on Admiral Kolchak and held off General Denikin. Then, having finished off Kolchak's army, they turned upon Denikin while they watched the Poles. During last spring and summer they concentrated their forces against the Poles, leaving comparatively small detachments opposite Wrangel." (*New York Herald*, October 11, 1920).

If this be true as General Maurice states it—and we know that it is true—then what is wrong with Soviet Russia that her strategists, having thus far been so sound and so successful, should now fail in dealing with an enemy which even the French admit is in a less favorable condition than was Denikin?

In any event, the Soviet Republic has finished with Poland. Perhaps the end of the struggle did not give a result which would satisfy the ambition of an imperialistic nation. But the Russian proletariat is satisfied to have brought the fight to an end and to have freed its country from the western invaders. Henceforth, following the principle approved by General Maurice, the Soviet military command has to continue its strategy based on operations on inner lines; namely, to concentrate all its forces against Wrangel, which can be successfully accomplished as soon as the situation on the Polish front is completely liquidated. It is significant that in the same statement the British strategist says: "It is possible to say that Wrangel has not, and is unlikely to have, resources to enable him to conquer Russia."

Taking into consideration that the resources of Wrangel totally depend upon the Allies, we must conclude that the Allies are unable to support adequately the Crimean Baron. And if, as Maurice concedes, Wrangel cannot defeat the military forces of the Soviet Republic, then the Red Army is strong enough to meet the new Southern foe and the calculation of its strength by General Maurice is seen to be incorrect by his own analysis.

The recent declaration of Trotsky regarding the physical and moral state of the Red forces is quite different from the estimate of General Maurice. In Moscow, in spite of all fabulous lies to which the American press has once more fallen victim, the failure of the cavalry raid on Warsaw was received according to its importance and did not produce any confusion either among the masses or in the central military command. The reserves of the Red armies are so strong and so enthusiastic to bring Russia to a general peace that Trotsky was able to promise victory on the Southern front even without the removal of the troops destined for the Polish frontier. Let us here not forget that Trotsky has never promised anything which he could not accomplish. Let us remember that he openly warned us that in the



struggle with Polish imperialism, in spite of our successes, we must be prepared for some reverses which might be "more important and more costly than that of Chernigov." That was Trotsky's warning at the time when the Red Army started its victorious offensive last summer.

When I read the appeal of Lenin, Trotsky, Kalinin, and Brussilov in *Pravda*, September 12, 1920, addressed to the officers of Wrangel's "army", in which they were warned of imminently pending defeat, I was struck by strong arguments and by the firmness of faith of these leaders. Such a document would never have been signed by such names, if they had not been confident of its truth.

In my former articles I have stated that I did not believe the reports about the swift advance of the Wrangel forces, and predicted that the Red command will now deal energetically with the Southern enemy. According to an *Associated Press* dispatch from Sebastopol, October 10, "General Wrangel, the anti-Bolshevik leader, has launched his expected offensive against the new Sixth Army of the Soviet forces, sheltered behind the Dnieper . . . General Wrangel is carrying out a pinching movement converging on the town of Kakhovka, northeast of Kherson. Fine weather is favoring the operations. General Wrangel's permanent north front extends from Mariupol to Yekaterinoslav along the railway. This control of the Sea of Azov has been assured by the capture of 6,000 sailors at Mariupol who were preparing to descend upon the grain port of Genichesk. The remainder of the fleet fled to Taganrog. General Wrangel has now cleared out Soviet forces which have been operating along the network of railways in the Donets Basin."

The fine weather, however, so it now appears, was also favorable to the Reds and the same *Associated Press* issued another dispatch on October 12, stating that "the reoccupation by Bol-

sheviki of Mariupol and Berdiansk on the Sea of Azov is announced." This was cabled from Constantinople and confirmed the following day.

The importance of this last message from a military standpoint can best be seen by reference to the maps. Wrangel's *permanent* north front, it is said, extends from Mariupol in the east to Yekaterinoslav, 150 miles northwest of the former. Mariupol represents the extreme right flank of that front and, being a port, naturally is expected to be protected by the naval forces of Wrangel and the Allies. In such a case, when a very important strategical base for the concentration of the enemy's forces is captured, and when this naval base represents a flank of the battle front line which is considered *permanent*, then the collapse of the whole front must be the imminent consequence of such a failure. But the Red forces did not only capture Mariupol; they have also taken Berdiansk and another port situated about twenty miles southwest of Mariupol. Thus not only have they destroyed the right flank of the main Wrangel front, but also have succeeded in an encircling manoeuvre and have penetrated in the rear of the battle-line of the enemy.

The Bolshevik successes along the Dnieper, and especially in the region of Kherson, make me believe that both counter-offensives were carried out simultaneously and that the aim of the Revolutionary Field Staff is to cut off the main body of the Wrangel forces from any possibility of retreat into the Crimea through Perekop and by the Sea of Azov, thus annihilating it entirely. Let us not forget that it was at Berdiansk that Wrangel landed his bands during his foolish offensive to the north.

So it seems that, in spite of all the hopes of his supporters, Wrangel must say good-bye to the Donets industrial district and probably very soon to Russia itself.

## Fishermen Demand Trade with Russia

*[Certain newspapers in America have devoted considerable attention to alleged activities on the part of Russian authorities in stirring up revolution in other countries. The following interview with two members of a Norwegian Fishermen's Association, which was printed in "Social-Demokraten", of Christiania, Norway, on September 8, 1920, throws a somewhat different light on the fomenting of discontent outside of Russia. It will appear from a reading of this interview that a part at least of the discontent in one country is due to the unwillingness of the government of that country to enter into trade relations with Russia. We regret to say that this unwillingness on the part of the Norwegian Government is probably not due so much to its own volition as to the demands of powerful nations upon whose good will the Norwegian Government largely depends, notably England and France.]*

**T**WO prominent representatives of the North Norwegian Fishermen's Association, Captain Lars Hagerup and Manager George Lorentzen, have recently arrived in Christiania in order to confer with Litvinov on future trade relations with Russia. We have had an interview with these two gentlemen on several questions.

"We have come to Christiania in order to make use of the opportunity to get into direct contact

with the representative of the Russian nation," said Lorentzen. "The foremost task of our organization is to obtain direct relations between the consumers and fishermen so as to eliminate unnecessary middlemen. Our hope is to establish relations with Russia. The Government and the commercial classes can do nothing for they cannot sell their fish anywhere."

"What is the economic situation in the North?"

"Pretty dark, particularly in the predominantly fishing districts, which are completely dependent on the fisheries. The aid extended by the state in establishing minimum prices is not sufficient. The minimum prices are so low that it is not profitable to go out and fish. With the present cost of utensils and boats an average fishing expedition does not even cover its expenses. In order to balance expenses a certain minimum catch has to be made, and this must in every case be more than the present average catch. It is still far from possible for the fishermen to get enough to live on, and the condition now is this: Not only the prices, but also the fish itself is bad. The results have been poor this year both from the Lofoten and the Finn mark. Recalling how expensive it is to live nowadays it must be clear to all that the economic situation is going to grow worse and worse.

"The situation for the fishermen is now such that it really pays them to go about with their hands in their pockets. Yet many of the fishermen do go to sea hoping that the catch may be large enough to pay."

"How do other classes in the north regard the situation?"

"The business men and the public officials also suffer to a great extent from the fact that the fishermen in their opinion do not earn enough, for the fisheries produced business and always mean some income to these classes also, even if no profit should remain for the fishermen themselves."

"What is the condition of the North Norway Fishermen's Association under these circumstances?"

"Even under these poor conditions the association is making progress. Active participation is growing considerably, and contact between the organization and its sections is improving more and more."

"How many members has the organization now?"

"Six thousand."

"When did the fishermen's organization begin to consider the question of commercial relations with Russia?"

"Early in March this year. The authorities promised to look after the matter but nothing has resulted except that we have not yet succeeded in establishing relations."

"What is the reason for this in the opinion of the fishermen?"

"The fishermen are firmly convinced that it is due to misuse of authority, administrative inefficiency, or perhaps unwillingness on the part of the authorities. As many of us suspect that it is a case of unwillingness to establish relations with the existing authorities in Russia, that is dictating the policy, we have applied directly to Russia. We have the impression that the authorities, instead of assisting, are placing obstacles in the way of the resumption of trade relations with Russia. It is on this conception that the present attitude of the fishermen is based. The assurances the

government has given us to the effect that it has done what it could we have not been able to take seriously.

"We think the whole trouble is that our government does not want to recognize the Soviet Government. Whether it has any serious reasons for this we do not know, but the result is, at any rate, that the fishing population of North Norway is suffering. It is the fishermen who have had to pay for the policy recently followed."

"Whenever discontent has not yet expressed itself it is simply because the fishermen have thus far been staying home," interposed Captain Hagerup. (The conversation hitherto had been chiefly with George Lorentzen.) "But if there is a big fishing venture, with a large gathering of fishermen, the opposition to the authorities becomes so strong, that there would appear to be little more needed to make it come out. The government therefore has every reason to regard developments with some concern."

"How have the Russians taken the overtures of the Fishermen's Association?"

"They have welcomed them. Litvinov as well as Kamenev declared that they would gladly enter into relations with us, but must wait until communications had been conducted on the broadest possible basis, and until Russia had found an occasion to send representatives to Norway. This is far off. Our overtures have been frustrated by this condition. Now, however, we have sent people to Russia, and the Russian commercial representative has arrived in Christiania, as we have already said."

#### *Vardo Fishermen Protest*

In connection with the above interview with two of the fishermen of North Norway, the reader will be interested also to find that their expression of discontent has already found organized formulation in a protest by the fishermen of the town of Vardo, Norway, which is right across the bay from Murmansk, Russia. The document, which we take from *Social Demokraten*, Christiania, of September 10, is as follows:

"The fishermen and workers of Vardo, gathered in meeting to discuss the results of the attitude of our financial powers toward Russia, as well as their treatment of travelers from that country, herewith adopts the following resolution:

"The population of Finnmarken depends for its livelihood on the relations of our country toward Russia. As a proof of this we may mention the present bad economic conditions in these parts; this would have been quite different if our government had had a different attitude toward Russia. For it is our firm conviction that obstacles have been laid by Norwegian authorities in the path of the relations with Russia that are so necessary for us in Finnmarken.

"The Russian Commercial Delegation has already completed an important exchange of goods with the fishermen's organization in North Norway, in accordance with an agreement that evaluates the fish at a price high enough to enable the

fishermen to do business. Now, while these negotiations are in progress we witness the treatment accorded to the Russian delegates who go to Norway, a treatment which delays the conclusion of the agreement concerning an exchange of goods, a delay that means for the population of Finnmarken a loss of hundreds of thousands of crowns per day.

"As this assemblage cannot find any material reason for the prohibition uttered by our government against the passing of Norwegian delegates through Norway, and as the effect of this measure aggravates the economic situation of the people of Finnmarken with each additional day, the bitterness among people is increasing, and they have a feeling of being wronged and neglected.

"Should the actions of the authorities be based on any demonstrative disapproval of Russia's form of government, it seems to us that such a demonstration should in all reason not be made in such manner as to injure the working classes of this part of the country. If our government cannot maintain order in the country, as well as relations with neighboring peoples, in any other way than by economically ruining one portion of the country without any compensating action, it should reconsider its attitude on this question, or should alter its attitude toward the neighboring countries which it is imperative for us to live at peace with.

"We pledge our honor from now on that we will break the blockade against Russia. We do not feel that we have any other obligations and cannot be prohibited from doing so."

#### LITVINOV'S MISSION IN NORWAY

**M**R. LITVINOV, who is now in Christiania, has given the following statement to Norwegian newspapers:

"My arrival in Norway is in connection with contracts that have been concluded between the 'Centrosoyuz', which I represent in Scandinavia, and a number of Norwegian firms. But my chief object is to seek to find a basis for regular commercial communications between Russia and Norway. After six years of destructive warfare, Russia of course needs all sorts of goods and machines that are produced in other countries, particularly the countries that have been exhausted by their participation in the war. The Scandinavian countries will surely play an important role in connection with Russian foreign trade, not only by exchanging their own goods with Russia, but also—owing particularly to their geographic situation and particularly to the present chaotic international conditions—as intermediaries between Russia and other European countries and America. The Russian Government and 'Centrosoyuz' are thinking of establishing in one of the Scandinavian countries a central repository for Russian export goods, which can be catalogued, inspected, and purchased at that point. For it is clear that before Russia will attain a final peace, this work cannot be done in Russia itself, where the war situ-

ation makes it necessary to limit the number of visitors. With its large tonnage, and its easily accessible ports, Norway is particularly important for northern Russia, and we have sufficient proofs of the great interest taken by Norwegian merchants in trade with Russia.

"Russian domestic and foreign commerce has been nationalized, and is entirely in the hands of the Russian Government and of organizations like the 'Centrosoyuz', which receive their powers from the Russian Government. It is therefore clear that relations are necessary between the Russian Government and governments in other countries that wish to trade with Russia. Russia must have the right to be represented in these countries, in order to guard its interests, and must also have free communication with its representatives. The experiences of the last six months have strengthened the conviction of the Russian Government as to the absolute necessity of such representation. What little trade has already been attempted in Norway has cost Russia losses amounting to millions of crowns, losses that might have been avoided if a Russian representative had been in Norway and had been able personally to clear up certain misunderstandings.

"It is not less important, from a Norwegian standpoint, to have representatives in Russia to take care of Norwegian interests. It is also necessary to fix the functions, rights and privileges of these representatives. An exchange of opinion has taken place on this subject by wireless between the Norwegian Foreign Minister and the Russian Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and it was decided that I should come to Christiania in order to negotiate and conclude an agreement on all these points, and, if possible, to organize a Russian commercial office in Norway. Both the Russian Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the Commissariat for Foreign Commerce have laid down the severest rules for their representatives abroad, instructing them not to undertake any step that might be interpreted as an interference in the internal affairs or social conflicts of the countries to which they are assigned. The same conduct will of course be expected of foreign representatives in Russia, for Soviet Russia has suffered much from interferences of this kind by foreign diplomats and agents.

"It is superfluous to mention that as far as the Russian Government is concerned, diplomatic negotiations might be taken up at once and in full, and the necessary commercial agreements might thus be rendered more stable and trade made more secure for both sides."

#### BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1920

Volume II has been received from the binder and is now being forwarded to those who paid for it in advance. If any volumes are left over, we shall announce the fact next week.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the

RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU  
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

OCCASIONALLY we take the pains to answer specific misrepresentations as they blossom forth in the fruitful columns of the American press, the products of grafts of Helsingfors, or Copenhagen, or Paris origin, all too readily welcomed by those dailies. We do not remember just when the latest revolt was alleged to have taken place in Petrograd, but we recall that a number of commissars (the number varied with the progress of days after the reception of the news) were said to have been thrown into the Neva by a wild mob, infuriated no doubt by the fact that peace had been signed by Latvia, or Lithuania, or Finland; for, in spite of all the reports that Soviet Russia is collapsing (and the volume of these rumors is at present so impressive as to annoy even Soviet Russia's most devoted adherents), one country after another, of those most contiguous to Russia and therefore best acquainted with the internal condition of the country, finds it advantageous to conclude peace with Soviet Russia.

There are so many fabrications, however, that we for the most part have given up the attempt to cope with them, although we know very well that their volume cannot fail to produce a certain effect of discouragement. It was a source of pleasure to us, therefore, to find in the *New York American* of October 15 a general official denial by George Chicherin, Soviet Russia's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, which had been sent from Moscow to the Universal Service correspondent at Berlin, Mr. Karl H. Von Wiegand, and been forwarded by the latter to America at once. This document, of which we have no official knowledge, but which presents every appearance of being authentic, is reprinted herewith for the benefit of those of our readers who may not read the Hearst newspapers:

Moscow.—Answering your inquiry of October 6 about reports that have been circulated abroad alleging that there are risings and rebellions and famine in Soviet Russia.

The reports are ludicrous, contemptible lies such as have often been circulated by scandal-bearers to create confusion in order to prevent the establishment of peace with Soviet Russia.

The internal position of Russia is unshakable. The morale of the people is as good as ever. The temporary reverses on the western front have only steeled the determination to secure the position of Soviet Russia.

With the resolute inclination of the peasants in Southern Russia to support the Soviet Government, the initiative on General Wrangel's front has been transferred to our hands.

Wrangel's rear is being badly harassed by our Green participating detachments.\* A symptomatic incident was that of Makarov placing himself at the disposal of our commanders.

We are seeking no armistice with the reactionary Czarist mutineer—Wrangel. The Red Army is fully prepared to deal with him as he deserves.

While the prolonged drought did considerable damage to the harvest the rumors of an impending famine are senseless inventions. The increasing readiness of the peasants to contribute their quota of products, together with the intensive increase in the gathering of products, will make up for the deficit caused by the drought.

We have more than one and one-half times as much grain in storage as we had in 1919. CHICHERIN.

Owing to the wide circulation of the Hearst newspapers, the above declaration will have a certain effect in counteracting the vicious results of the continuous flood of lies that pours into the newspapers from their news agencies as well as from their own special correspondents, who are of course under definite instructions as to the kind of thing they are expected to write. But the Commissar for Foreign Affairs would have to keep hard at work day and night if he should try to answer all these fabrications, and it would be wasted labor in most cases, for most of the American newspapers would not print his statements.

For instance, on the morning following the printing of the above document in the *American*, New York newspapers (October 16) printed an account labeled "Zurich", and dated October 15, which alleged that the German Foreign Ministry had information to the effect that a great rebellion had broken out in Moscow, and that the rebels, in the course of their operations, had invaded the Kremlin, which, as the report does not fail to add, is the place where the highest Soviet officials have their offices and homes. No doubt we shall have an official denial of this rebellion in a few weeks from Moscow, but counter-revolutionary press agents work faster than their enemies, and have access to more means of publicity than has the Foreign Office of Soviet Russia. The reader will therefore not expect us to deny each story as it comes up, but will take the new Moscow "rebellion" with such number of grains of salt as may make the thing palatable to him. In fact, it is a time when each man, woman and child must carry around his (or her) own salt-cellar.

SOMETIMES the inventions of our enemies are not uninteresting. Mr. Evans Clark recently collected a lot of newspaper lies about us in a readable booklet under the title: "Facts and Fabrications About Soviet Russia." It was interesting to see how many times Lenin had murdered Trotsky and Trotsky murdered Lenin. We do not remember whether Mr. Clark counted up these assassi-

\* "Green" armies are bodies formed by deserters from "White" armies, now fighting against the latter.

\*\* A German official denial of having started this rumor has already been made.

nations and found that one of the two statesmen had been killed more often than the other. This would have been interesting from the standpoint that it might have shown which of the two men was most hated by the capitalist world. But a German monthly magazine, *Der Gegner*, published by *Der Malikverlag*, Berlin, has collected a few European specimens of the same kind as those gathered by Mr. Clark, and has hit upon one of them that, while it "beats anything" we have ever seen, is nevertheless merely the logical apex toward which the counter-revolutionary lie-drives will all ultimately converge. It was an Amsterdam message of Wolff's Telegraph Agency, and the headline was: *Hat Lenin je gelebt?*—"Did Lenin ever live?" Why not? If you have succeeded in throwing doubt on everything that has happened in Russia since November, 1917, you must ultimately arrive at a state of mind in which you are no longer certain that the subjects of your misrepresentations ever had existence in the world of reality.

\* \* \*

**P**OLAND is making peace with Soviet Russia, and hostile newspapers are gloating over what they consider to be the ignominious defeat of the latter. As a matter of fact, the external position of the Soviet Government should cause its friends no more concern than its internal position. Those who are so certain the Poles have been victorious should not fail to ascertain why it is the Poles have not pursued the temporary advantage that enabled them to save Warsaw from capture and to prevent a complete occupation of ethnographic Poland. The reason for this failure is an internal Polish condition: The people of Poland, except the extreme reactionaries, have for months been demanding peace with Soviet Russia, and Polish newspapers recently arriving in this country show that the movement is increasing. Already before the Poles began their offensive of last spring against Soviet Russia—an offensive that has recently been alluded to in certain political circles in America as the "invasion" of Poland—Polish workers in the May Day demonstrations at Warsaw had carried flags bearing inscriptions that demanded not only peace with Soviet Russia, but even an alliance with Soviet Russia.\* The rich landed proprietors' organizations of Poland are opposing some of the social demands of the Polish peasants by a reasoning which advances among other unamiable traits of the peasantry the enthusiastic manner in which they received the advancing Soviet troops last July. These are merely a few indications—we shall enumerate them with greater fullness in a later treatment—of the facts that make the situation between Poland and Soviet Russia precisely analogous to that between Latvia and Soviet Russia, or Lithuania, or Esthonia, or Finland, or Rumania, and Soviet Russia. The reactionary governments of the border states knew that money was to be made by fighting Soviet

\* A few of these inscriptions will be reproduced as illustrations in our *Anniversary Number*, November 6, 1920.

Russia, in the pay of the Entente, but the people of each state, the workers and peasants, have forced the signing of peace with Soviet Russia. Poland, far from having forced a peace on Soviet Russia, was obliged, by the friendliness of its own population for Soviet Russia, to accept the latter's repeated offer of peace.

The war-game between Soviet Russia and Poland might appear to have ended in a draw, temporarily at least, the Russians having been forced back, and the Poles unable to pursue the foe. But a defeat may also be taken to mean a failure to obtain what one had set out to accomplish, and in this sense Poland has been defeated. Poland began her aggression on Soviet Russia with the intention of conquering ("liberating") large sections of Ukraine and the Baltic states, to make of them buffer-states against Soviet Russia. In this respect, Poland, herself a buffer-state, is aping the policy of her imperialistic sponsors. But the peace preliminaries that have just been concluded were signed by Poland with both the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics, and evidently Ukraine can not be considered in any way a buffer-state friendly to Poland. Lithuania, which was to be Poland's buffer-state to the Northeast, has been forced into a position of hostility by Poland's imperialistic attitude, and the new Polish d'Annunzio, whose name is Zeligowski in spite of the persistent effort of the newspapers to spell it otherwise, and who has just seized Vilna, is doing all he can to aggravate the situation. Where she thought to make friends to the East of her, Poland has raised enemies against her, and thus she has lost the war for friendly buffer-states. In what sense has Poland won the war? Others must answer this question, for our answer is—in no sense.

\* \* \*

**L**ATVIA'S peace treaty with Soviet Russia, the text of which capitalistic newspapers have shown no alacrity to obtain, although some of them have thirty-two pages of text devoted to lies and murders every day, at last appears in a full translation in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The Lithuanian treaty will soon follow, as it is being translated for us. Article X of the Latvian treaty has a supplementary note containing a provision that shows how ready the Soviet Government is to grant reasonable conditions to the peoples of former Russian border-states, even when such conditions require the Soviet Government to relinquish concessions it might make to their governments. Instead of transferring to the Latvian state the debts of Lettish peasants to the financial institutions of the former Russian Government, the Soviet Government simply stipulates that this indebtedness is cancelled. For this transfer of the assets of Czarist institutions, the Soviet Government might have obtained other concessions in return from Latvia, but the Soviet Government is interested in improving the lot of the peasant in Latvia and elsewhere. The Soviet Government knows who its true friends in Latvia and elsewhere are: they are the peasants and workers.

## The British Conspiracy in Russia

[In 1918, as our readers will recall, a plot was hatched by British and other foreign representatives in Russia to overthrow the Soviet Government. This plot was referred to in several passages of a letter addressed by Rene Marchand to Raymond Poincare, then President of the French Republic. From a recent issue of a London weekly we take the following account of the conspiracy, for which credit is given to a book entitled "Two Years of Struggle on the Internal Front: A Sketch of the Activity of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee", by M. Y. Latsis.]

### *Plan to Corrupt Soviet Troops*

THE All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution established the attempts of the British diplomatic representative in Russia to enter into touch with certain units of the armed forces of the Soviet Republic, with the object of seizing the Council of People's Commissaries and the principal strategic points in Moscow.

Th observations made demonstrated that the agent Schnedchen, who arrived at the beginning of August, 1918, from Petrograd, with a recommendation to the Chief of the British Mission in Moscow, Lockhart, managed to arrange a meeting between the latter and the commander of one of the Lettish units, to whom the British authorities had entrusted the task of seizing the Council of People's Commissaries.

### *Lieut. Sidney Reilly, Alias "Constantine Reiss"*

Their first meeting took place on August 14 at 12.30 p. m. at the private residence of Lockhart in the Basmanaia Street, Khlebny Pereulok, House 19, Apartment 24. At this meeting there were discussed questions as to the possibility of organizing in Moscow, in the near future, a rising against the Soviet Government in connection with the British movements at Murmansk. It was here agreed, on the proposal of Mr. Lockhart, that further relations with the Commander of the Soviet troops already referred to would be carried on through the British Lieutenant Sidney Reilly, who assumed the conspirative names of "Reiss" and "Constantine".

The meeting between the Commander and "Constantine Reiss" took place on August 17 at 7 p. m., on the Tsvetnoy Boulevard. At this meeting the question was discussed as to the possibility of sending military units to Vologda, in order treacherously to hand over Vologda to the British.

### *People's Commissaries to be Seized*

It was suggested that a rising might be possible in Moscow within two or three weeks, i. e., about the middle of September. The British were concerned that Lenin and Trotsky should be present at the plenary session of the Council of People's Commissaries, the arrest of which in its entirety was planned. It was proposed simultaneously to seize the State Bank, the Central Telephone Station, and the Telegraph Station, and to introduce a military dictatorship, with a prohibition under pain of death to hold any meeting whatsoever before the arrival of the British military authorities. The question was also discussed of enlisting the assistance of the highest representatives of the

Church hierarchy in order to organize public prayers and sermons in defence of the revolt. The consent of the representatives of the clergy was obtained. At this meeting the commander already mentioned had 700,000 rubles handed over to him in accordance with Lockhart's promise, for the purpose of organizing the projected rising.

### *Who Supplied the Money?*

On August 22, a new meeting was held at which a further 200,000 rubles were handed over and plans were examined for the seizure of the cabinets of Lenin, Trotsky, Aralov, and the Supreme Economic Council, in order to gain possession of the papers contained therein. The object of the British officer (Reilly), who was carrying on the negotiations, was mainly to utilize the material seized to justify a new war between Russia and Germany, which it was proposed to declare immediately after the *coup d'etat*.

On August 28 the said Commander of the Soviet troops was handed a further 300,000 rubles, and it was agreed that he should go to Petrograd in order to get into touch with the British directing military groups here and the Russian White Guards who had gathered around it. The interview at Petrograd took place on August 29. At this interview the question was discussed of getting into touch with Nizhni-Novgorod and Tambov.

### *Petrograd and Moscow to be Starved Out*

Simultaneously with the conferences described there went on other conferences between the diplomatic representatives of various "Allied" powers concerning measures which could render more acute the internal situation of Russia and thereby weaken the Soviet Government in its struggle with the Czecho-Slovaks and the Anglo-French.

As was made clear, the principal problem to be executed by the Allied agents, who are scattered through all the towns of Soviet Russia, armed with forged papers, was to increase food difficulties, particularly in Petrograd and Moscow. Plans for the blowing-up of bridges and railways, with the object of delaying supplies of food, and also for the destruction by fire and the blowing-up of food dumps were worked out. It was also discovered that the Anglo-French conspirators had an extensively elaborated system of espionage in all the Commissariats, which was confirmed by the searches which followed, in which a number of secret reports from the Eastern Front were brought to light. The officers arrested in connection with this (Captain Fride and others), in their evidence showed that they had handed over to the British

and French secret information as to the movement of Soviet troops and generally all secret information as to the internal situation of Russia.

#### *The Plot Unmasked*

In connection with all this data, arrests took place in Petrograd and Moscow. The complicity of the diplomatic and military representatives of the Allied powers in the conspiracy already described was fully established. Ten million rubles had been earmarked for the purpose. Amongst other details, it was considered necessary to make certain that the unit which was supplying the guard on the appointed day at the Kremlin should be bought over, and should carry out the arrest itself. All the arrested members of the Council of People's Commissaries were immediately to be sent to Archangel.

#### *Reilly's Change of Plan*

This was the original plan. However, Sidney Reilly soon expressed a doubt as to the utility of sending Lenin thither. He considered that Lenin possesses a marvelous faculty of appealing to the man in the street. One might be certain that during his journey to Archangel he would be able to gain over the escort to his side, and the latter would soon release him. Consequently, he considered that it would be most safe to shoot Lenin and Trotsky immediately on their arrest.

#### *Soviet Troops Incorruptible*

The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission possesses certificates bearing the actual signature of Mr. Lockhart, thanks to which the conspirators could enjoy the protection of the British Military Mission in Moscow. It has also supplementary evidence of the detailed nature of the plans for the organization of power after the *coup d'etat*.

The dictatorship was to be wielded by three persons, special committees were to be set up in military units, and so on.

The A. R. E. C. has also irrefragable documentary evidence that while the threads of the whole conspiracy centered in the hands of the British Military Mission, the French Consul-General Grenard, the French General Lavergne, and a number of other French officers were also implicated.

Thanks to the incorruptibility of the Lettish troops and the vigilance of the Extraordinary Commission, the threatened attempt was frustrated.

*The London weekly that publishes the above adds a characteristic comment to illustrate the attitude of the British working class on the subject of counter-revolutionary activities of the British Government in Russia.*

The following document may be regarded as of exceptional interest at a period when the British Government has broken off political negotiations with the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia for the alleged reason that the Russian workers were prepared to spare £75,000 out of their great need in order to assist the only British working-class daily.

It should be remembered that the negotiations and transactions described in the following documents took place in the summer of 1918, while the Allied diplomats in Moscow were still enjoying the most complete immunity; although it had already been discovered (in June, 1918) that they helped to finance the Czechoslovak insurrection which had begun some months before, and which was at this moment, in conjunction with the Allied landing at Archangel, threatening the very existence of the Soviet Republic.

The Communist Party of Great Britain considers itself bound to place the following facts before the working classes of these islands and of the whole world, in order to expose at their true worth the pretensions of the men who are gambling with the workers' lives in order to serve the interests of bankers, timber merchants, and oil magnates.

## An Interview with Victor Kopp

By JULIO ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

[*The Spanish correspondent Julio Alvarez Del Vayo, who sends contributions to "La Nacion" of Buenos Aires, from Berlin, has the following interesting interview with Victor Kopp, Soviet Representative in that city, in the issue for September 4, 1920, of the Madrid "España", one of the most dignified and serious of Spanish reviews.*]

**H**OW do you judge the new situation brought about by the reverses of the Russian army, and what in your opinion will be the future policy of the Soviet Government with regard to the Entente and Poland?

I cannot answer officially, since Moscow has not pronounced itself with regard to the latest events. The news circulating in these parts is not authentic. England's change of attitude is very natural. Lloyd George is the typical incarnation of a capitalist bourgeois diplomat, for whom there are neither laws nor principles. He exploits every conjuncture in the sense that seems most favorable to him at the moment. His morality is the Napoleonic morality, whose creed is that God is always on the side of the strongest battalions. His principal interest is the defence of the interests of

his class. Lloyd George is consistent with himself, but his policy, although at times brilliant and individual, soon discloses its myopic nature when viewed as part of the larger whole. The case of Giolitti seems clearer to me however. Italy must reckon with the spirit of the proletariat, whose influence is increasing day by day. The politician of the old school knows only two methods of government with regard to the masses: make concessions, or hand out brute force. To judge by the importance of the growth of the workers' movement in Italy, Giolitti seems to think the moment has come for the use of the second method. The situation seems favorable to him. He knows perfectly well the risk he is running; he knows that the Italian workers will oppose in every way the destruction of their Russian comrades. The Gio-

litti policy, which was at first farseeing and sagacious, will now contribute to intensifying class antagonisms in Italy and precipitating the catastrophe.

*What do you think of the activity displayed in the last few days by General Wrangel?*

The same fate awaits him as has overtaken Denikin and Kolchak. Without doubt Wrangel is more capable. He is dividing the land among the peasants, pretending to them that he is their friend. But this policy, on the other hand, will alienate from him the support and the sympathies of the reactionary elements who are opposed to having the peasants become proprietors of the land. Besides, Wrangel has already revealed his game. The "liberator" has attached to his government all the most discredited men of the old regime, persons who have been in the vicinage of Shulgin and Krivosheyin. It is certain that Wrangel has made considerable progress in the last few weeks. Neither the Soviet Government nor its press conceal this fact, and they are accustomed to relating the facts as they are. They do not conceal the danger that is involved in Wrangel's operations near the coal region of the Donets Basin, which threatens, furthermore, the Caucasus railroad lines. But today the struggles going on in Russia are not fought out exclusively in the military field. There is always in the background the social question, and this is the obstruction to Wrangel's victory. The case is similar in Poland; it should not be forgotten that the Polish peasants openly sympathize with the Soviets.

*Could you be so kind as to outline for me what Russia intends to do with regard to Poland?*

Russia has no intention to make any attempts against Poland's independence. We shall respect that independence as we have respected the independence of the other marginal states. Of course we shall be delighted with the entrance of Poland and the rest of those states into a great federal Soviet Republic. But, of course, only in case they really are disposed to enter such a republic. So long as they continue to be governed in a bourgeois manner, Russia has no interest in uniting with them or in imposing upon them by force its own system of government.

You ask me about the Treaty of Versailles? Russia cannot recognize this treaty. It never was informed of the treaty, nor has it ever taken any note of it. It is just as if the treaty did not exist, and the same applies to the League of Nations. The Treaty of Versailles is only the expression of the piratical policy of the Entente. We are therefore unable to consider the question, for example, of the "Polish corridor", as solved. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to us that Poland should aspire to hold an outlet to the sea. Why should not the fate of Danzig be decided by a plebiscite, by reason of the much lauded principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, instead of forcing upon that city the autocratic decrees of the Supreme Council of the Allies.

We desire to live perfectly at peace with Ger-

many. The state of peace still lacks certain documentary prerequisites: but as a matter of fact, peace is already with us. It is to be hoped that commercial exchanges will soon be resumed. Commerce with Germany is a vital necessity for us.

*What do you think of the reconstruction of Russia?*

In spite of the enormous difficulty to be overcome, the reconstruction of Russia is progressing. Splendid prospects open before us. The initiative has been taken in supplying hydraulic power on a large scale in the Urals and in the vicinity of Moscow. The installment of great electric power stations is at present being planned. Of course, Russia alone cannot reconstruct itself. Machinery is necessary, and so are utensils. The cooperation of international commerce is needed. At present all those are deceiving themselves who are speculating on the possibility of reducing Russia by means of boycotting its desires for reconstruction. Every attack from without redoubles our will to resist.

*Do you think that the economic crises involved in every revolution might go so far as to compromise the work of reconstruction in Russia, and do you think that from this standpoint it would be to the interest of Russia to have the western countries, from whose industry Russia expects to receive raw materials and machinery, remain at least for a certain period of time unmolested by any revolutionary upheavals?*

For a moment the Soviet representative hesitated. Then he answered: The world does not dispose itself to suit our personal desires. What we personally desire or may come to desire is not of importance. History follows its inexorable course. Capitalism is displaying its impotence at all points in the solution of the problems presented or aggravated by the war. Even the most prosperous countries, such as England and France, cannot reconstruct themselves within the economic system in which they live; even there the capitalist regime will crumble one day.

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## Peace Treaty Between Soviet Russia and Latvia

[The following is a translation of the Treaty of Peace signed at Dorpat on June 13, 1920, between representatives of the governments of Soviet Russia and Latvia. This translation has been prepared for SOVIET RUSSIA from the Lettish official version, as it appeared in the Official Gazette of Latvia. Unfortunately the Russian text has been as yet unobtainable.]

Latvia, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, animated by a firm desire to end the war that had arisen between them, have decided to enter into peace negotiations and to conclude, as soon as possible, a firm, honorable and just peace and finally settle all questions that arise from Latvia's former dependency from Russia, and for this purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the Latvian Democratic Republic:

Jahn (son of Jahn) Wessman,  
Peter (son of Rembert) Berg,  
Ans (son of Kristap) Buschewitsch,  
Eduard (son of Andrej) Kalinin, and  
Karl (son of Jekab) Pauluk.

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic:

Adolf (son of Abram) Yoffe, and  
Jakov (son of Stanislav) Hanezki.

The above mentioned plenipotentiaries, assembled in Moscow and after reciprocally presenting their credentials, which have been found to be of the required form and in good order, have agreed on the following:

### ARTICLE I

From the day this treaty goes into effect the war between the contracting parties shall cease.

### ARTICLE II

In accordance with the declaration of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of the right of nations to free self-determination, not excluding even a complete severance from the state they were a part of, and considering the firm expressed will of the Latvian people for an independent national life, Russia recognizes without reservations the independence, self-existence and sovereignty of the Latvian State and renounces voluntarily and forever all sovereign rights that Russia held over the Latvian people and land, according to the former laws of the state and international treaties, which to the effect, as above mentioned, shall forever be annulled. No obligations shall arise on the part of the Latvian people and land toward Russia as a result of their connection with Russia.

### ARTICLE III

The frontier between Latvia and Russia shall be as follows:

From the Esthonian frontier, between the villages of Babina and Vymorsk, through the village of Vymorsk, by the Glubitza River, through Vashkova, further by OPOCHKA Rivulet and OPOCHKA and Vyada Rivers, to Dubinina, from there by the shortest straight line to Kukhva River, further by Kukhva River and its tributary the Pelega River to Umernish, from there in a straight line to the letter "V" of the place named Kailova on the Utroja River, by the Utroja River to its bend near Malaya Melnitsa, from there in a straight line to the bend of Lsha River, two versts north from the place name "Starina", further by Lsha River and the administrative boundaries of the counties Luts, Rezekne and Dvinsk with the counties of OPOCHKA, Sebez and Drissa, to Passina, on the Osunitsa River, further in a straight line through Lakes Bieloye, Chernoye and through the lake lying between Vasilev and Mozishk, through Saveik, on the rivulet emptying into the Dvina River between Koskovts and Novoye Selo, further by the Dvina River to Shafranova.

By the 14th day after the ratification of the peace treaty, both contracting parties agree to withdraw their military forces to the national frontier within their territories.

*Note 1.* The frontiers defined in this article are marked in red on the map (three versts to one inch), appended to this article. In case of differences between

the text and the map, the text shall be considered as decisive.

*Note 2.* The surveying and the setting up frontier marks between the Latvian and Russian States shall be carried out by a special mixed frontier commission, with an equal number of members from both sides. In surveying inhabited points traversed by frontier, what points shall vest with one or the other contracting party's territory shall be decided by the above mentioned commission, according to the ethnographic and economic features of such points. In cases where ethnographic and economic features are to be considered, and the above mentioned commission has to set the frontier along rivers and lakes, the frontier goes through the middle of rivers and lakes, disregarding the former administrative boundaries that may have run along one or the other side of these rivers and lakes.

*Note 3.* The artificial diversion of water from border rivers and lakes if that causes the lowering of the average level of water,—is prohibited. Rules and regulations regarding shipping and fishing in these rivers and lakes shall be set by special agreements; in fishing to be used only such devices, that do not result in the extermination of fish.

### Appendix (map)\*

### ARTICLE IV

Both contracting parties are bound:

1. To prohibit the maintenance of any armies on their territories, except the armies of the government, or the armies of friendly powers that have made a military agreement with one of the contracting parties, but who are not actually at war with the other contracting party; also to prohibit within their territories the recruiting and mobilization of persons for an army by such states, organizations and groups, whose intent is to wage armed war against the other contracting party.

*Note:* In the Russian army at present existing, the names of certain military detachments, that form parts of the Latvian Light Division, are considered by both parties as names having only an historical significance. The personnel in these detachments is not and will not be of a national Lettish preponderance, and, notwithstanding the names, they have no relation either to the Lettish people nor to the Latvian State.

Therefore Latvia will not consider the retention of these historical names as a violation of this article.

Both sides shall not give to their military detachments new names, that are originated from the other party's geographical or national names.

2. To prohibit the organization and residence on its territory of any organizations or groups who pretend to be the government of the whole or a part of the territory of other contracting party, to prohibit also the residence on its territory of the representatives and officials of organizations and groups, which intend to overthrow the government of the other contracting party.

3. To prohibit states which are actually at war with the other party, and organizations and groups whose intent is armed war with the other contracting party, from using its ports and territory for the transportation of anything that might be used to attack the other contracting party, such as: armed forces, military equipment, technical appliances of military nature, and artillery, intendency, engineering and aeronautic supplies of such states, organizations and groups.

4. To prohibit, except in cases provided for in international law, the entering and the passage through its territorial waters of any war vessels, gunboats and torpedo-boats, etc., that belong to organizations or groups intending to wage armed war against the other contracting party, or to states that are in a state of war with the other contracting party and whose intention is to attack the other contracting party, if such an intention has become known to the contracting party to whom the territorial waters and ports belong.

\* Although we have looked for this map in a number of Lettish papers containing the text of this treaty, we have not been able to find a copy of it.

## ARTICLE V

Both sides reciprocally renounce all claims to the payment of military expenditures, i. e., state expenditure spent in conducting war, as well as claims of war losses, i. e., those losses caused by the military operations against them or their citizens, including also all kinds of requisitions that have been made by the other party on their territory.

## ARTICLE VI

Deeming it absolutely necessary that obligations to cover the losses of the World War of 1914-1917, suffered by the ruined countries or parts of countries, on which territories the war was carried on, shall be justly distributed between all the world powers, both contracting parties undertake the endeavor to reach an agreement between all the powers for the creation of an international world fund, from which the money shall be drawn to cover the above mentioned losses.

Independently of the creation of such an international fund, the contracting parties consider it necessary, as far as it is in their power, to extend mutual help to Russia, as well as to all independent republics, established on the former Russian territory of the Czar's government, joining with their own resources in order to cover the losses of the World War, and both parties undertake the endeavor to reach such an agreement between these above mentioned republics.

## ARTICLE VII

Prisoners of war of both contracting countries must be transported to their respective countries as soon as possible. The order of exchange of war prisoners will be defined in the appendix to this article.

*Note:* Prisoners of war are considered all persons captured and not serving voluntarily in the army of the state that has captured them.

## APPENDIX

1. Prisoners of war of both countries shall be permitted to go to their respective countries, if they do not wish to remain, with the consent of the government of the territory on which they live, within its boundaries, or to go to other countries.

2. When the prisoners of war are liberated they shall receive back their documents and personal property which has been confiscated by the order of the government that captured them, as well as the unpaid and unaccounted portions of their salary.

3. Each contracting party agrees to repay the expenses which its former adversary had borne in maintaining its captured citizens to an extent such as these expenses have not been compensated by the work of prisoners of war in government or private enterprises. The repayment shall be made in the currency of the state that had made the capture.

*Note:* The expenses of maintaining prisoners of war consist of expenditures for their food, clothing and supplying them with money.

4. Prisoners of war shall be transported to the frontier by echelons at the expense of the state that has captured them; the transfer shall be executed according to prepared lists on which is stated the first name, the name of the father, the family name of the prisoner, the time of his capture, as well as the army unit the prisoner served in when captured.

5. Immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty a mixed commission composed of three representatives from both sides for the exchange of prisoners of war shall be established. The duty of this commission shall be the supervision of the execution of the terms as stated in this appendix, the determination of dates and the ways and means of transporting the prisoners of war to their country, also the fixing of the amount of expenditures of prisoners of war, according to the dates submitted by the respective sides at the time of exchange of the prisoners of war.

6. Upon the same principles, as stated in regard to prisoners of war, shall be carried out the exchange of interned civilians and military persons, also the return of hostages of both sides upon the request of the adversary.

## ARTICLE VIII

Persons who on the day of the ratification of this treaty live within Latvia's boundaries, also the refugees dwelling in Russia, who themselves, or whose parents, before August 1, 1914, are registered in the records of town or country bodies, or institutions of social classes on the territory now constituting the Latvian State, shall be considered as Latvian citizens.

Persons of the same category, who, on the day of the ratification of this treaty, live within the boundaries of Russia, except the above-mentioned category of refugees, shall be considered as Russian citizens.

However, within one year from the date of the ratification of this treaty, all persons over the age of eighteen, living on Latvian territory shall have the right to renunciation of their Latvian citizenship and shall have the right to choose Russian citizenship; their citizenship is shared by their children under eighteen years of age, and by their wives, if there be no specific agreement between husband and wife.

Also persons, who according to the definitions stated in the second section of this article, are to be considered Russian citizens, have the same right to choose Latvian citizenship during the same period and under the same conditions.

Persons, who have announced their wish for such option, as well as those who share their citizenship as above, retain their rights of movable and immovable private property in accordance with the laws that exist in the country where they live, but in case of leaving the country they have the right to sell out or to export their property.

*Note 1.* Persons who, at the moment of the ratification of this treaty, live on the territory of a third country, but are not naturalized there and fulfill the requirements of the first section of this article, shall also be considered Latvian citizens, but under the above mentioned conditions they have the right to choose Russian citizenship.

*Note 2.* The right of option as defined in this article relates also to those citizens, who up to the World War of 1914-1917, and later, have lived on the territory of one of the contracting parties, but at the moment of the ratification of the treaty are living on the territory of the other party.

Refugees, in regard to their property, which they could not export on the basis of the agreement of June 12, 1920, regarding the repatriation of refugees, shall have the same rights as are in this article provided for citizens with the right of option, but only to such an extent as the refugees can prove that this property belongs to them and has been during the repatriation time in their actual possession.

*Note 3.* Both contracting parties give to the citizens of the other side, as well as to those who expressed their wish for an option, the right and facilities freely to depart for their respective countries, and, in general, the right to leave the boundaries of the other country. Both contracting parties also agree to demobilize the citizens of the other country as soon as this treaty is ratified, also persons who have applied for citizenship of the other country.

## ARTICLE IX

The agreement between Latvia and Russia, of June 12, 1920, regarding the repatriation of refugees, remains in effect, with the supplementary statement that refugees who are citizens of the other side have, besides those rights defined in the above-mentioned agreement, also the rights given by this peace treaty to persons who have expressed their wish for option and to citizens of the respective country.

## ARTICLE X

Both contracting parties reciprocally renounce any claims that would arise from Latvia's former alliance with Russia, and recognize the various state properties on each respective country's territory, as the sole property of that country. The right of claims for Russian state property, which has been removed from the Latvian territory after August 1, 1914, to a third country, shall be transferred to the Latvian State.

To the Latvian State shall also be transferred all claims of the Russian State against juridical persons or a third country, as far as these claims concern Latvian territory.

To the Latvian State shall be transferred all financial

claims of the Russian Treasury on properties within the boundaries of the Latvian State, also all claims against Latvian citizens, but only as far as these claims are not liquidated by counter-claims presented at the settlement of accounts.

*Note:* To the Latvian State shall not be transferred the rights of claims against small holders-peasants, regarding their indebtedness and defaulting of payments to former Peasant's Agrarian Bank of Russia, or to other Russian agrarian banks now nationalized, these debts shall be considered null and void; also the indebtedness of the nobility to the former Noblemen's Agrarian Bank of Russia, or other Russian agrarian banks now nationalized shall not be claimed by the Latvian State, but shall be considered null and void, if that land is given over to the small holders-peasants and agricultural laborers.

The Russian Government shall hand over to the Latvian Government the documents and acts that affirm the rights mentioned in this section, as far as these documents are in the actual possession of the former. If within a year from the day of the ratification of this treaty this is not done, these documents and acts are declared lost.

#### ARTICLE XI

1. The Russian Government shall deliver at its own expense to Latvia, and hand over to the Latvian Government, libraries, archives, museums, art productions, school appliances, documents and other property of educational, learned, state, religious, social institutions and institutions of social classes, insofar as these mentioned articles have been removed from Latvia during the World War of 1914-1917 and actually are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions.

With regard to archives, libraries, museums, art productions, and documents that are for Latvia of important scientific, artistic or historical value and that were removed from Latvia to Russia before the World War of 1914-1917, the Russian Government is willing to return them to Latvia as far as the taking out of these objects may not cause considerable losses to the Russian archives, libraries, museums and art galleries in which they are kept.

A special mixed commission with an equal number of members from both sides shall settle all questions in regard to the taking out of the objects mentioned.

2. The Russian Government shall return at its own expense and hand over to the Latvian Government all judicial and administrative papers, court and administrative archives, also the archives of the senior and junior notary public, the archives of the title and land office, the archives of religious departments of all confessions, the archives and plans of the departments of land surveying, land organization, of forestry, railroad, highways, post and telegraph, etc.; from the topography bureau of the Vilna military district, plans, drawings, maps and in general all material that relates to the territory of the Latvian State; the archives and management of the local branch of the Nobles' and Peasants' banks, of the local branch of the State Bank and of other credit, cooperative and mutual insurance associations, insofar as these mentioned articles actually are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions.

3. The Russian Government shall return at its own expense, and hand over to the Latvian Government, to be forwarded to those to whom they belong, various documents regarding property rights, as: purchase contracts and obligations, rent contracts, bills of exchange, etc., also account-books, papers and documents, that are necessary in settling accounts, and documents, in general, that are of value for the affirmation of legal property rights of Latvian citizens, and that have been removed from Latvia to Russia during the World War of 1914-1917, insofar as they actually are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions. If within two years from the date of the ratification of this treaty these documents are not returned, they shall be considered lost.

4. Russia shall deliver those papers and documents from the archives of the central and local departments that have direct relation to Latvian territories.

#### ARTICLE XII

1. The Russian Government shall return to Latvia the property of social, charitable, cultural and educational institutions that has been evacuated to Russia during the World War of 1914-1917, also the bells and property of churches and meeting-houses of all confessions, insofar as these mentioned objects actually are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions.

2. The Russian Government shall return to Latvia valuables of all kinds that have been evacuated to Russia since August 1st, 1914, from the various Latvian commercial, agrarian and credit institutions, as banks, mutual credit associations, savings and loan banks and associations, also town banks and banks of social bodies, and lombards, that have done business within the territory of Latvia,—valuables belonging to or deposited in these above-mentioned banks, except gold, precious stones and currency; insofar as these valuables are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions.

3. With regard to compensation for bonds of the Russian Government,\* for bonds guaranteed by that Government, also for private bonds that are circulating within the territory of Latvia, and have been issued by associations and institutions whose enterprises are nationalized by the Russian Government, as well as Latvian citizens' claims against the Russian State and nationalized institutions,—Russia shall comply to grant to Latvia, to Latvian citizens and institutions all those facilities, rights and privileges, which she directly or indirectly has granted or may grant to another country, or to citizens, societies or institutions. If bonds or obligations cannot be presented, the Russian Government, in applying this section of article 12, is willing to recognize those persons as the holders of bonds, etc., who present proof, that valuable papers belonging to them have been evacuated during the war.

4. In regard to savings deposits, securities, and other money deposits made with the various state and judicial institutions, as far as these deposits and payments belong to Latvian citizens, also in regard to deposits and all kinds of securities, that have been deposited in the local branches of the former State Bank or other credit institutions now nationalized or liquidated insofar as these deposits and payments belong to Latvian citizens,—the Russian Government shall consent to allow to Latvian citizens all rights that were formerly allowed to Russian citizens and therefore to permit Latvian citizens, who on account of their occupations could not exercise their rights, to do so now. In meeting these claims, the Russian Government shall allow to Latvian citizens the benefit of paying them the amount that the unit of Russian money has lost from its purchasing value, counting it from the moment of the occupation of Latvia—September 3, 1917—to the moment of the return of the money.

5. In regard to valuables and properties that were kept in the rooms of the banks or in their safes, as far as these valuables and property belong, or are in, or may actually come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government or social institutions, the terms of section 4 of this article shall be applied. The same terms shall be applied also to Latvian citizens' valuables and property that was kept after August 1st, 1914, in the rooms and safes of the evacuated Latvian credit institutions and safes.

*Note:* The money, valuables and property mentioned in this article shall be handed over to the Latvian Government to be forwarded to whom they belong.

#### ARTICLE XIII

The Russian Government shall return to the Latvian Government to be forwarded to whom it belongs all property of Latvian cities, societies and juridical and natural private persons, that has been evacuated to Russia during the World War, insofar as this property actually is in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government or social institutions.

\* Apparently the Czarist Government is meant.

*Note 1.* In case of doubt, such organizations shall be considered as Latvian joint stock companies and societies, as can present proof that the amount of shares and investments belonging to Latvian citizens were in preponderance before the date of the publishing of the Russian Government decree regarding the nationalization of industry.

*Note:* This article shall not apply to investments, deposits and valuables that have been in the local branches of the State Bank, or private banks, credit institutions and savings banks on Latvian territory.

#### ARTICLE XIV

1. In regard to post, telegraph and telephone property that has been evacuated during the World War of 1914-1917, from Latvia to Russia, the Russian Government shall return to Latvia and hand over to the Latvian Government as much of this property as the true needs of the economic and cultural life of Latvia as an independent state may require, and insofar as this evacuated property is in, or may come into, actual jurisdiction of the Russian Government or social institutions.

2. In regard to floating equipments, and lighthouses that were used in Latvian harbors and have been evacuated during the World War of 1914-1917 from Latvia to Russia, the Russian Government shall deliver to Latvia and hand over to the Latvian Government as much of this property as may be needed to the actual needs for harbors and their appurtenances for Latvia as an independent state, and insofar as this property is in, or may come into, the actual jurisdiction of the Russian State or social institutions.

3. In regard to the rolling stock and the railroad shop equipments that have been evacuated during the World War of 1914-1917 from Latvia to Russia, the Russian Government shall return to Latvia, and hand over to the Latvian Government, as much of it as may be needed to the actual economic need of Latvia as an independent state and insofar as this property is in, or may come into, actual jurisdiction of the Russian Government or social institutions.

A mixed Latvian-Russian commission constituted on the principles of equal representation immediately after the ratification of the treaty, shall determine in detail the amount of property mentioned in this article, that must be re-evacuated, and shall also settle the dates of delivery. This commission shall determine the amount of property to be re-evacuated, taking into account the economic conditions as they were before the World War of 1914-1917, on the territories that according to this treaty now constitute the Latvian State; deducting everything that has served the needs of Russia's industry and Russia's transit in general, the actual needs of present day Latvia as an independent state shall be determined in detail; considering, however, the general lowering of the level of economic life.

#### ARTICLE XV

The Russian Government shall be bound to give the Latvian Government all instructions and information, and render every assistance in the discovery of property, archives, documents, etc., in complying with the terms of the articles X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV of this treaty.

The property that shall be re-evacuated by the Russian Government according to the above-mentioned articles may be returned in kind or in respective equivalents, if agreed so by the Latvian Government.

On account of the value of the property in the above-mentioned form, to be returned to Latvia, the Russian Government advances to Latvia 4,000,000 rubles in gold to be delivered two months after the ratification of the treaty.

#### ARTICLE XVI

Taking into account the devastation of Latvia during the World War of 1914-1917,—Russia:

1. Frees Latvia from responsibility for the Russian debts or any other obligations, including the responsibilities created by the issuance of paper money, state treasury notes, obligations, the series and certificate notes of the Russian Treasury, from responsibilities for internal and foreign loans, guarantees to various

institutions and enterprises, and for loans guaranteed by them, etc. All such claims of the creditors of Russia in matters concerning Latvia shall be directed to Russia.

2. Grants Latvia rights of cutting forest on an area of 100,000 dessiatins in order to help Latvian peasantry to rebuild their homes destroyed during the war; the forests shall be as near as possible to the Latvian border, railroads and rivers adopted for floating timber; the conditions of this concession to be defined by a special Latvian-Russian mixed commission constituted, upon the principle of equal representation, immediately after the ratification of the treaty.

#### ARTICLE XVII

1. The contracting parties are willing to conclude immediately after the ratification of this treaty commercial and transit agreements, consular and post and telegraph conventions and an agreement in regard to the deepening of the Dvina River.

2. Until the conclusion of commercial and transit agreements the contracting parties agree that their mutual economic relations shall be settled on the following principles:

a. Both sides give to each other all the rights that would be enjoyed by the most favored nation;

b. No customs duties nor tariff taxes shall be levied on goods to be transported over the territory of one of the contracting countries;

c. Freight rates for transit goods shall not be higher than rates for local transportation of goods of the same nature.

3. In case of the death of a citizen of one of the contracting sides, on the territory of the other side, his property shall be given over to the consular or other similar representative of the country to which belonged the deceased whose estate is in question, which is to be administered according to the laws and rules of his country.

#### ARTICLE XVIII

Both contracting parties are bound to apply all possible means to facilitate the movements of merchant ships in their waters, furnishing the necessary pilots, keeping lighthouses in order, setting up the necessary marks, sweeping the waters of mines, applying special devices to cut down the mine fields.

Both sides express their willingness to participate in the clearing of the Baltic Sea of mines, which work shall be performed according to special agreement between the interested parties; in case this is not done the degree of participancy of both sides shall be determined by the court of arbitration.

#### ARTICLE XIX

Diplomatic and consular relations shall be established immediately after the ratification of this treaty.

#### ARTICLE XX

After the ratification of this treaty the Russian Government shall pardon all Latvian citizens and all applicants for Latvian citizenship, and the Latvian Government shall pardon Russian citizens and applicants for Russian citizenship, military persons as well as civilians, for any kind of political or disciplinary offences. When court decisions have not yet been made, the cases have to be discontinued.

Persons who have committed the above-mentioned offences after this treaty is signed are not subject to this amnesty.

Persons who are under investigation or are indicted, or are arrested, having been charged with criminal offences and misdemeanors, before the ratification of this treaty, also those who are serving their sentences for such offences, shall be immediately delivered to their country upon the request of their government, together with all the evidence adduced in their indictment and trial.

Simultaneously, both contracting parties shall pardon their own citizens for offences that were committed in the interests of the enemy before this treaty was signed.

*Note 1.* Since, according to the terms of this article, certain persons are to be pardoned or delivered to their

country, the sentences given for these crimes and offenses to those persons shall be discontinued from the moment of the signing of this treaty.

*Note 2.* This article shall not be applied to Russian citizens or applicants for Russian citizenship, who participated on April 16, 1919, in the conspiracy and offensive of Bermond.

#### ARTICLE XXI

The settlement of questions of public and private law that may arise between the two contracting parties, as well as the settlement of specific questions between both states, or the state and the citizens of the other country, shall be arrived at by a special mixed commission, which shall be established immediately after the ratification of the treaty, with an equal number of members from each side, and whose composition, rights and duties are defined in the instructions by agreement of both contracting states.

#### ARTICLE XXII

This treaty is drawn up in the Lettish and Russian languages. In the interpretation both texts shall be considered authentic.

#### ARTICLE XXIII

This treaty must be ratified and shall take effect from the moment of ratification, if it is not stated otherwise in the treaty.

The exchange of the documents of ratification must take place in Moscow.

Wherever in this treaty the moment of ratification is mentioned as the effective date of its enforcement, it is understood to be the moment of the exchange of the documents of ratification.

### CHICHERIN'S NOTE TO HUNGARY

*(Translation of the radiogram sent on August 6 by People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Chicherin to the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs at Budapest.)*

The Russian Soviet Government has become cognizant of the fact that ten former members of the Hungarian Soviet Government, a close and true ally of the Russian Soviet Government in the struggle against the enemies of the toiling masses of Russia and Hungary, are at present in the hands of a mock criminal court, and that they are threatened with judicial murder for measures which they enacted in their capacity as members of the government for the weal of the toiling masses whose will they represented.

In view of this the Russian Government declares that the former Hungarian People's Commissars Dovcsak, Nyisztor, Agoston, Bokanyi, Haubrich, Vantus, Szabados, Kalmar, Bajalsi and Kelen are under its close and direct protection. In view of the danger which threatens them, as well as the dangers which threaten the numerous Russian citizens who are now in Hungary, the Russian Government has ordered the detention in concentration camps of a thousand Hungarian officers from among those who are still in Russia. Ten of these officers, namely: Major Arshad de-Karolyi, Colonel Alexander Cbisar, Stefan Flora, chief lieutenants Koloman de-Jankoviz, Victor Shebcheli, Alexander de-Sal, Count Valentine Szechenyi, Lieutenant Georgi Spolaritz, Eugene Ferber, are declared to be direct hostages for the ten former people's commissars who are now appearing before the mock court in Budapest, and will be subjected to the same fate which will befall the people's commissars if the bloody plans of the Hungarian Government with regard

to the latter are carried out. The Russian Government will follow closely the Budapest trial and will not hesitate to take such measures as it may deem necessary.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*

CHICHERIN.

*Pravda*, August 13.

### CHICHERIN'S NOTE TO FRANCE

The threat contained in the radio of the French Government dated August 26, namely, to profit from France's naval superiority on the Black Sea by undertaking aggressive operations against Russia or Ukraine in case the French prisoners, still retained in Russia, should not have reached the Finnish frontier or Odessa by the first of October, can be considered only as an act of brutal violence, in violation of the most elementary principles of justice. Against such procedure the Russian Government raises an indignant protest.

The agreement, which was signed at Copenhagen on last April 20, with regard to the repatriation of Russian and French nationals, was conditioned by the formal promise of the French Government not to intervene in Russia's internal affairs, nor to cooperate hereafter in any aggressive measure against the Soviet Republic. Owing to the fact that this promise has not been kept, and that the whole policy of France with regard to Russia has been a direct violation of the obligations accepted at Copenhagen, the treaty which was based on this condition becomes invalid, as our representative Litvinov stated at the proper time to the French representative in Copenhagen.

Desiring, nevertheless, to bring about as speedily as possible the return of Russian soldiers and prisoners now in France and Algeria to their native soil, we have proceeded with the repatriation on the basis of proportional exchange, reserving only the right to defer the return of members remaining from the French Military Mission, until the last moment of the repatriation of Russian soldiers and prisoners.

But even with regard to the reciprocal and proportional exchange of those under the jurisdiction of the two countries, the French Government acts in flagrant violation of the actual condition of this question. In its note of June 12, transmitted to the Russian Government by M. Fritjof Nansen, the French Government declares that it has repatriated 47,000 Russian soldiers and prisoners, while in reality hardly 15,000 have reached Russia at the present time. The number of Russian nationals to be repatriated in September is, then, not at all in proportion to the actual number of those who are still in France and Algeria, awaiting their return to Russia. In the above-mentioned radio of the French Government the return of all Russian nationals from France was set for September 15, and for those in Algeria for September 20. We see now that in reality complete repatriation is very far off. Information from various sources reaches us concerning the number of sol-

diere and prisoners from Russia that are still interned in the concentration camps or fortresses of France, or even groaning under the barbarous Algerian regime. Our fellow-citizens continue to suffer under the orders of the French authorities who persist in forcing them to join the army of General Wrangel, or to enter the foreign section.

It seems doubtful to us that the French Government could give us formal and documentary assurance that all our fellow-citizens have been repatriated. And yet, if the French Government demands the complete repatriation of its own nationals, arguing that it has legally fulfilled the obligations legally incumbent upon it, it should at least furnish us with a formal proof of the repatriation of our nationals. Now no such proof has been furnished by the French Government. Consequently, the demand for the complete repatriation of French nationals should be considered absolutely unjustified. Nevertheless, the Russian Government is so sincerely desirous of avoiding any further bloodshed, that it has resolved to yield before brute force, and to send the remaining French prisoners to Rajajoci or to Odessa without waiting any longer, convinced that this new act of insolence on the part of the French Government will continue to open the eyes of the masses of French people, who some day will be able to impose their will upon their government and make up for the acts of injustice which it has committed. The Russian Government in yielding to violence, will, by this act, draw the conclusions that are forced upon it, and from now on calls the attention of the French Government in the most serious manner to the new and important obstacles which such precedents create with regard to the general pacification of Europe.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*  
CHICHERIN.

### BARON WRANGEL'S LAND PROGRAM

By N. MESHCHERYAKOV

One of the first steps of the workmen's and peasants' Soviet power after the November Revolution was the transfer of all the land of the landlords' estates to the peasants. The main object of the Russian counter-revolutionists was, on the contrary, to restore to the former owners the land which had been taken by the peasants from the former landlords.

For two and a half years the Russian Whites fought in vain for this land. The result of this struggle was the complete defeat of the Whites on all fronts. Now the landlords propose to achieve their aim in another way, by means of cunning. Their new chief and leader, Baron Wrangel, surrounded himself with former Czarist ministers and officials and drafted with their assistance a "new land law", which he published in Crimea. This "law" will be enforced in every district which the Baron may succeed in seizing.

The law states that all the land of the former landlords shall be divided into two parts. One part shall remain the property of the former own-

ers. "The size of this part is not determined in advance, but is left to the judgment of the *volost* and *uyezd* land institutions in each locality." But of whom will these "institutions" be composed? The Baron prefers not to commit himself on this question. But the very fact that this "law" was dictated by the landlords, who are led by the former reactionary Czarist minister, the large landed proprietor Krivosheyin, shows that the "land institutions" will be packed with the landlords' henchmen, or perhaps with the landlords themselves. Under such conditions the largest part of the land will, of course, remain in the hands of the landlords.

The other part of the land is to be transferred to the peasants. "But the land is not to be expropriated, but will have to be paid for at its full value." The peasant who will receive a section of the land which formerly belonged to a landlord will have to make payments to the landlord in grain for twenty-five years, turning over to him every year one-fifth of the whole crop. Only after twenty-five years will he become the owner of this land. During this time he will have to pay to the landlord five crops.

Thus is this "law" of Baron Wrangel's expounded by the Russian White newspaper *Posledniye Novosti* (No. 67), which is very favorable to Wrangel and his "law".

The plan is more insolent than cunning.

For centuries the landlords exploited the peasants by means of their land. The people lost patience and drove out the landlords. In a bloody struggle they crushed the landlords and reduced them to impotence. And now the landlords think that the people will voluntarily once more put their head into the noose, that they will voluntarily consent to pay each year, in the course of twenty-five years, one-fifth of the total crop to their parasitic enemies, that they will voluntarily surrender and declare that all the sacrifices and all the blood that was shed by the people were in vain. This new "law" of Baron Wrangel's will only serve as an additional concrete proof for the peasants as to the real character of the Baron and of the gang that surrounds him.—*Pravda*, July 31.

### PLUNDER ACTS BY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS

Moscow, September 10.—The *Vestnik* gives a detailed account of the plundering of the Russian gold treasure. After the Czechs occupied Kazan, in 1918, they took possession of the gold and carried it to Samara, and later to Omsk. Kolchak gave, altogether, 3,230 poods of pure gold to England, France, and Japan in payment for war material and for the upkeep of the allied troops.

Moreover, Kolchak deposited large quantities of gold in foreign banks as security for loans and munitions. Altogether the counter-revolutionists spent over 600 million rubles in gold, all of which is in the possession of the Entente. The Soviet Republic has still at its disposal one billion rubles in gold.

## Wireless and Other News

### CULTURAL WORK IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, September 20.—The All-Russian Congress of the Union of Educational Workers, which opened on August 30, sent greetings and congratulations to the British proletariat because of the latter's unwavering struggle against British imperialism.

Moscow, September 20.—The Congress of Educational Workers, at which 275,000 educational workers were represented, resolved to create an organ which should direct all educational work outside of the school.

The People's Commissariat for Public Education has opened courses for the preparation of kindergarten teachers.

The Central Directorate of Archives has opened special courses for archivists and paleographers.

The Moscow *Izvestia* reports that a propaganda ship, *The Red Star*, has for some time been plying on the Volga. The ship is decorated, and painted with pictures; it is equipped with a printing shop and a radio-station and has, besides, a cinema outfit which gives productions for the peasants in the villages.

The Moscow *Pravda* reports the following: The proletarian poet, P. Kozlov, the author of "The Legend of the Communard" and of "The King of the Black Radish Kingdom", has now completed "The Vultures", a new drama in three acts, drawn from the life of speculators.

### ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, September 23.—Many new factories were recently built in the Ural region. These factories delivered a considerable quantity of locomotives and railroad material. In the northern part of the Urals, one factory produces barbed wire only, and another factory in the same line is to be constructed presently. In Yekaterinburg, a large factory has been built for the production of steel cables and telegraph material. These products formerly had to be imported from abroad. Great importance is being attached to these undertakings which are operating at full force.

### AN ORDER ISSUED TO THE WRANGEL ARMY

Moscow, August 30.—In the town of Aleshki, which has been occupied by the Red troops, the following order of a captain in the Wrangel army was found posted in the streets:

"Order 459. The Jews are again helping the Bolsheviks. I will hang every Jew that I catch. All weapons and munitions which the Bolsheviks have distributed are to be brought immediately to my staff quarters. Whoever hides any arms, will be hanged. All the Red soldiers who remained in the city are to report to me within five hours. (Signed) CAPTAIN SAKONISHIN."

### FAVORABLE CROP PROSPECTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, September 19.—The provisioning campaign in the province of Penza is proceeding very favorably. Over seventy per cent of the promised crop has already been harvested, among others 100,000 poods of oats and 137,000 poods of wheat. Besides, 15,000,000 eggs, 15,000 pounds of butter, etc., have been collected.

Moscow, September 19.—The Central Executive Committee of Turkestan has mobilized a large number of its members, as well as many responsible party members, for harvest work. The crop in Turkestan will not be less than 21 million poods, of which there will be two million poods of rice. The People's Food Committee counts upon the possibility of transporting one million poods of rice and the same amount of dried fruit into the central provinces.

Moscow, September 20.—Transports of grain and raw materials have been brought over from Omsk to Archangel to be used as exchange goods for export abroad.

### ALLIED CAPITAL IN THE CRIMEA

CHRISTIANIA, August 31 (Dispatch of the *Rosta*, Vienna Agency).—It has been reported from Sebastopol under date of August 28 that the United Merchant Fleet of the Black Sea has been bought up by foreign capital. The greater part of the shares of a large Russian steamship company has been bought by the English. Also the industrial enterprises in the Wrangel territory are being readily taken over by the French and English capitalists.

### THE ALL-RUSSIAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

Moscow, September 17.—On November 1 there will take place in Moscow the All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions. Following is the proposed order of business:

1. Report on the activity of the All-Russian Trade Union Council.
2. Report of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy.
3. The aims of the Trade Unions in the field of production.
4. The food provisioning campaign of 1920-1921 and the Trade Unions.
5. The wage scale policy and the material security of the workers.
6. The immediate organization aims of the Trade Unions, and methods for their realization.
7. The participation of the Trade Unions in the work of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.
8. Immediate measures in the field of vocal and technical training.

## AT A SOVIET ELECTION MEETING OF HOUSEWIVES

### *A Sketch*

In the open air, under the trees of the park of the Vassilyevsky Island district Soviet, a meeting of housewives was held for new elections of deputies to the Petrograd Soviet. Many huckster-women came to the meeting.

"Well, what did you get through the Communists? They give very little bread. And they closed down the market where it was possible to buy bread," thus vociferates a former huckster-woman.

"Not for us, we can't buy it. Only you, speculators, can buy it," remarks one of the working women.

The huckster-woman hotly resents the accusation.

"I a speculator! Where and when did I trade? Why, here is my labor booklet. I could not have it if I were a speculator."

Several persons corroborate that she is a speculator, others side with her, and they almost come to blows. But the chairlady's bell calls the meeting to order, and this puts an end to the quarrel.

"Anyhow, we won't elect Communists," declares the huckster-woman.

During the report and the discussion on the instructions to the deputies they really tried to break up the meeting, but without success. The instructions were adopted.

However, during the election of candidates the list proposed by the section of working women, which was composed of four Communists and eight non-partisans, was rejected as a result of the agitation by the huckster-women. The meeting decided to elect from their own midst.

"Now we will win. Not a single Communist will be elected," rejoiced the huckster-women.

But the result was quite different. The voting on the nominees present at the meeting gave the following results: five Communists, one Communist sympathizer and six non-partisans.

"The election is irregular," declared the huckster-women, dissatisfied with the result of their work.

"We are not going to hold new elections just to please you. We would defeat your candidates just the same," laughingly replied the working-women.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, July 1, 1920.

## THE NEXT ISSUE

of

# SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. THE TRUE STATE OF THE MOSCOW PROLETARIAT. *A speech delivered in Berlin in September by Lozovsky, a member of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. (The material of this speech ably refutes the exaggerations of internal discomforts in Russia, which had emanated from speeches of the German Independent Socialist Delegation to Moscow, such as those of Messrs. Dittman and Crispin.)*
2. THE FOOD POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, *by A. Svidersky, Member of the Board of the People's Food Commissariat.*
3. LATEST ECONOMIC STATISTICS FROM SOVIET RUSSIA. *Items of interest in many economic fields, such as railway transportation, industry, and agriculture.*
4. A BIOGRAPHY OF LITVINOV, *from a Moscow Wireless of September 13.*
5. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, *by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.*

We announce for November 6, a special illustrated 40 page issue to commemorate the Third Anniversary of the Revolution of November, 1917.

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## The True State of the Russian Proletariat

[The following is an interview with Lozovsky, printed in a September issue of "Die Rote Fahne", in Berlin, in which he ably refutes the exaggerations of internal discomforts in Soviet Russia, emanating from speeches of the German Independent Socialist Delegation to Moscow.]

BERLIN, September 15, 1920.—Comrade Lozovsky, a member of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Trades Unions, and a member of the delegation to bring to the western proletariat information about the true state of the Russian proletariat in the Russian Soviet Republic, has given us the following account of conditions in Soviet Russia:

What role do the Trade Unions play in Soviet Russia?

Although the Russian trade union movement dates back to the beginning of capitalism in Russia, its real organization began with the Revolution of 1905. However, it is only since 1917 that it has become a mass movement. From that time on the development of the trade unions has taken rapid strides. In June, 1917, the trade unions had already a membership of one and a half millions, in January, 1918, two millions and a half, and now there are over five million organized workers. This rapid growth is first of all due to the revolutionary temper of the times, which has stimulated the organizing tendencies of the proletariat to a full and free fruition.

The role of the trade unions has, of course, undergone a change since the November Revolution. They are no longer fighting units, organized to combat the bourgeoisie and the state; for the bourgeoisie exists no more. But wherever it is necessary to fight the bourgeoisie, the battle is being waged weapon in hand on the battlefield. The state is now a state of the workers.

Nevertheless, the trade unions have now other tasks to perform which are no less important. For

instance, they are charged with the duty of fixing the tariffs and wages, as the People's Commissariat of Labor exercises only the right of approval in this respect. The trade unions also play an important role in the direction and management of production. There is no part of the public life of Russia over which the trade unions do not exert a deciding influence. Comrade Lozovsky will give us further details later on of the manifold duties of the trade unions.

Regarding the question of the economic condition of Soviet Russia and the prospects for the coming winter, Comrade Lozovsky spoke as follows:

The economic condition of Soviet Russia is undoubtedly showing a decided improvement. The predictions of the bourgeois press to the effect, that this winter will bring the downfall of the Soviet Republic, are all pure balderdash. Our condition this winter is much better than last. For instance, after the taking of Baku over one hundred million poods of naphtha was shipped to Central Russia. By the first of November, i.e., by the time that shipping on the Volga is closed for the season, we will have transported over 130 million poods of naphtha. That is forty per cent of the amount before the war. If we remember that we received not a single pood of naphtha last year the significance of these facts will be at once apparent. Several railroads are already being operated with naphtha, also some electrical plants. Also we have succeeded in other ways to add to our store of fuel, wood and coal in the cities, and since our winter difficulties are chiefly a question of fuel, it is plain that con-

ditions in Soviet Russia are much better for this coming winter.

As far as the question of food is concerned, it may be said that the crop was moderately good. But the question of food for Soviet Russia is not a question of quantity but of transportation. And transportation facilities are better this year, so far as the war demands permit.

Further, we succeeded in transporting to Central Russia a part of the 10 million poods of cotton which were stored in Turkestan, after the taking of that territory by the Soviet troops. Factories which were not operating from lack of fuel and raw materials are now running again since shipments of materials have begun.

The reconstruction of our national industry in other lines will depend chiefly upon our relations with Western Europe. Russia suffers from an excessive lack of goods. We lack steel mills, machinery of all kinds, especially agricultural machinery. The industrial countries, especially Germany, are interested in trade relations with Soviet Russia in this respect. Trade relations with Russia will now take on an entirely different aspect. Russia will no longer appear as a great mass of individual traders, commission men and speculators, but as a state unit, as one great customer, who will operate with billion ruble orders. The relations with Russia will be especially important to Germany, as these countries complement each other, and Russia represents the natural market for the industrial products of Germany.

The list of goods which Russia will have to import from the outside was determined in a number of sessions between the Trade Unions and the head of the Soviet of National Economy.

Regarding the articles of Dittmann, Comrade Lozovsky remarked:

One needs only to select a few points from the articles of Dittmann, in order to realize that instead of presenting a purely objective viewpoint, they attempt at every turn to paint Russian conditions in the darkest colors. Thus Dittmann quotes party figures. He asserts that the Communist Party of Russia numbers 600,000 members. That of these only 72,000 were engaged in industry, and over 300,000 were in the army. From these figures Dittmann proceeds to the conclusion that the Communist Party of Russia is not a workers' party, but an organization of officials and military men who are at the head of the proletariat. What is the real significance of the fact that 300,000 members of the party are in the army, however? The bourgeois press claims at every turn that the Bolsheviks are making others fight their battles for them. The fact of the matter is, that fifty per cent of the members of the party are fighting in the army, and hence, that all the fighting forces of the party are serving in the Red Army. The Communists form the staff of the Red Army, they are the mortar which holds that army together, which leads them to victory. The Red Army is interspersed everywhere with workers who have

been torn from their industry. These workers are making the Red Army what it is. Now instead of accounting these services in their favor, Dittmann is counting it against them. It is plain to be seen that in this way any phase in the life of Soviet Russia may be perverted and turned to unfavorable account.

The same is true of the reports which Dittmann makes on the industrial condition of Soviet Russia. Every one knows that the condition of the workers of the Soviet Republic is a difficult one. No Communist will deny it. But the conclusions which may be drawn from this fact vary. Firstly, one might conclude that the workers should not have accomplished the social revolution. This conclusion is the one made by the bourgeoisie, and this opinion also animates Dittmann's articles. Every revolutionist, every class-conscious worker knows, however, and will assert that the Russian proletariat has held its own, and is in power now solely by reason of the fact that the entire organization of the state, in spite of enormous difficulties, has been placed at the service of that class which hitherto has been under the heel of bourgeois society.

In conclusion Comrade Lozovsky gives us some information in regard to the peasant situation in Russia:

The peasant is the great trump card of our opponents, but only because they do not know the real facts. The peasant has benefited by the November Revolution beyond a doubt. It is a well-known fact that the small bourgeois landowner maintains an attitude of aloofness toward Communism. But the fact that the same peasant who is more than coldly indifferent to Communism, is nevertheless the greatest enemy of the counter-revolution, is not so well known by every one who attempts to write about Russia. For the small landowner has no choice: either the Soviet or the Restoration; and the small peasants owes his land to the Revolution.

This fundamental paradox in the situation of the Russian peasant has its positive and its negative aspects. The negative side is presented by the effort on the part of the small bourgeois landowner to work the land as a private individual, to strengthen his hold on his property. But on the other hand, the small owner is enabled to hold his private property only with the help of the Soviet power, while the Soviet power is striving ceaselessly to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, and therefore also the private ownership of the small landowner. Whether or not this condition will continue for any length of time is dependent in the main on the development of affairs in Western Europe. However, the Russian peasant has gained enough by the Revolution, and especially by the November Revolution, to know that no government outside of the Soviet government will be able to satisfy him as well.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

“THE fall of Moscow and a direct and overwhelming disaster for the Bolsheviks as the climax of the present campaign of General Denikin, was predicted yesterday by Col. K. Shumsky, formerly of the Russian General Staff, and one of the most widely quoted Russian military critics in the days before the collapse of the empire. Col. Shumsky, who now is connected with the Russian Information Bureau, issued an analysis of the Denikin campaign, received directly from the headquarters of the victorious anti-Bolshevik commander.” (The New York Sun, September 29, 1919.)

After the complete debacle of the Denikin adventure, the American Press ceased publishing the statements of this famous Russian strategist and he disappeared from view.

After the retreat of the Red Army from Warsaw, when the “victorious” advance of the Wrangel forces into Russia was advertised to all the world, the name of Col. K. Shumsky suddenly appeared in one of the reactionary Russian newspapers published in Paris. *Posledniye Novosti* (The Latest News) announced that this famous Russian military expert would henceforth describe the military situation on the Russian front.

I have the first article from the pen of Colonel Shumsky under the title, “On the Main Red Front”. This article deserves comment not only because it has been quoted both in France and America. Colonel Shumsky does not like the method of the Soviet strategists. He considers the “new military art”, created by the Revolution, an absolute absurdity, which will bring the Bolsheviks to a complete disaster.

After the defeat at Warsaw, says Col. Shumsky, “the Red Army lost its importance for a long time. It lost also its precious initiative and cannot even resist the advancing Poles by means of more or less effective rearguard actions.” The swampy region of the western part of Russia, according to Col. Shumsky, was the only thing which saved the Red Army from general destruction. The famous expert enjoyed the rapidity with which the Polish army succeeded in capturing such important strategical points as Grodno, Pinsk, Proskurov, and Staro-Konstantinov. “Polish strategy,” he says, “is preparing a new military map for Polish diplomacy, and is establishing its lines of operation directed against Vilna, Minsk, and Baranovichi. By the capture of Proskurov the Poles are reminding the Bolsheviks of the existence of the Ukrainian cause, and of their strategical aim upon Kiev, as well as upon the Dnieper line, so important for Polish strategy.”

Col. Shumsky commiserates with the Soviet diplomatists who are forced by these unfavorable military conditions to negotiate peace in Riga. “Polish strategy,” he says, “can take any place and anything which its diplomacy may require and even more, and therefore the Bolsheviks have either

to capitulate to the Polish demands or undertake a most difficult problem, namely, to organize the fragments of their armies into a new fighting force.” Col. Shumsky does not think that there is any possibility of creating a strong army in Soviet Russia.

Now let us see how correct is Col. Shumsky in his authoritative conclusions. According to a military wireless communique from Moscow, dated October 18 (*The Christian Science Monitor*, October 20), “the Red troops have reoccupied Minsk, which has been abandoned by the Poles,” while in the Sarny direction, “several positions have been occupied by the Bolsheviks, and the enemy has been driven back to his original positions.” This dispatch also informs us that the Reds “have occupied several villages northeast of Novograd-Volynsk,” and that in the Letichev and Shepetovka regions “fierce fighting continues with alternating success,” while in the Novaya-Uzhitsa direction, “the Bolsheviks have reoccupied the town of Bar.”

This is enough to show clearly that the Red Army on the Polish front is far from being a disorganized body which has lost its fighting ability.

I agree with Col. Shumsky that the Polish front was the main front for the Soviet strategy, and that, therefore, it had to be liquidated, as soon as possible, in order that the Red command might concentrate upon the increasingly important Crimean front.

Colonel Shumsky failed to understand one important fact; that the Poles are enjoying the consequences of the only battle won by them, that at Warsaw. He did not realize that Soviet Russia did not lose the war. A lost battle does not mean that the campaign is lost, and even a lost campaign would not signify that the war was a failure. One of the Polish leaders, Daszynski, understood this, and warned the Polish people to conclude peace with the Soviets as soon as possible, because he was informed from very creditable sources, according to *Rosta* of September 13, “that the fresh reserves of the Red Army, which are concentrating behind the Russian battle-front, several times outnumber the whole Polish army.” This matter is overlooked by Col. Shumsky, whose interest it is to keep public opinion in France in confusion, as he kept in some confusion the public opinion of the United States, so long as it was possible. The most interesting part of Shumsky’s article is that in which he embarks upon the philosophy of war, quoting the words of a certain unknown social-philosopher who, I venture to surmise, is no one less than the Colonel himself.

“The course of a military victory,” says this anonymous philosopher, “is equal to the civilian victory, namely to the victory of the progress of humanity. The army and war is that special organ and that special function by means of which one culture—a superior culture—conquers another

culture—an inferior one. In such a struggle the superior will survive at the expense of the inferior." How do Colonel Shumsky's present hosts in Paris like this (to them) peculiar interpretation of the fortune of arms in the Franco-German war of 1870-1871?

"In this," continues the Colonel, "lies the tragedy of Bolshevik strategy and of the Red military organizers . . . The Bolshevik Revolution is a stranger to the principles which guided the revolutionary army of France. Revolutionary France successfully fought all Europe, whereas Red Russia, on the contrary, has already capitulated to numerous republics established round her borders, and once again is ready to lay down her arms at Riga."

Col. Shumsky does not like peace between Soviet Russia and Poland at all. He knows perfectly well, what such peace means to his present chief, Baron Wrangel. He calls a "capitulation" the friendly relations which Bolshevik diplomacy, thanks to the glorious success of the Red Army, has established with the neighboring republics, and which constituted a notable diplomatic victory over the whole imperialistic world.

I already stated in former articles that the Revolutionary Field General Staff, after having succeeded in concluding an armistice with the Poles, would at once undertake a series of serious operations against Wrangel, in order to liquidate the South Russian front before winter. I said that I was confident that the coming Red offensive in that theatre of war would be of a decisive character, and would result in the complete defeat of the Wrangel forces. We must not forget that Wrangel's military strength was due to the Russo-Polish War, and that his successes were the result of the development of the military operations between the Reds and their western enemy. The Crimean White army had only an auxiliary importance, and was never energetically fought by the Soviet troops, which merely barred the way to the advancing southern enemy. As soon as the hostilities on the Polish front lost their military importance and assumed a purely political character, following the signing of the armistice, the Red Army commenced active operations along the Southern front, and put an end to Wrangel's initiative. The Taman peninsula was very quickly cleared of the Wrangel forces, as was also the eastern coast of the Sea of Azov. The Soviet troops, after several long battles on the Alexandrovsk-Orekhov front, successfully defeated the enemy, forcing him back along the whole battle-line. Orekhov and Alexandrovsk fell into the hands of the Reds, while along the Dnieper the Soviet troops were so far victorious that they not only succeeded in crossing this river, but entrenched themselves along its eastern bank, thus holding positions of active defence, ready to resume their offensive as soon as fresh reserves would arrive.

In despair, the Crimean Baron launched a counter-offensive against the Soviet army, engaging all the reserves in his possession. Using tanks and

numerous artillery, with gas and the other destructive means of modern warfare so courteously put at his disposal by the Allies, Wrangel fruitlessly tried to arrest the unshaken advance of the Reds. This main counter-stroke was directed on the Karkhovka bridgehead, but without any result. In this battle Wrangel lost one of his important commanders, General Barbovich, with a tremendous number of killed and wounded. Many tanks and guns were captured by the Reds (and they need them badly), and in this sector practically the entire force of the Wrangel "army" was annihilated. Even the news from Sebastopol, of October 19 and 20, clearly showed that the "permanent" front of the Crimean Baron had already collapsed. Furthermore, according to *The Christian Science Monitor* of October 20, the Reds have again captured the town of Aleshki, southeast of Kherson, close to the right bank of the mouth of the Dnieper. Holding in the north the railway parallel Nikolovelsk - Apostolovo, Alexandrovsk - Volnovakha, and being masters of Mariupol and Berdiansk in the south, thus controlling the railway lines which connect these two seaports with the above-mentioned railway parallel lines, and controlling Aleshki in the west as well as another railway parallel extending behind the western bank of the Dnieper between Kherson and Yekaterinoslav, the Reds have practically surrounded the Wrangel forces operating north of Crimea, leaving at their disposal only a single railway line, Alexandrovsk-Simferopol, which can easily be cut off from the east and west by the Reds somewhere to the south of Melitopol.

This is the result of the revolutionary struggle of Soviet Russia which, according to Col. Shumsky, is capable only of laying down its arms and capitulating. This is the early result of the peace negotiations with Poland, and the consequence of the armistice, which, however bad, is an armistice at last. Some weeks ago, Baron Wrangel understood his critical position and sent General Mahrov to Warsaw, to persuade the Polish Government to continue the war against Soviet Russia.

Nothing has been heard of the decision reached by the Polish imperialistic leaders after they considered the plea of their former ally, whom they deserted at the most critical moment, but in case the Poles should break the armistice and continue the war against the Soviets, Wrangel will already have been put *hors de combat*, and the Russian Red Army will be able to meet the Poles unaided in the west, on the only front remaining after thirteen fronts have been liquidated by the Red Army, during its three years of constant fighting.

According to Colonel Mahin, a reactionary, whose article appeared in *Volya Rossii*, a Russian newspaper published in Prague, the total of Wrangel's force is not more than two army corps, or only about 100,000 men; and there is no doubt that, without Polish support, he cannot resist the Red pressure. "In spite of French support," says Colonel Mahin, "Baron Wrangel did not succeed

in forming a considerable army. In reality the famous Crimean army represents the remainder of the late volunteer army which partially reached Crimea from the Kuban region, and of some troops lately come from Poland." The attempt of Wrangel to form a strong force in Kuban and win the sympathy of the Kuban Cossacks, according to Colonel Mahin, was a "complete failure."

In a former article dealing with the reactionary insurgent bands, I predicted that the Don Cossacks, except for their bourgeois element, would never cooperate with Wrangel, and that he would be unable to raise the Don Cossack population in the rear of the Bolshevik army. And now, reading the local Russian newspapers I see that I was right, and that in the Don and Donetz regions, the bulk of the population is as hostile to Wrangel as it was to Denikin.

Summing up the strategical and political circumstances in which the Crimean Baron finds himself at the present moment, I come to the following conclusion: having been created by the Allies, and mostly by France, according to the necessities of strategical circumstances on the Polish front, with an idea of later use in the event of a complete Polish victory over the Soviets, and as a Russian reactionary force which should stop the Polish aggression towards the east and might perhaps even swallow Poland entirely, Wrangel could exist only in case Poland had brought the campaign to a victorious end. But this has not happened. In reality, Poland had already recognized her inability to accomplish her original strategical plan and, perforce, has accepted the armistice with the Soviets. In so doing Polish diplomacy condemned Wrangel's adventure to destruction.

Having been born of the Russo-Polish war, Wrangel must perish when the hostility on the Polish front ceases. This is the only logical development of events.

I was rather skeptical in regard to the sincerity of the Polish leaders in establishing a real peace with Moscow. The recent policy of Lloyd George toward Soviet Russia was not very promising, and

the supply of the Polish army through Danzig by the Allies, under Great Britain's protection, suggests that the Polish *szlachta* are keeping a loaded pistol behind their backs while signing an armistice with the Soviets. But events of great importance in England altered this grave situation. The strike of the local miners has put an end to any possibility for Polish imperialism either to threaten Soviet Russia with a renewal of hostilities, or even to be too ambitious during the negotiations of peace with the Soviet delegates.

The Polish army depends entirely on the supplies from the Allies. The coal strike will undoubtedly prevent the Allies from continuing such support of Poland for a considerable period. The expenditure of ammunition in the Polish army is tremendous, the need of coal, especially now with winter at hand, is great. The United States alone cannot support Poland without the cooperation of the guardian of the seas, who was so excited over the alleged appearance of Red submarines in the Gulf of Danzig. There is no doubt that the coal crisis in England may produce a condition in all the industrial countries of the world which will remove all possibility of further anti-Soviet adventures in spite of all their alleged political and economic importance to the future of the interested states.

The Polish statesmen at least must understand the gravity also of their position, and they have to recognize the peril impending upon their strategy, which is already exhausted and soon may be unable to support their ambitious policy any longer.

The general strike in Warsaw, and perhaps in Poland, was it not the first warning of the real situation in that country? There is no room for such strategical blunders as the occupation of Vilna by the Polish "insurgents" at the present critical moment. There is no time for hesitation or delay. Only a sincere peace with Soviet Russia can save Poland from very bitter experiences in the future.

## Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Fifth Instalment)

### *A Visit to a Factory*

IT IS impossible to get a general view of Russian economy. At least not today, for at present it has no limits. It is a gigantic field with thousands of variations in the character of the work, in the presuppositions of the raw materials, in the possibilities of transportation, climate, and individual psychology.

A capitalistic economy, an incipient Socialist economy, is not capable of being viewed as a whole anyway. No person in Germany knows German economy. If any man claims he knows German economy, he is presumptuous, impudent, a bluffer,

or a jackass. It is impossible to have a complete view of the economy of a single great city. Not even in the statistical departments, although the economic statisticians imagine that they have sounded the last depths of that economy. They suffer, most of them, from pathological systematization. They do not know life.

Individual fields can be controlled. One who has feeling for such things, who can make combinations, who can make figures live, who is able to understand facts, beholds the tendency, the direction, in which an economy is developing. He recognizes it, but, so to say, from samples. Only

a true Socialist economy will be a complete understandable economy, an economy capable of control. But Soviet Russia has not reached that point yet. The work of registration has progressed, has progressed considerably, but has by no means reached its culmination. We know how many factories are lying idle, we know the percentage of recession in production, the number of working and non-working laborers, and the like. But this does not mean having a full view of the economic life.

Visits to factories, inspection journeys, are therefore at most revealers of tendencies. But at the present stage of Russian economy they cannot be taken as obligatory indications even in this direction. They are, so to say, results taken on faith, results due to confidence, which for the tester may, to be sure, have the value of certainty.

Outside the city, on the ring that runs around Moscow, at the end of Karl Marx Street, there is a little factory, the so-called Russian-American factory, run and organized by Russian workers who have become skilled at their tasks in America. It is a factory with 120 laborers. A factory producing machine-tools, with good machines, with good management, and with good workers. I saw instruments of precision, splendid millimeter work, carefully fitted and calipered pieces of steel that were neatly kept; splendid drills and the like. The furnishing of this factory had not yet been completed, but what was ready of it clearly showed the quality nature of this little establishment. For me it was a fine example of crossed breeds: an example of the training of Russian workers in a foreign technology. This is a very important problem for Russian industry, as well as for Russian agriculture.

I am received by a very pleasant, very energetic worker. There is a recess in the work of the factory, a recess for lunch, about half-past twelve. The workmen and workwomen eat together. There is a fish soup, kasha, bread and tea. The food was sufficient and palatable, also quite clean. I was served a portion. I tasted it, although I had no appetite, and found everything clean and well-prepared. The head of the inspection was entirely satisfied with the wages and the food. There were high bonuses in this factory, for work of fine quality was being turned out. I was told of monthly salaries going as high as 15,000 rubles, in addition to good food furnished free, and working clothes and additional foodstuffs at low prices. This pay is by no means high, if we consider the present low purchasing power of money. Most of the workers at Moscow do not attain this pay, certainly not the ordinary clerks, but we cannot speak of a real famine. That would be exaggeration. Germany has had worse war-times; at least in its large cities.

I saw workers here in their normal working clothes. Wide brown suits with somewhat baggy trousers, but of durable material. These are in the nature of overalls, protective clothing. In the future they are to be distributed generally.

They resemble the French miners' costumes and are comfortable, enabling the worker to move inside of them. I remained in the factory about an hour.

Next day I visited the Prokhorov Factory near Moscow, accompanied by one of the managers of the Textile Combine. This is one of the biggest textile factories of Russia. The factory was quiet, for no fuel was available. The workers were repairing and taking care of the technical apparatus. We passed through a control at the entrance to the factory. A member of the factory committee, accompanied by specialists, led us.

Everything was in the best of order. Machines were ready to run, the looms and spindles were neat, spick and span, ready for work. Everything had been carefully laid out, in long rows, the whole length of the hall. The oil was flowing, and was renewed daily. The driving machinery had been cleaned, the lamps illuminating it had been carefully set. Protective devices were in perfect order.

Spinning works, weaving machinery, bleaching establishments, power house, switchboard, everything in order. The guides were proud of the condition of the factory and might well be. Only fuel was needed, and the gigantic apparatus could function perfectly the next day. The feeding wires were in place, the courts were being swept, everything was bright and clean. Fuel was ardently longed for.

We were shown the stocks of cloth. Immense heaps of bales in halls and factory spaces. All precisely registered. The manager of the combine made a test of the registration. The test turned out all right. Nothing had been prepared for us, our visit was not announced until shortly before our automobile set out, there was therefore no deception, we were dealing with facts. I saw good simple cotton cloth in immense quantities. (In the Zundel Factory near Moscow conditions are similar.) I saw colored and printed cloths, handsome patterns; they were the well-known Moscow cloths which had made their appearance in Germany already before the war. The Moscow textile industry is an absolutely modern industry in its fixtures. It has the best machines and the best methods. Then we visited the dining-room and the kitchen, an immense room. Dinner is taken in shifts. The kitchen was scoured, the kettles polished. New kettles are soon to be furnished. In the dining-room there are Soviet inscriptions and announcements of performances; it is evidently a sort of meeting-room.

The Prokhorov Factory is a veritable miniature city, one of the great Russian factories which are cities in themselves. In other words, the workers live in the factory. The owner formerly lived on the factory grounds, in a villa which is now a proletarian children's home. The workers' dwellings are barracks and are called barracks to this day. On the average there are six persons to a room. The workers might live more comfortably; they might have larger dwellings in the city, but they prefer to live on the factory grounds for the sake

of convenience at their work. This is only the transition period. But this transition is already significant, for cleanliness has entered the factories. The floors of the rooms are polished clean, the bedding was not objectionable. The clothing of the men and women was clean. The health pedagogues have done good work here; the health pedagogues in the factory committees will tolerate no dirt. The ovens and great samovars are outside on the landings of the barracks. The working-women are baking and preparing water for tea. Women and men were well nourished. I saw none that were emaciated.

School children (school and playground are on the factory grounds) are sent to the country during the summer to recuperate. The villa of the former landowner is now a home for children and infants, a home with many beds, with happy sisters, with playthings, with playrooms, with visiting children, with everything that a little fellow might desire.

I do not know how many factories in Russia have a model establishment of this kind. The Prokhorov Factory is a model factory in every respect. It is unfortunate that the railroads are overburdened with mobilization demands and are inefficient aside from that. Not a moment should such a factory be allowed to stand idle. Not a moment ought it to stand idle, for the workers of the factory want work, are calling for work, and are hoping every day for work.

After our tour of inspection we were invited to the meeting-room of the factory committee. We were entertained. I must say a few words about this entertainment.

Two heart-affecting episodes, two illuminating episodes I experienced at Moscow. Two truly heart-rending events, events that throw light on much. The conversation with Krzyzanowsky, the electricity director of Russia, the friend of Lenin, and that session with the factory committee of the Prokhorov Factory. The consultation with Krzyzanowsky showed me the economic sense of the Revolution; the session with the factory committee showed me its psychological sense. It was the first time that I had been served a meal in one of the producing centers of the proletariat out of its own resources, out of its own hospitality. There was a completely new world for me in the session room of the factory committee of the Prokhorov Factory. One member of the once very wealthy Prokhorov family of textile princes, had adapted himself to the situation. But he was no longer a private host. The host was the worker and he was host with them. The factory belongs to them. It belongs to them not in the sense of private property, it belongs to them in the sense of Socialism. It was an entirely new hospitality! it was a revolutionary hospitality; it was the hospitality of the new time. We were given fish, tea, small preserved fruits, bread, sugar; and these things were given to us with the authority of the proletariat, by the self-determination of the workers. This I admit was a new world for me.

Modesty, dignified matter-of-factness, was our host. Over the machines in the factory, and in the rooms of the barracks, ikons are hanging, but the workers are no longer humble, no longer down-cast.

The whole factory committee, with its chairman, was assembled. Accounts were heard of the armed defence of the factory against counter-revolutionists, and readiness was evident to defend the factory again, with arms, if the counter-revolutionists should again attack. The working force of this factory has actually conquered the factory, the authority over the factory.

There were questions and answers. We asked about the tasks of the factory committee, about the process of nationalization of the factories, about the influence of the unions on the administration of the factories, about the influence of the Communist fraction in the factory. The answers were clear, very definite, and swiftly formulated. I had absolutely the impression that I was in the presence of workers who were capable of leadership, workers empowered to control. I do not know in how many factories of Russia the workers are capable of such leadership, but those of the Prokhorov Factory near Moscow certainly are. The workers and we together were happy in the green-covered factory; they were happy with us in the entertainment room. They were modest, self-conscious, delighted with their work, and ready for self-defence. I believe that if anyone should attempt to conquer Soviet Russia by military force he would have to capture one factory after the other, after having first annihilated the Red front, and I believe that would be impossible. Lloyd George is quite right: Soviet Russia cannot be conquered by military force.

I heard of deficiencies in the Russian labor system; in fact I saw such deficiencies and shall speak of them later. But the working force of the Prokhorov Factory gave me high hopes for the working future of Russia, hopes in their educational possibilities, hopes in their qualifications. As yet Russia is by no means lost.

Next day we were again guests of the Prokhorov Factory. We were present at a session of the Communist fraction of the factory.

It was a small meeting, a Communist family meeting, as it were. We were made welcome, hopes in us were expressed, we were spoken of as lagging behind, a resolution was passed, and we were again entertained. It was again a friendly entertainment with their own materials.

The Communist fractions, which are often small fractions, control the factories, not by means of terror, but by the cleanness of their aims, by the consciousness of their work, the straightness of their program. They are not fractions who rule by force, they are disciplined fractions, model fractions, that is, fractions of model workers, of Communist Saturday workers. They hold the sceptre in their hands because they are themselves examples. Of course there are weak sisters, but this domination by example, this domination in the

consciousness of their work, through the firmness of their program, is a fact. They are phagocytic fractions. They must absorb the vicious juices, corrode and destroy them. The Russian Revolution was a revolution of phagocytes. In my book, *The Economic Organization of Soviet Russia*,\* I shall emphasize and prove this point.

They spoke, and we spoke. There were speeches and promises, assurances of solidarity from both sides, greetings, affectionate incidents, applauding shouts. Then the official portion of the meeting was over and we were about to go. We wished to go unostentatiously, that is, not through the center of the room, as we did not wish to disturb what was to follow. But we were amiably constrained to pass down the center.

As we thus moved out, the men and women, as we passed them, clapped for us. They clapped loudly and warmly, until we no longer could be seen from the hall.

The black-bearded, neat-limbed chairman of the meeting, with his linguistic talents and his good-natured manner of bossing the meeting, accompanied us to our car, as did also the chairman of the factory. There was waving of hands and off we went. I shall never forget this visit to the Prokhorov Factory. It threw light on the Revolution, more than any theory could. For the first time I understood what I had never before understood—since I had only dimly felt it. I understood what I had once set down in a little periodical, *Kommunismus*, the psychology of the revolution, and also the limitations of Marxism, its finished sections, and that which lies beyond it. By which I do not mean the outliving of Marxism, but the psychology of purposeful Marxism, of the Marxism of the goal, of good old Leninism. This is a new task, a great task, perhaps the greatest task of the coming centuries.

#### *The Explosion*

I was coming home from an economic study with that fine fellow Stunkel (organizer of metal workers), accompanied by the excellent Landa. We crossed the bridge over the Moskva, and the Kremlin, city of cupolas, was aglow; the church of Saint Basil was dying down in many colors.

We were passing over the Red Square. Swift clouds shot up into the heavens; there were sudden reports from afar. A window went to pieces in the building of the Commissariat of Labor. Pieces of glass fell upon the head of a passerby, who coughed and made off. The place immediately emptied. Its exits filled with scurrying people; the Iberian Madonna was deserted; only the candles were still burning before her.

New clouds darted by, unorganized clouds. There was no interval of order in the cannon shots, no measured tempo. There would be a sharp bang, a sulphurous report, then a low rumble, and then a whole family of concussions at once.

People were scurrying across the Theater Place.

\*The German title is "Die Wirtschaftsorganisation Sowjetrusslands"; we have not yet received a copy.

Plateglass was crashing everywhere. A great pressure of air was exerted against the Kremlin Wall, expanded, quickly filled the great place before the Kremlin city, exerted its force into Myasnitzkaya Street, smashed into windows, and scared off the people. The city was quaking and trembling, ground heaving, panes splintering.

What was the matter? There had been a reassuring notice in the newspapers. We had read that in the next few days woods were to be cleared in the vicinity of Moscow, for agronomical purposes, with the use of explosives. That would not have been serious.

We complained among ourselves: Russian lack of organization as always! Perhaps immense quantities of explosives have been set off instead of the smaller amounts needed, and now the explosion is progressing irresistibly. So we thought.

A sulphurous detonation. One explosion after the other, explosions like thunderbolts, explosions like a resounding blow, explosions with air pressure. The panes of our villa bend before the impact and the guests hold the weight of their bodies against the panes. The lilac-bushes in the park around the villa were swept by the moving air. Children crept into corners and listened timidly. This continued until late at night. What had happened?

Next morning I was told by the manager of the textile combine, to whom I have referred before, that a munitions depot near Moscow had blown up. It was a depot of old material, but yet a store of munitions. It was a terrible nuisance. No one knew whether the conflagration had been spontaneous or the result of counter-revolutionary attempt. Nothing had happened in Moscow aside from the smashing of the windows.

But, he said, breathing proudly, by eleven o'clock at night the whole Communist Party of Moscow had been mobilized, although it was a day of rest. Orders by telephone were very rapidly forwarded, and everybody, men and women with guns, with determination to resist, with determination to clean up what was wrong, had made ready to work.

The explosion had therefore caused a sort of general test of vigilance. The manoeuvre thus forced upon the populace had been successful, the party in Moscow appeared to be prepared even on days of rest.

Until then I had not known this state of readiness of the party; I had known nothing of this soldier-like discipline, of this constant readiness to answer the alarm, even in times of quiet. Not a readiness for trouble, with guns cocked, but a readiness with consciousness of purpose, with willingness for sacrifices in any moment of danger. Very few had been lacking.

Toward morning the series of noises had stopped, the smashing panes, the oppressed hearts were calm. Even on the western front I have rarely heard such a cannonade.

But they are ready at Moscow, ready to answer the alarm. They are ready to sacrifice themselves,



to submit to discipline, to jump in and help when danger arises; when swift disordered clouds, discordant clouds, shoot up into the air.

### *The Party*

The Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki) is a small party in number. It has not much more than 600,000 members, and the total population of the country is at least 150,000,000.

There are places, for instance, in the north of Russia, pretty big places, that have but few Communists. And yet the Communist Party rules Russia. It does not, to be sure, dominate all the souls of Russia, but the administrative apparatus, the army, is now in the hands of the Bolsheviki. At present the number is even less than 600,000, for many of the party Communists, perhaps the greater portion of them, are at the front. Moscow, for example, is managed by a few Communists. Never before has a Government ruled with the use of such slight human resources.

There must be reasons for this, serious reasons, reasons of weight. A people of 150,000,000 souls will not without serious reasons tolerate for years the domination of such a minority. A people has always the power to eliminate a minority rule if it has the will for such elimination.

The will for such elimination is lacking in Russia, and why? Because nobody knows what could be put in place of the Bolsheviki, who should assume power, and how the power could be exercised in any different manner.

Many people in Moscow spoke of Denikin with enthusiasm. But if you asked them what improvement Denikin could bring, they were silent. They do not know, and they cannot know, for no party, no wielders of power, could bring about anything essentially different or essentially superior to what the Bolsheviki have brought.

I nosed about for the cause, or the causes. For this is a problem of tremendous importance for the whole world. And I questioned, with as little prejudice as possible, in fact with no prejudice. I arrived at the following conclusion:

The assumption of power by the Bolsheviki was nothing else than the affirmation and the further organization of an existing condition. It was nothing more than the extension of an already present organization into a conquest of the immense difficulties of the nation with the aid of the proletariat. Everything else was merely of concomittant nature, was merely incidental, was capable of approval or disapproval, but not of essential importance. In my book *The Economic Organization of Soviet Russia*, I shall make an attempt to explain, to assign causes for this fact. I clearly understood the character of this revolution, which has truly been an ineluctable revolution. To be sure, its inevitableness was constantly guided by energetic men with an eye to the present opportunity.

Such was the cause of the seizure of power and already the first cause of the consolidation of power. Later, the power was solidified by means

of tactics, by means of a program very firm in principle, but very adaptable in situations, concerning which much nonsense is at present again being uttered. It was a program of Communist *Realpolitik*, of Communist diplomacy.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, proclaimed by the Communist Party in Russia, is a real dictatorship of the proletariat, for the overwhelming majority of the Russian proletariat, of the industrial proletariat, and of the small peasantry need the Bolshevik form of administration. Even that great part of the proletariat which does not have membership in the Communist party. On the other hand, it is a dictatorship of the Communist Party of Russia which is simply attempting to evaluate the necessities of evolution, to exploit and organize these necessities. This is in a nutshell all that need be said of the cause of Bolshevik domination.

Russia may not be Communistic in the majority, but it is a Sovietist majority. That is the secret. There is no longer any other system. At least not at this moment, and for many years to come. The system is subject to deviations, to departures for real political reasons—much nonsense is spoken on this point— but the system itself is today ineradicable. Even a Czar could not wipe it out. It would have to be a Soviet Czar, and therefore not a Czar at all. This fact simply must be accepted. Such is the state of affairs, and not otherwise; it is impossible to escape this situation, and Europe and America will only harm themselves if they think they can overcome it.

Perhaps it is possible to push the Communist Party of Russia out of power and to do one or two things in a manner different from its manner. But it is not possible to force back evolution. Evolution has now advanced so far that it is now no longer possible to go back. The only alternative is to make a chaos of the country.

The Communist Party of Russia takes part in all activities, programizes everything, sets up principles for everything, adorns itself perhaps with subsidiary principles and attempts to act accordingly. Like a Jesuit organization, it will not depart from the main principles, but is very elastic in subsidiaries. It is rigid and adaptable; it breeds statesmen, and, without departing from its principles, is ready for all sorts of concessions.

It controls the filling of positions, the political and economic administration. It controls the army with a few people; an army can only be controlled by a few, if these few recognize the needs of the army as the needs of the country. And it is a matter of indifference, at least for the moment, whether soldiers' councils of former competence, or political commissars, are the acting officials.

The Communist Party of Russia attempts to regulate national relations, jurisprudence, popular education, religious conditions, the entire economic life and the social policies of Soviet Russia. For this purpose the party needs a real discipline. It must be an advance guard, a troop of pioneers, a troop that fights to the end against all resistance

that may be still present (and we shall have more to say on these topics in this book).

For that reason the party has very stringent requirements. It will not admit everybody into its front lines. It selects, tests, decides on admission only after cautious examination. For the party might be much larger if it so desired. Many want to enter but are not admitted. For some wish to enter not for the responsibility of the position, but for the position itself.

For membership in the party ultimately means assumption of important positions. It also involves a certain protection. But the party cannot make use of any people in important posts, who do not belong to it with their hearts, and with a complete spirit of sacrifice. Those whom the party accepts, it accepts gladly and protects with all its power.

Of course there probably are, even in the Com-

munist Party of Russia, those whose hearts do not belong to the party, men and women who are eager for positions or who are flatterers or abject yielders. No party is safe against such elements, not even the Communist Party of Russia. At Moscow I heard many complaints that such pathological substances had crept into the party.

The Communist Party of Russia, in the war period, and particularly in the Kerensky period, was the only party that was prepared, even in defence of the Revolution of November, 1917, to assume power in a manner that would not hurl the country into an even greater catastrophe than it was then passing through. Even non-Communists told me that at Moscow.

Such, I judge from my Moscow experiences, is the mission and the essence of the Bolshevik authority.

## In Behalf of the Polish People

SPEECH BY KAMENEV

*[Stenographic report of a Joint Meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Moscow Council of Workmen's Delegates, Industrial Unions, and Shop Committees, held on May 5, 1920.]*

Comrade Kamenev, Chairman: The meeting will come to order. Comrades! A regular meeting of the Moscow Council of Workers' Delegates was to have been held yesterday. The questions of the day were the ones on which the whole working class of Russia and we had been centering our attention—the questions of economy and thrift. We had to postpone this meeting so that we might call today's meeting with but one point on the order of business: the situation on the Polish front. The offensive of the Polish nobility pushes aside the problems of the day, problems on which we had been laboring, and draws the attention, will, and energy of the working masses of Russia to the external fronts.

Comrades! The history of imperialistic Russia was a history of national oppression, of people subjugated by Czardom. The history of imperialistic Russia is a history of repeated outrages on the small nationalities that were integral units of the Russian Empire, an empire that was cemented together by Muscovy with blood and violence. And when a really revolutionary party had considered the task of the overthrow of the old Russian regime as an easy one, this party had to consider that the imperialistic government of old Russia was not only founded on the oppression of the masses of the Russian people, above all the millions of peasants, but, also on the indispensable Czaristic system enforced on all the borders of Russia,—a system of oppressing nationalities. That is why this party, which today through the will of the working-masses of Russia holds the power, had to draw up a clear program of national reconstruction; that is why the Communist Party of Russia, not in the year 1920 nor in 1917, not even in 1914, but long before the decision of the powers of the

World War on the question of the emancipation of small nationalities, had to answer and has answered, in an open and above-board manner, the question of its attitude to nationalities, minorities, and to peoples oppressed by Czarism and capitalism. Our answer was given long before the world conflict, and the Communist Party of Russia may boldly declare that, aside from the changing political or military situation, aside from the question of whether a party struggled for power or possessed it, the Communist Party always settled the problem of oppressed nationalities in one way—by giving them the complete right of self-determination. Our policy is not one of opportunism; it does not depend on the diplomatic or military map, but flows from a deep insight into the united interests of all the workers. That is why, when we had taken over the power in 1917, and though we have conducted war for two and a half years, we have ever been proclaiming the watchword of the right of all the nationalities, formerly oppressed in Russia, to separate themselves from Russia and to found their own states. And no lies thrown at Soviet Russia, no slander by bourgeois diplomats and editors, have blinded the masses of the people to the fact that in reference to oppressed nationalities the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet Government, directed by the same, have without any deviation from this recognized the right of Poland to guide its own destiny. Taking the above position, we have many times submitted to the Polish Government as it is constituted and as it is yet accepted by the working people, peace propositions, either directly or indirectly addressed to the governments standing behind Poland and directing its affairs. These propositions were re-

jected, and that is why the attention of the working-masses of Russia is directed to a new front, and for this reason we have to lay aside those questions which were considered in the order of business at our last Soviet and Party Congresses, and take up a new problem—the problem of the Polish front.

We are confronted by a new situation because the armies of the Polish bourgeoisie are standing at the gates of Kiev, and a new development arises in the Russian Revolution and in the history of the Soviet Republic. We are convinced that we shall withstand the new test in the same manner as we have withstood other critical moments in our struggles. We rely on two factors which have never failed us and which today form the guiding spirit of our victories. The first one is that of the class-consciousness of the working-masses of Poland, who despite all the obstructions raised by the Polish ruling class, know and feel that we are not only fighting for the independence of Soviet Russia, the freedom of the peasants and workers of Russia and Ukraine. Not only are we fighting for the gains made during the two and one-half years of bloody struggle against the counter-revolutionists of different groups and countries. No! The workers and peasants of Poland know that on the battle-fields of the western front we are struggling for their freedom, their emancipation from the yoke of the Polish nobility.

The second is our invincible Red Army. The Polish villages and cities have, more than once, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, seen armies composed of Russian workers and peasants, under the leaderships of the Czar's officials, generals and officers, advancing to crush Poland, to subdue its heroic insurrections. Now Poland will see an army consisting of Russian workers and peasants, led by workers and peasants or those officers who sincerely have taken their stand with the army of workers and peasants and the Soviet Government; she will see that this army is marching under the banner of emancipation and not aiming at conquest or repression; she will see an army which has progressed because the workers and peasants of Russia have directed it to defend the freedom and revolutionary achievements of the Russian people against the attempts of the Polish bourgeoisie. We are convinced that this army will arouse enthusiasm in the Polish peasants and workers, and the spirit in which they, the workers and peasants of Poland, who are thus being liberated from the oppression of Polish landowners and capitalists, will receive this army, will be the best assurance that our arms will triumph in this struggle as they did in all the battles with all the foes of the Soviet power. For the first time we can unfold the banner which was the symbol of all the true Russian revolutionists with regard to the nations in general, in reference to Poland. It bears the inscription: "For our and your freedom; for the fraternal unity of the Russian and Polish workers; for the destruction of those who desire to place a bayonet between the Polish and

Russian workers and to separate us with a wall of national hatred."

Comrades! Convinced are we that the battle will end victoriously, for today as formerly, behind the ranks of the Red Army, stand masses of workers full of sympathy and revolutionary fervor. We believe profoundly that the first units despatched to the western front by the Petrograd and Moscow workers are like the early swallows; that the workers and peasants of Russia will begin to advance to that front in broad masses and will bring there military materials, bread, and all that the Red Army needs. Incidentally, here today, we have among us three hundred happy workers who are on their way to the western front, mobilized in Petrograd. (Loud applause.) With them we can voice the motto, inscribed on their Red banners, glorified in battles and handed on by Petrograd workers to its forward post: "Death to Polish magnates, long live the alliance with the peasants and workers of Poland!" "Long live independent Poland, emancipated from the yoke of capitalists and landowners, and long live its free alliance with Soviet Russia." (Applause.)

Chairman: Comrade Lenin has the floor. (Applause.)

## Three Years

### Soviet Rule

When on November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks came into power in Russia, the capitalist press predicted that their rule would last only a few weeks. Since then, every now and again, a new capitalist press campaign against Soviet Russia gives the Soviet Government only a short time before it is overthrown. At this very moment, while such a campaign is in progress, the Soviet Government is preparing to celebrate on November 7, 1920, the Third Anniversary of its existence.

We take pleasure in announcing for next week, a special illustrated forty-page issue of SOVIET RUSSIA to commemorate the Third Anniversary of the November Revolution, and to show what Soviet rule has accomplished in Russia in the three years of its existence.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the

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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**J**OHAN SPARGO hastens to join the chorus of those who predict the imminent fall of the Soviet Government. In a special cable to the *New York Herald*, dated Paris, October 18, Mr. Spargo is declared to have interviewed many persons in Sweden, Germany, and Finland, "who had just come from Russia." Details of Mr. Spargo's prophecy are interesting only as indicating his peculiar mode of thought, which is the mode of thought of all persons who cut themselves off from the world as it is, and dwell in the world as they picture it. His remarks on what would happen if the Soviet Government should fall are particularly illuminating in this connection:

"What kind of regime will succeed the Soviets is a question. From my studies I have reached the conclusion that each little Russian village will for a time have its own independent government, as there is no likelihood of a return of the Czarist regime. Eventually these little independent governments will join hands, forming a strong republic."

This is ideology apart from the fact, with a vengeance. It is characteristic of the student of other than the social sciences to deal with isolated problems, with sharp outlines, ignoring all surrounding conditions that are non-essential. But we did not know Mr. Spargo was a physical scientist. In the field of history and sociology such isolations are very difficult to accomplish. If Russia existed apart from the rest of the world, and should be permitted to pursue her development without any interference from the outside, it might be possible to take Mr. Spargo's predictions seriously, but, as a matter of fact, Mr. Spargo is not acquainted with Russian conditions at all. The history of Europe in the twentieth century has shown that Russia, far from dwelling part from Europe, is intimately connected with the political and economic life of Western Europe. The ententes and alliances preceding the Great War never omitted an attempt to include Russia in their formations, and the present furious hatred of the imperialistic governments toward Soviet Russia is a reflection of the tremendous economic dislocation that is induced in other countries when they cut themselves off from Russia, or rather, cut Russia off from themselves. The life of Russia, even in its present blockaded and sequestered state, is indissolubly

connected, even in the minds of the administrators of the *cordon sanitaire*, with that of Europe. It is because he overlooks this fact that Mr. Spargo still has sufficient "detachment" and "peace of mind" to paint the pretty little idyl which we have quoted above. It is not inconceivable that Russia might develop little independent village communities, such with "its own independent government," if the terror of the imperialists at what has been accomplished in that country did not prevent them from letting Russia alone. How willing foreign governments are to have Russia develop from the point where "each little Russian village will for a time have its own independent government," is shown by their readiness to support every Czarist adventurer that seems disposed—with however little likelihood of success—to attempt the gigantic task of unseating a popular government established out of the blood and suffering of a hundred million persons. No idea is more unpalatable to the foreign governments than that Russia may have to be dealt with as a host of small communities, in fact, some governments are actually refusing to recognize the small border states who are more or less friendly to them, and insisting on the retention of some sort of powerful Russian centralization, so that the "powerful, united Russia" that may later be set up may be more grateful and useful to the powers favoring such centralization.

What "will succeed the Soviets," or rather, what would succeed the Soviets, if they should be overthrown is probably some form of colonial division of Russia among the great powers. Various Soviet leaders have pointed out this possibility since the very earliest days of intervention. But the immediate consequences of the supposed overthrow of the Soviet Government would be such as to make all predictions as to the remote future uncertain and unreliable, in view of the terrible conditions for Russia, and for the rest of the world, that they would involve. Immediately after the fall of the Soviet Government, the counter-revolutionary forces of Wrangel (or of Wrangel's successor, for we cannot believe that France will decline to put a new man in the field after Wrangel has been disposed of) would advance through the impoverished and semi-deserted towns and villages of Soviet Russia—and they would by that time be impoverished and deserted indeed—and inaugurate a system of terror and carnage that would be vastly more cruel and destructive than the deeds of Gallifet after the Paris Commune of 1871 or of the Rumanians and Horthy in Hungary in 1919 and 1920, after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Government. Eye-witnesses have described all these events, beginning with the circumstantial accounts (quoted from bourgeois journalists in Lissagaray's book on the Paris Commune) of Paris bourgeois ladies gouging out the eyes of captive workingmen, and of other amiable acts of vengeance wreaked upon the Paris proletariat after the overthrow of the Commune,—and ending with the all too recent accounts of newspaper correspondents from Hungary and parts of Germany.

What this would mean in Russia is almost too revolting to picture. If there are only 600,000 members of the Russian Communist Party, who are after all the guiding spirits in the march of events in Russia, we cannot imagine that a smaller number of Communists would be murdered (we shall not dwell on the preliminary tortures) by the advancing counter-revolutionary forces. Furthermore, there are a few million Jews in Russia: the resurgent Czarist anti-Semitism surely would not spare them. Then there are the hundreds of thousands of members of the Menshevik and other semi-liberal parties who protested against intervention and the blockade. Every reactionary officer returning to Russia with the victorious counter-revolution would have some such person on his list for proscription. Millions would perish if the Russian Revolution should be choked in blood; but Mr. Spargo pretends blood isn't being shed by the "saviors" of Russia and of course will not admit that much more would be shed if they should really be victorious;—but we do not think that France and England together, with all their Wrangels added, could overthrow the government that has tried against terrible odds to give the Russian people the bread, the land, the liberty they fought for.

PEASANTS are alleged in the newspapers to desire the overthrow of the Soviet Government, and some of their "representations" are even reported to have drawn up a protest (with only twelve points) covering their grievances. It would be ridiculous for this journal, because it is the Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, to deny that its home government has found the peasant problem a difficult one to deal with. The peasants have demands, demands for manufactured products, which it is very hard for the Soviet Government to satisfy. But this does not yet mean—as some New York newspapers would like to have it—that the peasants are ready to aid counter-revolution in substituting another government for that of the Soviets. For they know that while they may have grievances against the Soviet Government, they have nothing to hope for from a restored Czarism or from an occupation by the armies of the colonial powers. And this they know from their own recent experiences—experiences so recent that they will hardly be likely to forget them soon. The facts about the peasants might be briefly stated thus: They do not get from the Soviets as much as they want; they give perhaps more than they like; but when you have said this and amplified and exaggerated it as much as you like, you have yet to show that any other political group in or out of Russia seems likely to be able to provide better conditions for the peasants.

WHILE some political circles see their solution in refusing to allow the old Russia to divide into portions based on self-determination in ethnic units, others, France and England among

them, would prefer to see the process of the colonial parceling out of Russia begin at once. You have only to read through the conditions exacted by the French Government from Wrangel, as published a few weeks ago in the *Nation* (New York) to understand what are the hopes of France from the "South-Russian" Government in exchange "for promise of official recognition by France and diplomatic and military support against Soviet Russia." One of the clauses of this interesting document provides for "French financial and commercial councillors" to be assigned to "Russian financial and industrial ministries," "whose rights are to be determined in a special treaty." Thus Russia, or as much of it as the French Government would include in "Southern Russia", would become a sort of India, ruled by petty tyrants under the advice—actually under the rule—of foreign official advisers.

FOR years before the war Turkey was permitted to live in Europe for the reason that any attempt at handling the Turkish question by the big powers would produce in the so-called *concert of powers* a shrill dissonance not unlike that which was heard in Europe in the year 1914. And although the Sevres Peace Treaty with Turkey, as well as all the various agreements between the victorious nations, with regard to the division of Turkey, might suggest a solution of the Turkish tangle, this is far from true, not only because the national life of Turkey does not yet show any signs of certain dissolution, but also because the agreement of the victors between themselves is only a paper agreement. It has been justly remarked by many correspondents that only the fact of the recent war can keep some of the powers, notably France and England, from coming to blows on account of the former's advantages in the division of the lands (Arabia, Mesopotamia, etc.) that were formerly a part of Turkey. Nor can English domination in Constantinople be over-readily accepted by France. It will be remembered that France had a Monroe doctrine of its own with regard to matters chiefly financial—in Turkey. The doctrine of "protection of Catholics" (despite the fact of separation of church and state in France) and the control of the Ottoman Bank used to be strong cards in her hand, which seem to have lost their value just now.

The character of the treaty with Wrangel leads us to believe that France has come now to regard Russia in the same light as she does Turkey. That she will be badly disappointed, it is unnecessary to prove. But the fact itself strongly suggests the idea that the Soviet Government is a powerful force working for peace in Russia. Were it not for the strength of the Soviet Government, which was able to consolidate and unite Russia under one banner, and to hold by force the too covetous pretenders to Russia's resources, the very notion of peace in Europe would be a travesty. For who would expect the other big powers calmly to look on while France skimmed the cream in Russia?

# The Food Policy of the Soviet Government

By A. SVIDERSEY

(Member of the Board of the People's Food Commissariat)

**T**HE People's Food Commissariat is in charge of the state supply of the population. The leading organ of this Commissariat is, in accordance with the constitution of the R. S. F. S. R., a collegiate (board) appointed by the Council of People's Commissars and is headed by a People's Commissar appointed by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

In the localities the chief organs of the Food Commissariat are the Gubernia Provision Committees, the Uyezd Provision Committees and the District Provision Committees.\* In regard to organization the local Provision Committee organs are connected with the local Soviets and with the Provision Commissariat. In addition to this an organization connection exists between the provision organs of the producing gubernias and the workers of the consuming gubernias. This is achieved in the following way:

The Uyezd Provision Committees consist of Uyezd Provision Commissars, who are elected by the uyezd councils and confirmed by the Gubernia Food Commissars, and of a collegiate (board) which consists of persons appointed by the Uyezd Food Commissars of the uyezd councils (Soviets). The Gubernia Provision Committees consist of Gubernia Food Commissars who are elected by the gubernia Soviets and are confirmed by the People's Commissariat for Food Supply, and of a collegiate (board), whose members are appointed by the Gubernia Food Commissars and are confirmed by the executive organs of the gubernia Soviets. The District Food Committees are the provision organs supplying a number of volosts\* on the economic principle; these act in some places in lieu of the Uyezd Provision Committees. Their structure is on the same principle of organization as that of the Uyezd Food Committees and the Gubernia Food Committees.

The People's Food Commissariat has the right of delegating authorized persons to all the District, Uyezd, and Gubernia Food committees with a view of suspending decisions which may be contradictory to the decrees and the instructions of the central authorities, or appear inexpedient from the point of view of general state interests. The People's Food Commissariat has the right of including in every Uyezd Food Committee of a given gubernia, supplying grain, from one to one-half of the entire number of members of the Uyezd Provision Committee out of the number of candidates recommended by trade unions of workers, by Soviet organizations, and by various party associations of consuming gubernias who stand on the Soviet platform; in the same manner, representatives of Gubernia Food Committees of consuming gubernias may be delegated to every Gubernia Food

Commissariat; the general understanding is that one representative is sent from the capitals of Moscow and Petrograd, and one representative from the Army and the Navy; the complete number of the representatives of the Food Commissariat and of the consuming gubernias should consist of not less than one-third and not more than one-half of the entire number of the members of the Gubernia Provision Commissariats. The number of representatives of consuming gubernias in the Food organs of the producing gubernias is higher at the present time than the above-mentioned norm, and form approximately 80 per cent of the general number of the members of the Uyezd and Gubernia Boards of the Food Commissariat of the grain producing gubernias.

A special position in the general network of the organization of the food organs is occupied by the worker's food detachments, the provision army, and the organs of labor inspection. The workers' food detachments and the provision army taken together, represent one of the main levers in the activity of the People's Food Commissariat and its local organs, especially with regard to the provision of grain and of forage.

The food detachments are formed by the Military Food Bureau of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. The functions of these detachments are as follows: 1) the registration of harvests and surplus grain; 2) operations directly connected with the dispatch of grain to the granaries; 3) propaganda work to get the peasants to deliver all the surplus grain to the state; 4) rendering assistance to the transport and so forth. During the grain campaign of 1918-1919 the People's Food Commissariat had at its disposal 400 food detachments consisting of 13,000 men. For the present food campaign the number of food detachments was increased by another hundred which consisted of nearly 13,000 workers mobilized in the consuming gubernias.

The Food Army is entrusted with the duty of compulsorily obtaining all the surplus of grain in those cases where the owners decline to comply with the grain levy laid upon them. In the majority of cases, however, the Food Army is simply held in preparedness. Generally their mere presence in localities where grain is gathered is sufficient to insure the smooth delivery of all surplus, without recourse to compulsion. This was the prevailing state of things during the last grain campaign; it is also the prevailing state of things at the present moment. During the 1918-1919 season the food army numbered about 45,000 men. The increase of the food army for the current supply campaign is necessitated by the extension of the territory at the disposal of the state provision organs.

The Food Army is recruited from volunteers

\* Gubernia, uyezd and volost are territorial sub-divisions roughly corresponding to a state, county and village.

and those liable to military service, but whose state of health renders them unfit for such. From the point of view of organization the Food Army in its structure is similar to that of the Red Army, being subject to all the decrees applying to the latter and it may be utilized for military purposes should the need for this arise.

The organs of labor inspection are formed of class conscious intelligent workers, recommended by the trade unions. These are formed by the military Food Bureau (of the trade unions) and are under its supervision, but their activity is guided by the People's Food Commissariat. The task of the organs of labor inspection is to carry out class control over the activity of the Food Commissariat's institutions as well as of the local food organizations. Recently the Provision Labor Inspection merged with the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection which took the place of the State Control.

This is the business apparatus of the People's Food Commissariat and of its local organs. This is not a mere technical apparatus which collects grain by way of monetary payment at fixed state prices or by way of exchange of goods, collecting at the same time all other food products and articles of general consumption,—but it is an organ which is in every respect adapted to obtain grain and to carry on an organized and systematic struggle for the supply of food to the starving population.

Until recently the People's Food Commissariat in the center and the Food Committees in the localities, in addition to carrying out the functions of supply, also carried out all the functions of distribution. For this reason as far as their structural organization was concerned the food organs had to take into consideration the execution of tasks connected with all matters of distribution. At the present time, in accordance with a decree of the 20th of March, 1919, the functions of distribution are entirely transferred to the cooperative societies whilst the People's Food Commissariat, as a state organ, retains the right of control over the activity of the newly created distributing organizations.

These problems, the practical solution of which is entrusted by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and by the Council of the People's Commissars to the People's Food Commissariat and its local organizations are fully formulated by a number of decrees published consecutively during the period of almost three years' existence of the Soviet Government. By a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated May 27, 1918, the People's Food Commissariat was instructed to unite into one organ the entire supply of the population with articles of first necessity and of consumption, to organize on a national scale the distribution of these goods, and to prepare the transition to nationalization of Trade and Industry. By a later decree of the Council of the People's Commissars dated November 21, 1918, the Food Commissariat was instructed to organize the supply of all products serving personal and

domestic needs; the aim of this decree was the substitution of the private commercial apparatus by a systematic supply of the population with all necessities out of the Soviet cooperative distributing depots.

The above-mentioned decrees do not by far exhaust all the Soviet legislation by which the activity of the Food Commissariat is defined. But they mark the principal stages in the development of the functions of the food organs. Both decrees emphasize the gradual change of the Food Commissariat from a provision organ in the narrower sense of the word into an organ for the state supply of the population.

As regards the principal instruction which during the last two years were for various reasons and in various forms given to the People's Food Commissariat by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and by the Council of People's Commissars, it must be pointed out that these instructions amounted and continue to amount to the following: 1) the registration of articles of provision and of general consumption; 2) the institution of state monopoly for the chief articles of alimentation, and 3) distribution in accordance with the principle of class distinction: he who does not work neither shall he eat. A certain clarity was introduced in these basic postulates by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee's decree dated January 21, 1919: it was definitely pointed out which particular products constitute the monopoly of the state; these were: grain, forage, sugar, salt and tea; which kind of articles are to be collected on a state scale but not on monopoly principles, these included all meat products, fats, fish and so forth, and which may be obtained by large labor associations and freely brought to town for free sale in the open markets; to these categories belong potatoes and a few other articles.

The decree of January 21 clearly defined the extent of the authority of the food organs by the establishment of the two categories of monopolized and ordinary products. As it happened, this at the same time meant moving a step backward as far as the state supply was concerned. The same decree instructed the People's Food Commissariat with taking measures to improve its supply apparatus for the purpose of extending the state supply also to ordinary products. For the purpose of fulfilling this regulation a decree was issued on August 15, 1919, making the supply of potatoes a state monopoly and prohibiting to any organization, excepting state organs, the purchase of products which have by the decree of January 21 been attributed to ordinary products; this prohibition extended to five gubernias. Thus one of the chief principles of organization of state supply of the population was confirmed afresh.

Our food policy found its clearest expression in the decrees and instructions with regard to the supply of grain. The decree issued by the All-Russian Executive Committee and published on May 13, 1918, the purpose of which was to confirm the hard and fast rule regarding the grain monopoly

and making it incumbent upon every owner to turn over all supplies, excepting the quantity required for sowing and for personal consumption to the state food organs according to the established levy; this decree called upon all the laboring and poor peasants to unite immediately for the purpose of a resolute struggle against the grain profiteering peasants. The same decree endowed the People's Food Commissariat with extraordinary prerogatives including the right of applying armed force in cases where resistance is offered in the collection of corn or other food products. The main idea of the decree of May 13 is still more vividly expressed in the appeal of the Council of the People's Commissars issued to the population towards the end of May, 1918. Not a single step backward should be made with regard to the bread monopoly, was said in this appeal. Not the slightest increase of the fixed prices for grain! No independent storing of grain! All that is disciplined and class conscious—into a united organized food front! Strict execution of all the instructions of the Central Government! No independent activity! Complete revolutionary order all over the country. War to the profiteers! . . .

Not satisfied with the instructions regarding the principal idea of our food policy, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee by a decree dated June 11, 1918, on the organization of the supply of the village poor, has defined the form of organization in which the line of conduct towards the profiteers as well as to the sections of the village population who are guilty of hiding their surplus of grain are to be treated. Although subsequently, by a special regulation of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the established forms of organization have been removed, in its principal features the food supply policy remained as before and is remaining so until the present time. As in the past the policy is now based upon the organization of the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements of the villages against the profiteers, only under a different form, i. e., in so far as the obligatory grain levy applies also to the middle peasantry as long as it has a surplus of grain.

Of special significance in the food policy of the Soviet Government is the system of exchange of goods, which serves as a means of extracting the grain surplus from the villages: this policy by the way was also utilized by the Provisional Government. The policy of exchange of goods was first practically realized when, in accordance with a regulation of the Council of the People's Commissars passed on the 25th of March, 1918, the People's Food Commissariat was financed for that purpose to the extent of one milliard one hundred and sixty millions of rubles; later on, on the 2nd of April of the same year, a special decree was issued regarding exchange of goods; here all articles subject to goods exchange were enumerated and at the same time a special principle was established upon which all goods exchange is to be carried on; this principle consisted in attracting the poorer peasants to the organization of exchange

of commodities and the obligatory transfer of goods sent in exchange for grain to the disposal of the volost or district organizations for the purpose of its further distribution amongst the population in need of these goods. The establishment of this principle was dictated by necessity, as it was proved in practice that the exchange of grain leads to the accumulation of goods in the hands of the profiteers to the great disadvantage of the poor section of the peasantry.

A few months later it became necessary to introduce one more important addition into the system of goods exchange. It appeared that the decree of the 2nd of April is eluded in various ways by the grain owners; this was largely facilitated by the fact that the profiteers and the richer sections of the rural population were enabled to obtain the necessary goods from private sources and thus were not driven to the necessity of turning over their surplus to the state organs with a view of obtaining goods from them, which goods were in addition given to the disposal of the volost and village organizations. In order to deprive the grain owners of the opportunity of resorting to this dishonest method a decree was published on the 8th of August, 1918, concerning obligatory exchange of goods; the first paragraphs of this decree is to the following effect: For the purpose of facilitating the development of the decree issued on the 2nd of April regarding exchange of goods—in all villages and uyezds established for exchange of goods of the industrial gubernias as well as of all non-agricultural products exclusively for grain and other food products, as well as for hemp, flax, leather and so forth; this established system for the exchange of goods applies to cooperatives as well as to all state, public, and private institutions.

The decree concerning obligatory exchange of goods, which was necessitated by the need of storing all grain in the state granaries has in addition to the grain monopoly, also marked a way for the solution of one of the greatest problems in the transitional period from capitalism to Socialism—the problem of establishing definite economic relations between the industrial workers and the agricultural workers. It became necessary to proceed further along this road the more so that for the last two years the state reserve of goods shrank to a great extent. The next progressive step with regard to goods exchange was made on the 5th of August, 1919. The publication of a decree followed, by virtue of which: for the purpose of furthering and combining the decrees of the 2nd of April and of the 8th of August, 1918, concerning exchange of goods, and for the purpose of storing raw material and fuel for the reestablishment and the supply of the village population of the R. S. F. S. R. by the organs of the People's Food Commissariat and the cooperative societies with the produce of mining and manufacturing industries as well as with bread and other food products, is conducted on the sole condition of the delivery to the state organs of all the agricultural and home industry produce by the rural population.



To sum up all the above, the basis of the Soviet food policy may be defined in the following manner: 1) the introduction of the principle of the State supply of the population with food and articles of general consumption, 2) the establishment of a monopoly for the principal food products, 3) the development of state storing with regard to non-controlled products, 4) the introduction of compulsory collective exchange of goods in the rural districts for all products of agriculture and of home industry, 5) the establishment of a compulsory levy upon the population for the delivery of the surplus of grain and the more important products of agriculture, 6) a war for bread and for other products and articles of general consumption necessary to the town against the profiteering peasant elements, which is waged in alliance with the proletarian and semi-proletarian sections of the villages and, 7) favorable terms of supply to the workers as against the non-working sections of the population.

#### STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU

New York, October 26, 1920.

Confirmation of the report that Washington D. Vanderlip of California, representing a syndicate of Pacific Coast capitalists, has concluded an extensive arrangement with the Russian Soviet Government for the development of natural resources in Northeastern Siberia, was contained in a cable received today by the Soviet Government Bureau in New York from George Chicherin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Moscow. Mr. Chicherin's cable is directed to Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Soviet Government in America, and reads as follows:

"On October 22 there was announced the consummation of the deal proposed by the Vanderlip syndicate, comprising Vanderlip, Barnt, Harry Chandler, Sartori, Le Phillips, Fishburn, Edward L. Doheny, Gibbon, Jayne, Whittier, Stewart and Braun, all Pacific coast capitalists. The syndicate acquires a sixty-year lease of territory east of the one hundred and sixtieth meridian, including Kamchakta, an area of 400,000 square miles, with exclusive rights to exploit coal, oil, and fisheries. Vast oil strata and bituminous coal deposits have been discovered in this territory. The syndicate expects to take possession and commence operations in the spring of 1921. The same syndicate is also acquiring a lease, with the right to purchase, of the Seattle waterfront property purchased by the Czar's Government. Negotiations are proceeding successfully whereby this syndicate will become our fiscal agents in America, financing purchases up to \$500,000,000; all purchases to be made through your office.

(Signed) CHICHERIN."

The consummation of this arrangement with the Vanderlip syndicate marks a notably success-

ful achievement in the long endeavor of the Soviet Government to enter into mutually advantageous relations with American business men. Development of the vast natural resources of Russia in fuel, minerals, timber, and other products, is an undertaking for which American industrial and technical talents are especially suited. Russia greatly needs the skilled services of American technical and industrial specialists in all branches. It may confidently be predicted that the Vanderlip concession is only the first of many similar arrangements whereby the enterprise and ability of Americans will be enlisted in the development of Russia. Although the details of the Vanderlip concession have not reached us, it may be assumed that the contract provides full security and reasonable profits to the American operators, and at the same time, carefully safeguards in every respect the rights of the workers in the territories to be developed. Foreign capitalists, taking up concessions in Soviet Russia, will be required to respect the sovereignty of the Soviet Republic, and to conform to the laws of the Soviet Government respecting the protection of labor and the democratic management of industry. It is evident that Mr. Vanderlip, after a visit to Russia and a thorough discussion of his proposition with the Soviet authorities, decided that it was altogether practical and profitable for foreign capitalists to enter into business relations with the Soviet Government. This has long been the contention of the Soviet Government, which has always insisted that Russia needed the assistance of outside forces, and that, moreover, the rest of the world could not get on without Russia. With the successful conclusion of peace with Poland and with the rapidly approaching dispersal of all counter-revolutionary elements, Soviet Russia is now on the threshold of an era of peaceful organization and productivity.

#### ALLIED CAPITAL IN THE CRIMEA

SEBASTOPOL, August 28.—The united merchant fleet of the Black Sea has been bought up by foreign capital. The greater part of the stock of a large Russian steamship company has been bought by the English. Also the industrial enterprises in the Wrangel territory are being readily taken over by the French and English capitalists.

#### RUSSIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS PERSIA

A despatch issued from Moscow under date of August 31 states:

"Chicherin sent a wireless message to Osoffar Khan, the Persian plenipotentiary in London, informing him that the Russian Soviet Government would be glad to receive the Persian envoy in Moscow and that all steps will be taken to facilitate his journey from Tiflis."

## Recent Economic Reports from Russia

### LOCOMOTIVES

*Economic Life* gives the following account of the general number and state of the locomotives of the entire Russian railway system on the 20th of July, 1920:

The daily accounts of 26 lines give 16,608 locomotives. In addition to this at the Turkestan, Southwestern, and evacuated railways there are 2,735 locomotives, making a total of 18,803 locomotives. Out of the 16,068 there are 9,068 or 56.45 of the general number out of repair.

On the 1st of July the percentage of out of repair locomotives was 58.2 per cent, on the 1st of April 60.7 per cent. This shows a slight decrease.

### EXPORT OF PETROLEUM

According to *Economic Life* the export of petroleum products from Grozny is fairly successful. From 200 to 250 cisterns are exported on the railway from Grozny. In addition to this about 80,000 poods are pumped by the petroleum ducts to Petrovsk. Altogether for the period from the 1st of April to the 31st of July inclusive the number of cisterns exported from Grozny by rail amounts to 19,400, holding 14,880,846 poods. From the 12th of June to the 31st of July 3,665,117 poods of petroleum products were sent, making a total of 18,545,963 poods.

According to *Economic Life*, the output of petroleum in the Baku district in all the working-places, with the exception of the South Valakhan-sky district, amounts to 14,100 poods in June, 1920.

The reserve of petroleum in the above mentioned industrial districts on July 1 is 32,638 poods.

### ELECTROTECHNICAL CONSTRUCTION

The Russian proletariat has gained one more victory upon the labor front. A new powerful electric station has recently been opened near the town of Tula. This station is capable of generating a power amounting to 20,000 volts. This new electric transmission has been erected by the Administration of Electrotechnical Constructions of the Committee of State Constructions within six and a half months, from February to July, 1920. This must be considered to be a very short period even for peace time.

The electric transmission at the Sudakov Works, which is within 14 versts of Tula, gives 3,000 kilowatts under a pressure of 17,500 volts, thus enabling the Tula factories to work intensively. The electric station is to be worked by Moscow coal, the collieries of which are situated within four versts of the electric station. The electric transmission is connected with the Tula electric station; the surplus of energy will be given to the town of Tula for municipal and private use.

In view of the fact that the cultural significance of the estate of Yasnaya Poliana, formerly owned by Leo Tolstoy, which is within two to three versts from the station, is universal, a transmission is to be installed both on the estate as well as in the village of Yasnaya Poliana.

### SATURDAYINGS (SUBBOTNIKS)

At the Communist *Subbotniks* at Moscow for the month of April 84,768 persons worked; these include 16,065 communists and 66,963 non-party members.

The great majority of these worked in connection with fuel and transport needs. Besides a number of subsidiary tasks, the following was performed at the *Subbotniks*:

Eight hundred and twenty-eight railway cars were loaded and unloaded, 13 locomotives were repaired, as well as 37 cars and 31 engines. A total of 500,000 poods has been replaced.

### URAL METAL INDUSTRY

The general state of the Ural metal industry may be judged from the principal Ural industry, that of pig-iron smelting. In the first half year of 1920 the smelting of pig iron has been effected to only 50 per cent of the proposed amount. This comparatively low output is to be explained chiefly by the fuel crisis, which has been particularly acute in the Yekaterinburg and Visogorsk districts. At the present time energetic measures are being taken for the improvement of the fuel supply of the Urals and there may be expected in the future an increase in the smelting of pig iron.

### TEXTILE INDUSTRY

In the recent past the Russian textile industry passed through an acute crisis, owing to the lack of raw materials. Turkestan, which is the principle district supplying the textile industry with raw materials, was for a long time cut off from the center of the Republic. In 1918-1919 only about 3,000,000 poods were received from Turkestan, whilst the Russian textile industry required about 20,000,000 poods of cotton. The cessation of military operations in the Turkestan district and the reestablishment of communications between the central industrial districts of the Republic with Turkestan had made possible an increased export of cotton and wool to the Soviet Republic. From the 1st of June to the 5th of August 2,798 carloads of wool had been exported to Russia from Turkestan. It is necessary to point out the gradual monthly increase in the export of cotton. In June, 1920, 869 carloads were sent from Turkestan to the town of Samara. In July, 1,222 carloads, while 242 carloads were sent for the five days of August.

### PRODUCTION OF COAL

The Moscow District Coal Basin is the only one of all the coal basins which, during the process of the development of the civil war, was not cut off from Soviet Russia even for a single day. This was the reason why the Soviet Government had to pay serious attention to this coal basin, and here, more than anywhere else, the achievement of the Soviet Government in the sphere of the organization of the coal industry appears at its clearest and best.

Prior to the November Revolution the Moscow District Coal Basin was in a deplorable state. A general idea of the Moscow Coal Basin at the time of its nationalization is easily obtained when we mention the following conditions prevailing there; these include: primitive exploitation of the mines, looting, a shameless exploitation of the Austrian prisoners of war working in the mines, and an acute housing crisis. Thus, immediately upon its nationalization of the mines, the Soviet Government was faced with the tremendous work of organization of the Moscow basin upon new lines. First of all, the reserve of coal in the district had to be established. For this purpose, for the first time in its existence, extensive investigation of the mines was carried out. The result has proved most favorable. The Bobrikov district may serve as an example. The reserves of this district may be estimated at one billion poods (16,000,000 long tons).

The discovery of rich layers has led to the increase of the output of coal. The technical installation of the Moscow District Basin is being improved with a view to this. The plan for the electrification of the district is being carried out. Two large electric stations are to be erected shortly; one at Tovarkovo and another at Pobedenka. The entire basin is to be covered with a network of small stations. Underground electric lighting is also installed. A wide gauge railway coal-branch is being organized and built. In the last two years 12 branches have been built which are already in working order; the total length of these is about 30 versts. In addition to this about 24 versts are being built and a number of additional branches are to be built shortly.

The technical equipment of the collieries is also being improved. The more neglected collieries are being shut down and new ones opened instead. The actual mining is also improved by the introduction of the latest methods of exploitation. For the first time powder and dynamite are being used in the Moscow District Basin in coal mining; this has of course increased the output.

The enumeration of innovations introduced in the Moscow District would remain incomplete without the mention of the measures taken for the amelioration of the housing crisis. During the building season of 1920, house-construction has been largely extended in every district of the basin. All these measures which had been introduced by the Moscow District Basin of course resulted in an increase of the output of coal. In 1918 the output

of coal amounted to 13.4 million poods; in 1919, 24.2 millions, while for the first half of 1920, it amounted to 16.9 million poods.

The following figures give an idea of the output of coal for the first half year of 1920, as compared with the same interval of time in 1919.

| Month:         | Output in Poods |            | Increase<br>Per Cent |
|----------------|-----------------|------------|----------------------|
|                | 1919            | 1920       |                      |
| January .....  | 1,923,807       | 2,343,484  | 21                   |
| February ..... | 2,523,162       | 3,040,184  | 21                   |
| March .....    | 2,947,864       | 3,745,825  | 26                   |
| April .....    | 1,658,647       | 2,216,931  | 34                   |
| May .....      | 1,831,962       | 2,471,931  | 35                   |
| June .....     | 1,611,610       | 3,091,482  | 92                   |
|                | 12,497,052      | 16,909,837 | 35                   |

Thus the average increase of output for the first half-year of 1920 is expressed by the figure of 35 per cent. This is the result of the work of two years by the Soviet Government or its organs in the Moscow District Basin. This gives us full confidence that in the future the output of coal in the Moscow District Basin will be increased and that the intended program of the Moscow District for 1921, to the amount of 60 million poods, will be successfully carried out.

### PUBLIC FEEDING

The Moscow Cooperative Society has published the following comparative figures concerning the state of public feeding for the last three years:

In 1918 there were 204 public eating-houses in Moscow for adults; these fed 112,195 persons daily; in 1919 there were 452 eating-houses, capable of feeding 306,299 persons. In 1920 the number of eating-houses had grown to 617, providing 609,660 persons daily. In 1918 there were no children's eating houses at all; in 1919 there were 98, providing for 106,230 children; in 1920, there were 107, feeding 200,684 children.

### THE FOOD SITUATION

At the plenary session of the Moscow Soviet, the assistant commissar of the Food Commissariat, Comrade Brukhanov, published the following data regarding the food situation in Soviet Russia:

In 1917-1918 the food preparing campaign had passed through the distributing organs of the republic about 30,000,000 poods of grain. In 1918-1919 the preparation of grain was considerably better: the distributing organs passed 109 millions of poods. The 1919-1920 campaign was to provide a reserve of 326 million poods of grain, 307 millions of poods were intended to be obtained in the producing gubernias, and about 20 million in the consuming gubernias. Altogether, in the producing gubernias, 165 millions of poods were obtained, and 15 millions of poods in the consuming gubernias. In addition to this, 27 millions of poods of grain were obtained in Siberia, and about 10 millions of poods in the Northern Caucasus, 16 millions of poods of grain will be obtained. The short-of poods at the various fronts. Thus altogether the past grain campaign resulted in the gathering of 260 millions of poods of grain. For the coming campaign, owing to the bad harvest, only 150 millions of poods of corn will be obtained. The short-

age will be covered by means of outside districts. The People's Commissariat for Food hopes to obtain 110 millions of poods of grain in Siberia, and 120 millions of poods in the Northern Caucasus. Thus a total of 380 millions of poods of grain will be obtained, a figure which approximates the actual requirements of the republic.

### SOVIET RUSSIA'S PEACE OFFENSIVE

By ADOLPH YOFFE

Simultaneously with the military offensive against the Polish Whites, Soviet Russia is successfully unfolding her peace offensive against world imperialism.

A program of peace, the demonstration of her peaceful intentions, proof not only in words, but in deeds of the impossibility of defensive campaigns against Russia, owing to the fact that she has neither threatened nor attacked anyone,—this has always been the strongest, both defensive and offensive, argument of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia against the attack of imperialism.

Our foes have long ago become aware of the fact that the Soviet power has too many friends among those who still form the majority of these foes. They have long ago come to the conclusion that on this account an open struggle against Soviet Russia aiming at her destruction is absolutely impossible. Hence the imperialists have always screened their desire to crush the proletarian revolution with hypocritical and false reasons, alleging that it was necessary to defend the interests of the small nations against Russia. Not so long ago imperialist Europe, with these slogans, succeeded in organizing the bands of Yudenich and of the Esthonian White Guards for a campaign against Petrograd, if not with actual aid, at least with the passive consent and sympathy of the democratic masses and small nations. And it is not without reason that even strongly aggressive Poland until recently included in her imperialist peace program the demand that "Russia recognize the independence of the border states."

To this program of falsehood and calumny Soviet Russia opposed her honest program of peace based on the recognition of the right of all peoples to free self-determination.

And while the Entente, proclaiming itself the defender of small nations, actually violated one small nation after another; while the League of Nations, which was created to serve as a strong drug for weak minds, was ever more revealed as a mere dummy, Russia, persistently unfolding her peace offensive, has been winning over one of her former foes after another. And when, only about a year after the farce of Prince's Islands, England made a new offer to act as mediator between Russia and the border states, in the interests of peace in Eastern Europe, Russia was already in a position to give the proud reply that she did not need the hypocritical mediation of England, for, without this mediation, and despite the intrigues of the

Entente, she had already concluded peace with almost all her small neighbors, and those who have not come to reason she is ready to bring to reason by force of arms, in order to conclude peace with them on the same basis of self-determination of peoples.

After Esthonia—Georgia, after Georgia—Lithuania, after Lithuania—Latvia, then Finland and, lastly, Poland, which if not yet quite reasonable is gradually turning to a more sensible policy. All the nations that surround Russia are becoming convinced that unlike the Entente, which professes to be concerned about their interests and about defending their rights but which actually plunders them, Soviet Russia alone of all the powers actually defends their rights and interests, actually gives them what is their just due.

The Entente has lost the title of defender of the rights of oppressed peoples, and it has been won by Soviet Russia. The small oppressed nations have discovered the fraud of the Entente and have broken away, turning their eyes toward Russia as the oppressed classes have done long ago.

The yarn of Soviet imperialism and Russian aggression has come to an end; no one believes it any longer, no one therefore believes that any defense is needed against Russia. The dullest minds in Europe already clearly understand that the attack on Russia is not for the purpose of defense, that it is the work of hangmen. And democratic Europe does not want to act this part any longer. Even bourgeois democracy, partly perhaps because it no longer believes that it is possible to conquer Soviet Russia, refuses to aid any effort directed against Russia. Aggressive imperialism remains without allies.

The struggle is not over, and bloody battles are still ahead. But the peace policy of Soviet Russia, in conjunction with the successes of the Red Army, will secure her final victory.—*Pravda*, Petrograd, August 22, 1920.

## Volume Two

Volume II of SOVIET RUSSIA (January to June, 1920) has been sent out to all who have ordered it. A few of the bound volumes (cloth, stamped in gold) may still be obtained if ordered at once.

*Price Five Dollars, payment in advance*

ADDRESS

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New York, N. Y.

# Documents

## ANGLO-RUSSIAN NOTES

*We print below the full text of the Note addressed to Chicherin by Lord Curzon, dated October 1, and the reply made by M. Krassin on behalf of the Soviet Government.*

### I

*Note addressed to Chicherin by Lord Curzon, October 1, 1920.*

In their Note of July 1 His Majesty's Government laid down certain conditions on which they were prepared to resume trade relations between Great Britain and Russia. These conditions were accepted by the Soviet Government in Monsieur Chicherin's telegram of July 7, and it was on these conditions that Messieurs Kamenev and Krassin were admitted to this country and negotiations were resumed. At their meeting with the Prime Minister on August 4 they made it clear that they were fully aware of this.

By these conditions the Soviet Government undertook both for itself and on behalf of its delegates:

a. To refrain from hostile actions and propaganda, direct or indirect, against the institutions of this country.

b. To refrain from any attempt, by military action or by propaganda, to encourage the peoples of Asia in any form of action hostile to British interests or the British Empire.

c. To permit all British subjects in Russia to return home immediately, Russian subjects in Great Britain or other parts of the British Empire who desire to return to Russia being similarly released.

These conditions have been and are being flagrantly violated. Monsieur Kamenev engaged in almost open propaganda, and attempted to subsidize a campaign in England against the British Constitution and British institutions and for these reasons he could not have been permitted to re-enter this country.

The message which the Prime Minister handed to Monsieur Kamenev when he left London, and in which the question was directly asked of the Soviet Government whether it did or did not intend to desist from propaganda, has received neither acknowledgment nor reply.

The recent meeting at Moscow of the Third Internationale, which was presided over by Monsieur Lenin, and attended by the members of the Soviet Government, openly proclaimed that the intention of the Communist Party, and therefore of the Soviet Government, is to use every means to overthrow existing institutions throughout the world.

In the wireless messages to the world, the Soviet Government, through its individual members and through its press, has never ceased to preach hostility to Great Britain and the British Empire. The Soviet Government recently convened a revolutionary conference of Asiatic peoples at Baku, avowedly aimed at British interests. Its actions in the Caucasus, in Persia, in Central Asia, and in Afghanistan, openly directed against Great Britain, are well known to the British Government. Above all, in spite of long-continued negotiations and of a sincere and steadfast desire on the part of the British Government to carry out the conditions with regard to the mutual repatriation of nationals, British subjects continue to languish in Russian jails, or are refused permission to leave the country.

The persistent violation of these conditions can no longer be permitted. The negotiations for a trading agreement with M. Krassin to which His Majesty's Government looked forward, as the first step, not merely towards the revival of material prosperity in Eastern Europe, but towards the restoration of peace have reached a point at which it is necessary to decide definitely whether the conditions under which alone they

have been authorized are being, and will continue to be, fulfilled, or whether the negotiations must be abandoned on the very threshold of success.

The answer to this question rests with the Soviet Government. It is impossible for His Majesty's Government to carry the agreement to its final stage so long as the three conditions of their Note of July 1 remain unfulfilled.

The Soviet Government must carry out its own undertaking to desist from hostile propaganda and action in this country and in the East. Every British subject now detained in Russia, some of them in circumstances of inexcusable hardship and suffering, must be permitted to return to this country without further delay. His Majesty's Government cannot acquiesce in the continued violation of a solemn undertaking involving grave injury to British subjects.

The negotiations for a full exchange of prisoners, whether naval, military, or civilian, between Russia and Great Britain have now been proceeding with little or no intermission since November of last year.

His Majesty's Government have throughout been ready to repatriate all Russians without distinction and without exception. It was M. Litvinov who insisted on excluding from the exchange persons whom he declined to designate, but who were vaguely described as grave offenders, although the nature of their alleged offence has in no case been proved.

For a time, under the arrangement concluded between M. Litvinov and Mr. O'Grady, the work of repatriation proceeded, and by the end of June of this year 124 British prisoners of war and 727 British civilians had arrived in England, and all the Russian prisoners of war actually in this country, as well as in Switzerland (for the area of operation had been extended), had been returned. Since that date a series of obstacles has been placed by the Soviet authorities in the way of complete repatriation. The majority of the members of the British Military Mission to the number, it is believed, of fifteen, who were captured in Siberia as long ago as December and January, still remain in confinement in Russian territory.

Adequate steps to make known to British subjects the fact that they were at liberty to leave Russia were not taken by the Soviet Government. No announcement on the subject was published locally in Russia, in spite of a positive statement by M. Litvinov that the widest possible publicity had been given to the fact by all local Soviets. When M. Kamenev left London on September 11 there were still in Russia, apart from the Siberian Military Mission already mentioned, a considerable number of British civilians, inquiries regarding eighty-one of whom had been received by me, and a list of whom was handed to M. Kamenev. I have since received further inquiries.

A third and even more painful case is that of the British subjects, about seventy-two in number, who were seized and thrown into prison by the Soviet authorities at Baku, when the Bolshevik revolution took place in that town. They included the British Consular representative at Baku.

Our repeated endeavors to communicate with Baku direct proved fruitless. Monsieur Litvinov then offered to transmit a message to the Azerbaijan Government, and to use the good offices of the Soviet Government of Moscow to obtain the release of these unfortunate and innocent persons, who were reported to us as receiving treatment of the most cruel description.

A message was in fact sent, but the only response has been a proposal to exchange the British subjects for a number of Turks at Malta, who had been convicted of attempting to overthrow the Government of Turkey, or of having committed atrocities against the non-Moslem population of that country.

We have ample evidence to show that the Baku revolution was brought about in consultation with your Government, and mainly through the instrumentality of your troops. The continuance of your responsibility is demonstrated by a telegraphic message received as recently as September 28 from the Georgian Consul at Baku to the effect that though he had obtained permission from the Azerbaijan Soviet a fortnight earlier for the release of the British naval and military prisoners below the rank of officer, this order has been vetoed at Moscow.

Meanwhile, there remain in British hands in different parts of the British Empire—the great bulk having already been repatriated—a very limited number of Russian subjects, of whom, whether they have or have not been guilty of offences against the law of the country, we desire to be rid. In this country there remain M. Babushkin and his companions, five in number, who have been detained here on their repatriation from India solely as a means of inducing the Soviet Government to proceed to the fulfilment of their undertaking.

His Majesty's Government has gone further than negotiate about individual groups or cases. On September 6, I telegraphed a proposal that we should agree upon a common date and places for the simultaneous delivery of all our respective nationals, wherever they might be detained. I have received no reply to this message. This conditions of affairs cannot be permitted to continue.

The negotiations for the actual release of prisoners cannot any longer be suspended or retarded by artificial and heartless delays. Still more, it is impossible for His Majesty's Government to append their signature to a trade agreement with a government that thus treats not only its undertakings, but the subjects of a country with which its representatives are at the time engaged in friendly negotiations.

We have given an undertaking, to which we have scrupulously adhered, that we shall not assist in any hostile action against the Soviet Government, but, unless by October 10 we have definite evidence that the conditions laid down as to the release of British prisoners are being complied with, we shall take whatever action we consider necessary to secure their release.

## II

*Note by Krassin dated October 6, in reply to Lord Curzon.*

Mr. Krassin presents his compliments to the Right Honorable D. Lloyd George, and with reference to Lord Curzon's Note of October 1, begs to make the following statement, at the request of the Russian Government.

A conference of June 29, between the Russian Delegation and the Prime Minister, preceded the handing to the Delegation of the Note of June 30 from the British Government. At this conference the Prime Minister laid down, on behalf of the British Government, the conditions which were afterwards incorporated in the Note of June 30.

The Prime Minister, after having stated the above conditions, declared during the said conference that, should the Russian Government accept the conditions put forward by the British Government, and should an affirmative reply from the Russian Government be received at Spa by the Prime Minister not later than July 9, the Prime Minister would make a declaration at Spa to the effect that England would resume trade relations with Soviet Russia irrespective of the position taken up by other Allies and particularly by France, in connection with this matter. Further, the Prime Minister declared that a favorable reply from the Russian Government would create conditions equivalent to a truce, and that the British Government would be ready to enter immediately into political negotiations leading to the conclusion of a general peace.

The Russian Government, upon receipt of the Note of the British Government of June 30, decided to accept

all the conditions stated in the above Note, and on July 7 cabled its decision to the British Government.

Thus the reply of the Russian Government, agreeing to the conditions put forward by the British Prime Minister, was given before the stipulated date, and the Delegation appointed by the Soviet Government for this purpose assumed that immediately upon its arrival in England the promised resumption of trade negotiations between Russia and Great Britain would commence.

From the moment of the presentation of this Note of June 30 to the moment of the receipt of the Note of October 1 from Lord Curzon, the British Government has not once reverted in its negotiations with the Soviet Delegation, or in its telegraphic communications with the Russian Government, to the conditions formulated by the British Government itself in the Note of June 30, and to the consequences which were to follow the acceptance of those conditions by the Russian Government.

The actual policy of the British Government towards Soviet Russia, after the presentation of the Note of June 30, has been in direct contradiction to the conditions formulated in the above British Note and accepted without modification by the Russian Government, for the conditions set out in that Note provided for mutual undertakings and entailed, from the moment of their coming into effect, obligations upon the British Government as well as upon the Russian Government.

In spite of the mutual undertakings which the two countries had agreed to give, that they would not participate in any hostile actions against each other, and that they would not support any hostile actions directed against one of the parties, the British Government has, since the beginning of July, taken part in the most energetic diplomatic campaign in support of Poland, which had attacked and remained at war with Soviet Russia.

The British Government, while coordinating the diplomatic assistance to Poland, at war with Russia, with direct military assistance given at the same time by the ally of England, France, also used all its influence, and even threatened to employ armed forces, in order to secure the use of the neutral port of Danzig for the transmission to Poland of ammunition and military equipment. This was against the decision of the High Commissioner of Danzig, who had prohibited the transport through the port of arms for either of the belligerents.

In its diplomatic support of one of the belligerent parties, i.e., Poland versus Soviet Russia, the British Government went so far as to threaten Soviet Russia with war, and mobilized the Baltic Fleet.

Although the British Government has taken no official part in the recognition by France of the Czarist General Wrangel, who is carrying on a civil war against the working and peasant classes of Russia, the Russian Government, nevertheless, has information showing that General Wrangel, who had previously been abundantly furnished with English ammunition and military equipment, has also, during these last months, received direct assistance from England in the shape of ammunition and materials of war, and that General Wrangel was given an official reception on a flagship of the British Fleet in the Black Sea, while his representatives have been given facilities to purchase and send from England all kinds of military supplies, and have also been permitted to use financial resources left in England by the Czarist Government.

As regards the clause dealing with repatriation, it has to be pointed out that a number of Russian subjects detained by the British authorities in Egypt, Persia, Constantinople, Batum, and other places, and who desire to return to Soviet Russia, have not yet received the necessary permit from the British authorities. It must be pointed out also that some of these prisoners—for example, those held at Kantara in Egypt—are being treated in a manner that calls for the strongest protest.

Finally, the questions relating to the resumption of

trade relations between Russia and Great Britain, the raising of the blockade, the sweeping of mines, the organization of trade agencies—points outlined in the Note of June 30—have not received favorable consideration from the British Government, and are still in the same position as they were four months ago, at the very beginning of the negotiations.

In view of all these facts, the Russian Government is led to assume that the agreement resulting from the affirmative reply given by the Russian Government to the British Note of June 30 cannot be considered as being in force up to the present, in view of the fact that its fundamental conditions have been disregarded by the British Government.

Nevertheless, the Russian Government, actuated by the firm conviction that the interests of the working masses of Russia and of Great Britain demand the immediate resumption of economic and trade relations and the conclusion of economic peace between both countries, is ready to give, at any moment, proof of its sincere desire to arrive at a speedy agreement, and to take all the necessary steps to hasten such agreement.

The Russian Government is prepared to return without exception all British war and civil prisoners who are still in Soviet Russia (including convicts and also those who have been taken in Siberia and temporarily detained in connection with the arrest of Mr. Babushkin and others by the British Government), on condition that the British Government will permit the immediate return to Soviet Russia of Mr. Babushkin and his friends, who are in London, and also of Russian citizens recently arrested in Constantinople and at Batumi, and of all other Russian citizens in Great Britain or any other territory under the protectorate or de facto control of the British Government, who are desirous of returning to Soviet Russia.

The Russian Government and the British Government mutually undertake to bring to the notice of the general public the fact that, commencing from a certain date, say October 15, 1920, all the Russians deprived of liberty or detained in the territories of Great Britain, her colonies and her protectorates, and all the Englishmen in the territory of Soviet Russia are proclaimed free and, with the consent of the respective governments, may be repatriated at specially fixed dates and through certain frontier points. The arrangement of the place and time of the exchange of the various groups and of other details has been entrusted by the Russian Government to Mr. Litvinov.

Should the British Government agree with the above proposition, it will be necessary for it to take all the requisite steps in order to secure for Mr. Litvinov, by negotiation with the Norwegian and Danish Governments, the right to prolong his stay in one of those countries for the purpose of reaching a final settlement of the question.

The Russian Government, desirous of meeting the wishes of the Government of Great Britain as far as possible, is prepared to render assistance in the matter of the Englishmen detained at Baku, although the settlement of this question presents great difficulties in view of the fact that this is a matter which must be decided by the Azerbaijan Government.

The Russian Government, being unable to impose any instructions upon the Government of Azerbaijan, can only offer its friendly offices in this matter. It has already entered into negotiations with the Government of Azerbaijan on this subject, and begs to submit the following suggestion:

The Government of Baku will send to Tiflis a special delegate authorized to conduct negotiations for the release of these prisoners. It is proposed that the British Government on its part shall also send to Tiflis a duly authorized representative of its own or shall authorize some person in Tiflis to conduct the negotiations. The Russian Government, on its part, will delegate to Tiflis a special representative, or will authorize the representative of the Russian Republic there to give every as-

sistance in the negotiations, and the Russian Government has reasons to believe that these negotiations in Tiflis would lead to a speedy solution of the question of the detention of Englishmen in Azerbaijan, and that this solution would be one satisfactory to the British Government.

In answering Lord Curzon's statement that the Russian Government vetoed the release of British prisoners in Baku, the Russian Government categorically assures the British Government that it has been misinformed and misled on this matter, as the Russian Government has never vetoed the release of British prisoners in Baku.

The Russian Government declares to the British Government that it is ready, as previously, to accept in full the agreement outlined in the Note of the British Government of June 30, to confirm the assurance given by it in its Note of July 7, and to carry out all the clauses of the above agreement.

This undertaking is, of course, given upon the understanding, and upon condition, that the British Government, as the other party to a mutual agreement, will carry out all its obligations under that agreement; that the agreement will be regarded as a whole, of which the clauses are inseparable and mutually dependent; that there will be no attempt to demand that certain clauses (regarded by one party as particularly advantageous at a given moment) shall be punctually fulfilled, while the fulfillment of others is evaded or indefinitely postponed.

In conclusion, the Russian Government would be glad to be informed as to when the British Government would be prepared to renew trade negotiations.

## RUSSIAN NOTE TO POLAND

*The following is the text of the Russian Note to Poland, read by Yoffe on September 24 to the Polish Delegation at Riga:*

The war between Poland and Russia is still going on—a war caused by an attack against Russia and the Ukraine just at a moment when the working class in Russia had begun the demobilization of its armies and devoted all its energies to peaceful creative labor.

This war, encouraged as it is by the Entente in its imperialist interests, threatens an arduous winter campaign, ruinous, sanguinary, and unprecedentedly cruel, and its continuation can only be desired by the imperialists of the Entente, who are calculating upon the further exhaustion of the life forces of both Poland and Russia.

Should a winter campaign take place, it will involve such suffering for the masses of the people that the Russian Soviet Government and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the supreme legislative organ of the Republic, deem it their duty to take all steps, and even to make heavy sacrifices, in order to attain peace, to put an end to the bloodshed and to stave off a winter campaign, equally trying for both parties.

In the opinion of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee the basis on which a desirable agreement could best be reached in the shortest possible time ought to be the carrying out of the principle of self-determination for all those territories the frontiers of which have been disputed during the war.

Starting from the full recognition of the principle of self-determination, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic recognized as far back as 1917, and still recognizes absolutely without any reservations, the independence and sovereignty of the Polish Republic, and recognized in 1918 the independence and sovereignty of the Ukraine and White Russia, while in 1920 it signed a peace treaty with the independent and sovereign Lithuanian Republic.

In continuation of the same policy the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is of the opinion that:

1. The immediate solemn confirmation, both by Poland and Russia, of the independence of the Ukraine,

Lithuania, and White Russia, as well as recognition of the independence of Eastern Galicia, ought to be made the basis of peace; (2) that both Poland and Russia must immediately and officially recognize as the particular form of expression of the will of the respective nationalities those representative state institutions, such as diets, congresses, or soviets and parliament, which exist in those countries.

On its part the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic is prepared, in view of the fact that the Soviet regime has not yet been established in Eastern Galicia, to accept a plebiscite there not on the Soviet principle—that is, by a vote of those who work—but on the bourgeois democratic principle.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee, however, cannot ignore the fact that the standpoint of certain leading Polish groups, political parties, and statesmen, radically differs on questions of self-determination from that of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

If the Polish delegation at Riga were to place itself on the standpoint of these parties, groups, and individuals, who, in the face of obvious and incontrovertible facts, deny the self-determination of the Ukraine and White Russia which took place in 1918, it would make an agreement on the basis of self-determination impossible, and render all discussions about the methods of self-determination futile and even mischievous, since they would only serve to camouflage a policy which does not really want any peace, and is only aiming, in the guise of peace, at the annexation of foreign territories.

Hence, being anxious to prevent all ambiguities and all delays on the most momentous question for the laboring masses—that is, the question of a winter campaign—the All-Russian Central Executive Committee instructs hereby its peace delegation to offer to the peace delegation of the Polish Republic, if an immediate agreement on self-determination is not possible, at once to conclude on the following basis an agreement on fundamentals, deferring these controversial questions and divergencies in the interpretation of general principles, by way of which an early attainment of peace would be impossible.

These are the fundamentals of an agreement:

1. Taking note of the declaration of the Polish delegation rejecting the original terms of the Russo-Ukrainian delegation concerning the reduction of the Polish Army, demobilization of its war industries, the surrender of its arms, and the transfer of the complete ownership of the railway line Volkovysk-Grajevo to the Russian Republic, the Russian Republic renounces these terms and expresses its readiness to make a proposal in the same sense to the Allied Ukrainian Republic.

2. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic is prepared immediately to sign an armistice and preliminaries of peace on the basis of the recognition of a frontier line between Poland and Russia, passing considerably more to the east than that fixed by the Supreme Allied Council on December 3, 1919, so that Eastern Galicia might remain to the west of the line.

3. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic believes it necessary to attain, in the speediest manner possible, peace, and to deliver the Russian, Polish, White Russian, and Ukrainian laboring masses from the trials of a new winter campaign.

The rejection by Poland of this offer would mean that Poland has resolved—probably under the pressure of the imperialists of France and of other Entente Powers—on a winter campaign.

Hence the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is obliged to announce that the said offer is only valid for the space of ten days, and that if the preliminaries of peace are not signed by the time this term expires, that is by October 5, 1920, the Council of People's Commissaries will have the right to alter its terms.

In making such sacrifices for the sake of peace, Soviet Russia does so in the consciousness of its right, and

of the inexhaustible strength of the Russian and Ukrainian laboring masses, who are prepared to stand up resolutely for the defense of the two Soviet republics. Should the Polish Government decide to assume the responsibility, in the face of the whole world, for the continuation of the war and for further bloodshed.

It is for this reason that the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is convinced that the failure to reply satisfactorily, within the above-mentioned period, will practically decide the question of a winter campaign.

(Signed) KALININ, *President.*  
YENUKIDZE, *Secretary of All-Russian Central Executive Committee.*

### MOBOLIZATION IN RUSSIA

PETROGRAD, August 31.—During the last mobilization 2,508 Communists, the most responsible Soviet workers of Petrograd, have been sent to the Western front.

MOSCOW, September 1.—The Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic decided to carry through the mobilization in the speediest possible manner, and to send the necessary reinforcements to the Wrangel front by September 10.

MOSCOW, August 31.—It has been wired from Armavir that the Congress of the Free Caucasian Nationalities at Yekaterinodar has resolved actively to aid the Soviet power in its struggle against Wrangel, and to defend the Kuban coast.

## Anniversary Number

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

## Soviet Russia

will commemorate the Third Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution of November 7, 1917.

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## The Third Year of the New Era

IT WAS our privilege to point out in the article devoted one year ago to the purpose of commemorating the second anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic, that while the Paris Commune, the last proletarian dictatorship set up in Europe before the end of the nineteenth century, had succeeded in lasting only seventy-one days, the Soviet Government in Russia, the first proletarian dictatorship established in the twentieth century, had already endured for more than seven hundred days, or ten times as long as its Paris predecessor. Now, a year later, there are many millions living in Russia who have risen over a thousand times in the morning and retired over a thousand times at night,—all finding the same government in force at each successive rising, and entrusting their safety to its watchful care when they have gone to sleep.

Now, as then, the voices predicting a speedy and disastrous termination of the Soviet Government are loudly shouting forth their message of joy to the oppressors. The interval of life they grant to the government of the people of Soviet Russia has grown longer: there are no longer any predictions limiting its existence to a few weeks: months and even a year are the periods now commonly met with in the bourgeois press to indicate the "probable" duration of the present government of Russia. The most popular period among these croakers of evil, as we have already mentioned in these columns, is six months, and the fact that already six of these six-months periods have followed one upon the other does not give the prophets pause, and no doubt many "generations" of such six-months and one-year prophets will succeed each other before the prognosticators of the

bourgeois press begin to deal in decades rather than in years or fractions of a year.

It is our belief that the Soviet Government in Russia will last for many years—but, like those who predict a much shorter span of life for us, we are not without prejudice in the matter. Christianity, in its outward expressions at least, has lasted nearly two thousand years, and Christianity does not take its origin in social changes so profound as those which forced the people of Soviet Russia to try the Soviet form of government, after all other forms had failed. The new era may live as long as Christianity has lived, or it may live longer. We see no reason why anyone should hope that it should not last so long, unless he be one of the exploiters who is interested in preventing the exploited from freeing themselves, and of these exploiters, we regret to say, there is still a sufficient number who continue actively to support counter-revolution on the Russian border and armed intervention in Ukraine. Long life to the Russian Soviet Republic, which will dispose of all its counter-revolutionary foes!

\* \* \*

**B**UT NOW for the past. Since November 6, 1919, the Soviet Government has had a more favorable year, from the military standpoint, than either of the two preceding years of its existence. The second anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Republic came immediately after the final repulse of Yudenich in his mad dash on Petrograd, and already the retreat of the Kolchak armies in Siberia had progressed so far East as Omsk. Denikin was also being pushed back after having advanced as far north as Orel, less than two hun-

dred miles to the south of Moscow. Before the Spring of 1920, Kolchak had been finally defeated, and, before the Soviet Government had time to intervene, was executed with two of his important accomplices at Irkutsk (February 7, 1920). Denikin was soon driven off the map, reappearing in London, that former home of the disaffected of other nations, and coming out with the declaration that it was his intention to rest and absent himself from military affairs for a long time. In April and May of this year came the news of the offensive that Poland, aided and abetted by great supplies of money and munitions from the Allied powers, was launching against Soviet Russia. The wonderful and spectacular dash of a determined army of Russian proletarians, which drove its way up to the gates of Warsaw and flung its lines around the city to the North and West, was Soviet Russia's answer. The great advance was not successfully pursued, however, and a new Polish offensive, prominently aided by great bodies of colored French colonial troops, hastily withdrawn from garrison and police duty in Germany, again threatened to penetrate Soviet Russian territory. But once more Soviet Russia's Red Army is ready, and if Polish troops again venture to cross into her territory, they will encounter the strong resistance of a reorganized and well-supplied army, supported by the most determined civil population in the world. But of these matters we shall read the words of the Military Expert of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek, to whose article on the strategy of the three years of the military history of the Soviet Republic, which appears in this issue, the reader is referred.

\* \* \*

**WHEN** SOVIET RUSSIA celebrated the second anniversary of its birth, one year ago, it was still uncertain whether any nations would go so far, in view of the savage prejudices of the governing classes against any government established anywhere by the workers and peasants, as to enter into commercial or diplomatic relations with the new nation. Soviet representatives had been expelled from several countries (England, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Austria), and their successors, appointed to replace the unwelcome harbingers of the new system, were in several cases put into jail (Karl Radek in Germany, Peter Simonov in Australia). But during the past year Soviet Russia's military successes, coupled with the misery induced in the Russian border-states by the Entente policy of forcing those states into warfare against Soviet Russia, has resulted in a more general readiness to consider proposals made by Soviet Russia, and the consequence has been a rather impressive series of agreements and treaties signed between Soviet Russia and a succession of foreign governments, compacts which have for the most part been either carried out, or seem to be still in course of satisfactory accomplishment.

The second of these agreements was the paper signed, after months of negotiations at Copen-

hagen, between Litvinov, for the Soviet Government, and O'Grady, for Great Britain, on the subject of the mutual exchange of prisoners between the two countries. This treaty, which was reprinted in full in SOVIET RUSSIA, with a facsimile cut of its title page (Vol. II, No. 16), was signed February 12, 1920, and represented a tremendous step in advance, in the formal diplomatic sense, for it is an agreement in which, at least by implication, the two contracting parties recognize the existence of each other. It has been impossible since then for the British Government, however unfriendly its attitude toward the Soviet Government may be, to pretend that the Soviet Government does not exist, or that the British Government has never openly carried on negotiations with the Soviet Government. A few days earlier there had been signed the complete treaty of peace between Soviet Russia and Esthonia (Dorpat, Esthonia, February 2, 1920; see SOVIET RUSSIA, Vol. II, No. 16), a document absolutely recognizing the sovereignty of each of the two governments, and providing for mutual repatriation of their respective nationals, for a definite boundary-line between the two countries, for a payment of gold by Soviet Russia to Esthonia, and for the later consummation of an agreement concerning the carrying out of foreign trade between the two countries. The relations with Esthonia, growing out of this treaty, or, more correctly, of which this treaty was the official promise and first realization, have been mutually profitable. They made it possible for Russia once more to draw certain advantages from the existence in Esthonia of the port of Reval, which had been of some value to Russia under Czarism. For it is at Reval that the Centrosoyuz has established an important purchasing agency, under the able control of Mr. I. Gukovsky, which forwards rather considerable quantities of manufactured products over the Esthonian railways into Soviet Russia. This has been of value to Russia chiefly because of the facilities thus afforded in the trade with Sweden, but the ultimate advantages of this open route will be far exceeded when the new British train-ferry to Sweden (landing in that country at Gothenburg) is completed and linked up with the proposed new train-ferry from Stockholm, Sweden, to Abo, Finland, both routes together providing a means for direct shipment of loaded railway-cars from points in England and Scotland to Petrograd. But of course, the attitude of the British Government will have to pass through very essential changes before the possibilities of complete commercial exchanges between the two countries will be fully made use of. To Esthonia also the advantages of open relations with Soviet Russia, together with commercial exchanges, have been very great, and have involved, aside from the large payment of gold by the Soviet Government—which has been already referred to—a considerable rehabilitation of the Esthonian railway lines, made necessary by the new traffic with Soviet Russia, and aided by important gifts of locomotives and other rolling stock by the Soviet

Government. It is to be hoped that during the period of under-supply through which Soviet Russia is now passing, Esthonia may be able to provide, out of her own stores, large quantities of potatoes. In the Baltic region generally, Esthonia is frequently spoken of as the "potato republic", because of her extensive production in this staple.

Other Baltic states have since made peace with Soviet Russia, and the impelling motives for concluding peace have been in each case the same as with Esthonia. Our readers will recall how the Allied agent Yudenich recruited all the man-power of that little country, even boys of fifteen and younger, how he made of it a mere supply-base for cannon-fodder to be used against Soviet Russia. And of course, he could not have done this but for the able and active assistance of the British Government, whose navy blockaded the Baltic in his favor, whose finances paid for his supplies and munitions, whose printers at Stockholm were turning out from their speeding presses millions of rubles in notes—it was even rumored that their parity was guaranteed by Great Britain—of the new "Northwestern Russian Government." In spite of the pecuniary advantage involved for certain classes in Esthonia in this relation with Great Britain, the Esthonian people soon grew tired of furnishing flesh and bone to be ground up in the hopeless war against the people of Soviet Russia, who were determined to fight to the death in the defense of the accomplishments of their revolution. Great Britain got little assistance from Esthonia after the failure of the last Yudenich enterprise (the dash on Petrograd) in October, 1919. So, while there was money and death to be earned in the service of the Allies against Soviet Russia, the Esthonian people finally succeeded in forcing their government to live at peace with their Russian neighbors.

It is needless to repeat these details with regard to the very parallel cases of Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland. Latvia made peace with Soviet Russia on June 13, and our readers were supplied with a translated text of the treaty two weeks ago (*SOVIET RUSSIA*, Vol. III, No. 17). Lithuania followed a month later (the treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia was signed at Moscow, July 13); we shall present our readers with a translation of the treaty with Lithuania as soon as we have revised it (from the *Official Gazette* of that country). Finland, with whose government negotiations had been in progress for many months, interrupted by frequent disagreement between the delegations of the two countries, signed peace less than two months ago. We expect soon to receive a copy of this treaty. Other treaties, concerning which we are less fully informed, have been concluded with the Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, practically making those countries allies of Soviet Russia. Representatives of Soviet Russia have been assigned to a number of countries with whom treaties of peace have not yet been concluded, and are still living in those countries, representing the interests of Soviet Russia and protecting Soviet Rus-

sian citizens abroad. These countries with commercial missions or representations of Soviet Russia now are: Australia, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, Norway, and the United States of America.

The case of Lithuania is at this moment particularly interesting. Lithuania suffered terribly under the German occupation, and has been the theatre of extensive military operations since then. Its population has been driven by Allied misuse of the country for purposes of aggression against Soviet Russia into a condition of receptivity for the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship, and, while confirmation is still lacking, it is not impossible that last week's news of a Bolshevik uprising in Kovno, with the establishment of a Soviet form of government, may be a fact. Certainly the attitude of Poland's "insurgent" troops under General Zeligowski, who have seized the Lithuanian city of Vilna and refused to relinquish it, has not had the effect of estranging the Lithuanian population from Soviet Russia.

\* \* \*

**P**OLAND has been the source of greatest trouble to Russia during the past year, or rather, not Poland, but the Entente powers, notably France, who were egging Poland on in her imperialistic invasion of Russian territory. Whether we now are really at peace with Poland or not, it is at present difficult to say. Poland has signed a preliminary peace agreement with Soviet Russia, but it is by no means certain that she will not be again driven by her masters to the West, into an invasion of Soviet Russia. Whatever may be the outcome of the relations with Poland, it should not be forgotten that Soviet Russia has made every effort to remain at peace with Poland. On May 29, *SOVIET RUSSIA* printed a collection of diplomatic passages between the two governments, which was far less complete, however, than an earlier official compilation made at Moscow. Half a year ago, the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs issued an extensive pamphlet in French (and possibly also in other languages), containing a full collection of notes passing between various organs of the Soviet Government and that of Poland. Some readers may recall that *The Nation* (New York) recently published some of this correspondence in its *International Relations Section*. We shall in early issues of our weekly take up the Polish question in full. Lt.-Colonel Bek, our military expert, also devotes some attention to the Polish question in his review of the military week, which appears in this issue.

\* \* \*

**B**ESSARABIA, as we go to press, has been generously handed by the Allies to Rumania, since the Allied Governments very well know that Soviet Russia had already come to an understanding with Rumania on the subject, under which Rumania is to have sovereignty over Bessarabia. Only for this reason has the reactionary Rumanian Government refrained from taking part jointly with Poland in the counter-revolutionary attacks

on Soviet Russia. This makes it very easy for the Allies to detach from Soviet Russia what has been already detached. But what of the professions that Russia will be consulted? Not even the Russia that the Allies desire to see formed would have much to say on the matter, if the *New York Times* Special Press cable of October 28 is correct:

"The high contracting powers will invite Russia to adhere to the present treaty as soon as there will exist a Russian Government recognized by them. They reserve the right to submit to the arbitrage of the Council of the League of Nations all questions which may be raised by Russia concerning details of the treaty." At the same time it is specifically stated that the frontiers settled and the sovereignty of Rumania will not be put in question.

Russia, it appears, is not to have any word in giving away her own territory even after a government is formed which is recognized by the high contracting powers.

\* \* \*

**R**ELATIONS of the Soviet Government with the United States have unfortunately not yet entered the stage of direct negotiations, although the recently reported granting of concessions by Moscow to an American syndicate headed by Mr. Washington D. Vanderlip, of Hollywood, California, seems to offer promise at least of commercial exchanges. The past year has, we regret to say, offered little other indication of an encouraging nature in this regard, and the repeated suggestions in the press to the effect that the United States Government would not recognize any separate governments set up in territories once comprising a portion of the area of the former Empire of the Czars has seemed to indicate a determination not to deal with any government in Russia that would not undertake to weld into an unwilling aggregate the numerous populations of various races who have lately begun to avail themselves of the recently proclaimed "right of self-determination." Aside from personal discomforts of individuals, however, the chances for friendly relations with the United States seem better than they have been for some time—certainly much better than they were a trifle less than a year ago, when Comrade Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, wrote the following paragraph as a portion of his report on his activities during the second year of the Soviet Republic, a report submitted by him to the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets\* (December, 1919):

*Relations With America*

On June 20 we sent a protest to the American Government on account of the arrest of Comrade Martens, the Russian representative in America, threatening reprisals on American citizens in Russia. The American Government replied that Comrade Martens had not been arrested. It appeared from supplementary information that he had only been detained in custody for a few hours, while a search was being carried on at the offices of our mission at New York. This search was the turning point in the attitude of the American Government towards our representative.\*\* Up till then it

\* This is not the report recently sold as one of the SOVIET RUSSIA PAMPHLETS, although the materials of the documents are similar.—*Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.*

\*\* But this search was not conducted by authorities of the United States Government.—*Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.*

had not interfered with his work, and he was actively engaged in negotiating with the American commercial world for an exchange of goods the moment the blockade was lifted. The search inflicted a heavy blow upon this strictly business-like work of Comrade Martens; the American Government added a warning that it would lend no protection to the transactions between American citizens and Soviet Russia. Our representative, however, in spite of the more difficult conditions, continued his work in America, assisting at same time those political workers who were agitating against intervention in Russia.\*\*\* But as time proceeded, the reaction in the United States raged more and more wildly, and on November 20, on the strength of the British wireless messages announcing the arrest of Comrade Martens, the People's Commissar again sent a protest to the American Government, threatening reprisals and demanding the immediate release of Comrade Martens and a suitable indemnity, and the cessation of all persecutions of Russian citizens loyal to the Soviet regime, and suitable indemnities for those who had actually suffered through those persecutions.

It is hard to say, for us who live in America, what is the present information of Mr. Chicherin on the United States Government, but we hope that he is not being misinformed by the British wireless in the manner that called forth the protest contained in the last sentence of the paragraph above quoted. Needless to say, this protest was the result of such false information. It is unfortunate that there should be agencies at work in Europe with the purpose of sowing discord between the Soviet Government and that of the United States of America, but such seems to be the case in view of Comrade Chicherin's experiences with the British wireless.

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**O**FTEN during the past year we have printed accounts from official Soviet Russian sources, as well as by outsiders who had traveled in Soviet Russia, describing internal conditions in that country. An article of this kind appears in the current issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, dealing with the railroads in an exhaustive and authoritative manner. Transportation has much improved in Russia in the third year of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but still leaves much to be desired. The recapture of Baku from the British, with the taking of Enzeli and the consequent restoration of the Caspian Sea as a Russian lake, has made possible the shipment of millions of poods of oil up the Volga and over the contiguous waterways to every part of the country, and has thus supplied the entire South Russian railway system with oil; the locomotive furnaces had already long previously been reconstructed for the use of oil-fuel, and all the locomotives in the southern part of Russia are now operating with oil. We single out the transportation conditions as worthy of special mention for the reason that the problem of internal industrial reconstruction in Russia has been and still remains a problem of transportation. All Russia's industry is ready to move; the wheels will turn as soon as raw materials are furnished for machines and tools to work on, together with food

\*\*\* As a matter of fact, Comrade Martens only secured legal counsel for such Russian citizens as were being prosecuted and were unable to provide it for themselves.—*Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.*

enough to keep the workers in a condition of health and strength to work. There is no way of supplying these things to the industries and to their workers except by means of an efficient railway or motor-truck service, and to restore the former even to its pre-war efficiency requires the importation of many locomotives from foreign countries, together with numerous duplicate parts and machine-tools necessary for effecting repairs of run-down and damaged locomotives. Professor Lomonossov, now a prominent member of the Commissariat for Means of Communication (he was formerly head of the Railway Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York City), recently visited a number of European countries in order to make purchases of locomotives for Russia's railroads. He succeeded in purchasing one hundred locomotives in Sweden, which by this time have probably been delivered to Soviet Russia, and reported two months ago that much larger purchases of locomotives in Germany were being delayed only by the exorbitant prices asked by the German manufacturers. It is possible that these negotiations by this time have been terminated and that the Soviet Government is now the owner of several hundred German-built locomotives. Of course, the Soviet Government is very anxious also to obtain American engines of this type, but finds it impossible to get them, owing to the fact that commercial intercourse between the United States and Soviet Russia is not yet a fact. The resources of Russia otherwise are the richest in the world: permit Soviet Russia to build up her transportation and carry food to the workers, and she will soon be the best-organized and industrially the most productive country in the world.

**B**UT UNTIL the problem of feeding the population, and the even more basic problem of transportation has been solved, it will be impossible for Russia to resume a normal course of life. Professor Lomonossov, for instance, in a recent interview, in which he discusses the Russian railway problem, declares that while it would be possible for Russia, with the assistance given her by unimpeded commercial intercourse with foreign countries, to reconstruct her railway system (to the point of efficiency reached before 1914) by the year 1925, this would not be possible before 1935 if commercial relations with foreign countries should remain interrupted. In other words, there would appear to be a problem more basic even than that of transportation, and that is the problem of *the Blockade*. The capitalist nations of the world, in their determination that the Republic of the Workers and Peasants shall die, will not even sell their wares to the workers and peasants for heavy gold. And this Blockade condemns millions to a half-fed and uncomfortable life, in which the greatest exertions any generation of men and women has ever been called upon to put forth are supported by the poorest rations any nation of modern times can supply to its population. The Blockade also means that Russian workers and soldiers,

when sick or wounded, perish for lack of the necessary medical supplies, must suffer operations without anesthetics or antiseptics, and must permit the progress of disease in their bodies to proceed unresisted, with full knowledge that only a fortunate chance will save them from death should they have acquired any infection. John Reed died of typhus in Moscow two weeks ago, a disease which (according to a report of the People's Commissar of Health, printed recently in *SOVIET RUSSIA*) had almost been overcome in Soviet Russia, in spite of the tremendous obstacles in the path of any sanitary improvements. It is the Blockade which must be broken if men and women are to live and work in Russia, and in many European countries the populations have long been insisting on a lifting of the Blockade against Russia.

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**M**EDICALLY SPEAKING, the Blockade is in a sense being lifted. A number of public-spirited physicians and laymen in this country (similar movements are active in other countries also, particularly in Scandinavia and Central Europe) organized a "Committee for Medical Relief to Soviet Russia", which has collected money from many available sources, for the purchase of medicaments and surgical instruments and supplies, to be forwarded to Soviet Russia for the purpose of ameliorating the lot of the diseased or wounded in that country. This splendid work, although it has been proceeding for only a few months, has already resulted in the collection of about \$35,000, which has been expended for medical supplies that have been or are to be forwarded to Soviet Russia. Should it be possible for this work to expand, and to forward still greater quantities of medical necessities to Russia, it is very probable that American visitors to Russia will no longer be under the painful necessity of reporting to their fellow-countrymen, when they return home, the dreadful sight of a diseased limb being amputated with a carpenter's saw, while the victim cries out in pain which is unalleviated by anesthetics, or the discharge of a patient from a hospital after his infected eye had been gouged out by a rusty razor-blade, because there were no suitable surgical instruments to be had for these operations. We greet with pleasure the many men and women in this country who are generously giving money for this work of humanity, and wish them every success in the prosecution and expansion of their labors.

*A number of interesting articles, including biographies of those prominent in Soviet Russia today, were omitted from this issue due to lack of space. Biographies, accompanied by pictures, will be published weekly, beginning in the next issue with Litvinov.*

# Military Review

## THREE YEARS OF THE RED ARMY

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THREE years of glorious fighting for the Revolution have passed. Three years of super-human sacrifice on the part of the Russian working class have just terminated, and still Soviet Russia is ready to enter upon a new epoch of struggle, high-spirited and fully equipped with decisive determination to defend all the gains which the Revolution won during the three sanguinary years.

The victory of the Revolution was gained by the Red Army only because, by its structure, its morale, and its methods of warfare it is absolutely different from all other armies.

The secret of the extraordinary successes of the Soviet Government can be explained by the fact that the Red Army never was a so-called "people's army", or a "national army". It was and is an army of the working-class, fighting for the reconstruction of the whole social system. Class criteria were introduced in the Red Army, and in spite of the cooperation of the former officers of the Czar, it remained an army of the workers and peasants, and can not give way to any reactionary transformation. The experiences of the past three years have proved that absolutely.

Soviet Russia has a regular army,—her enemies also possess regular armies. Soviet Russia, in order to create her army, mobilized the masses, so did her enemies. The Red Army is chiefly composed of peasants, while the armies of the Allies and the Russian reactionary generals are also composed of peasants. Thus it appears that the armies of both sides are made up of similar elements. Then wherein lies the difference between the Red Army and the armies of its enemies which gave the victory to the former?

The Red Army of the workers and peasants is led by workers, by the most class-conscious revolutionary Communists, and there is a close connection between the men and their comrade-commanders. Quite the contrary can be said of our enemies. Their armies are led by officers who are most conscious representatives of bourgeois interests. Therefore, the progress of the struggle unites and tempers the Red Army, while in the capitalistic armies it results in disorganization and collapse, a truth revealed during three years of armed intervention and civil war in Russia.

Three years passed for Soviet Russia in uninterrupted fighting on several fronts. At one time during 1919, there were in Soviet Russia thirteen battle-fronts which I described in Vol. I, No. 13 of this weekly (August 30, 1919). As in a kaleidoscope, one after another, the enemies of the Russian proletariat appeared and vanished before the Red Army. Kornilov, Krasnov, Dutov, the Czecho-Slovaks, the "people's army" of the supporters of the Constituent Assembly, Kolchak, Yudenich, Denikin, and the Allied invaders, all were defeated. The Poles were weakened and

in exhaustion were forced to enter into peace negotiations with Moscow. The bourgeoisie of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Rumania lost faith in their capitalistic supporters, and preferred peace with the Soviets to the useless sanguinary struggle against the Russian proletariat. The former thirteen fronts are now reduced to one, the Crimean front, where the last act of the bloody drama is drawing to a close.

In this review I can give only an outline of each front separately, basing my information mostly on official documents which have at last reached here from Moscow. In many cases they confirm statements previously made by me in SOVIET RUSSIA, with regard to the civil war in Russia; but since the receipt of these important data from Moscow, with real military maps, and long and detailed descriptions of battles, I can now see clearly what I could only guess at in the past.

### *The Northern Front*

The Northern front deserves special attention. There the reactionary forces, though a small part was of Russian origin, were predominantly of a purely foreign character.

This front grew out of British intervention in Russian domestic affairs. It was Anglo-French strategy which organized and mobilized the fighting forces on this front by sending Allied troops there. It was after fruitless attempts to force Russia to continue the war with Germany for the benefit of the capitalistic coalition of the West that the northern front attained its great political importance. The representatives of the Great Powers moved from Moscow to Vologda, and started a diplomatic campaign against the Soviet Government. After Comrade Radek's mission to Vologda the significance of the northern front became grave from a strategical viewpoint also. The representatives of the Allies left their headquarters and moved to Archangel where they began, openly, their hostile policy against the Soviets.

The strategical plan of the Allies was as follows: An uprising of the Czecho-Slovaks was to begin along the Volga aiming its attack at the political centers of Russia; while in the east a permanent front had to be created, gradually moving its right flank towards the northern front in order to come into contact with Anglo-French forces, which had already landed in Alexandrovsk on the Murmansk peninsula in the spring of 1918, and had started their movement southward. The general situation in Russia favored this plan of campaign. In some provinces which separate the northern part of Russia from the central part, the agents of the capitalistic coalition succeeded in raising against the Soviet Government a considerable part of the population, thus making it easy for the invaders to accomplish their swift march upon Moscow with the principal aim of overthrow-

ing the Soviet Government. At first, the Allies were very weak. There were no more than 8,000 men landed in Alexandrovsk and Archangel, but after their troops had appeared at these points, the reactionary element of the Russian people started to group themselves around the invaders, thus increasing their fighting strength. About August 1, the Allied Navy destroyed the battery of Mudink Island, which protected the entrance to the Northern Dvina, and approached Archangel, landing an army corps from transports. The Red Guards did all they could to arrest the penetration of the invaders. The stations nearest to the town, Isako-Gorka and Tundra, several times passed from one side to the other, but finally the Reds, outnumbered by the enemy, were forced to retire.

A number of ships, captured by the invaders in the Bay of Archangel, were quickly armed and directed along the North Dvina. But in the middle of August, 1918, the enemy suffered a considerable defeat, and was unable to continue his movement further south until relief arrived, fresh American contingents, with whose help the town of Shenkursk was captured. The cold weather of the north Russian autumn was very unfavorable to the invaders, and they could only move their troops about one-quarter of the way between the mouth of the River Vaga and Kotlas. In the direction of Onega,\* the enemy concentrated his forces south of the village of Sumskoje.

In November, the frost and deep snow almost entirely paralyzed the activity of the enemy. The initiative gradually drifted from the Allies, and the Reds began to attack the invaders at several points. In the middle of winter, the Soviet forces concentrated to the south of Shenkursk, and by means of a sudden and most vigorous attack, this town was captured, and the rich reserves of ammunition, arms, and food supplies brought here by the Allies in the hope of establishing a base for further operations in Shenkursk, fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

Only in spring did the enemy begin an offensive again, between Lakes Vygo and Sego, when they succeeded in capturing the town of Povenetz.

This movement was provoked by the Finns, whose bands raided Olonetz, and the British command intended to support the raiders. But as usual the Allies came to the aid of the Finns too late. The latter were completely defeated near Birviza and the movement of the Allies became useless. Unable to reach Petrozavovsk, they became almost passive, and undertook some maneuvers in the region of Lake Onega and along the Murmansk railway. In the summer of 1919, the Reds won an important victory at Onega, and undertook a successful offensive up along the North Dvina—above the mouth of the Vega.

It became quite clear that the campaign of the Allies was lost. The Russian "volunteers" deserted in great numbers to the Bolsheviks, and

\* Not Lake Onega, but the town of Onega on the White Sea.

there was neither unity among the Allied forces nor belief in their leaders. Some mutinies took place, and disorganization of the Allied contingent began, the best sign of the approaching end of this adventure.

In spite of the lack of good roads and the very severe climate of this part of Russia, the Red detachments, with the aid of the local Russian population, overpowered all obstacles, and established contact with one another in order to act in full harmony. We must not neglect the fact that this campaign was carried through during the first part of 1919, when the Military Commissariat was busy organizing the first body of the Red Army, and therefore proper support could not be given to the army engaged with the invaders on the northern front.

The Americans were the first who realized the uselessness of the expedition, and, tiring of the frivolous policy of the British command to which they had submitted, they left the battle front as early as June, and were sent back to their country. Finally, the British Government decided to evacuate Archangel, thus leaving the fragments of the White Russian troops and Northern Russian Government to their own fate.

The beginning of 1920 found the northern front completely liquidated, and Archangel, as well as the Murmansk peninsula, was gradually reoccupied by the Red Army without any serious resistance by counter-revolutionary forces.

It must be mentioned that the Red flotilla played a great part during this campaign, and the British naval forces suffered badly, thanks to the activity of the improvised Red Navy during the navigable periods. The task of the Northern Red Army was clear and simple,—to clear our North, and it was brilliantly accomplished in spite of all efforts of the Allies to prevent it.

#### *The Eastern Front*

"The Eastern front represented a very important, and, at certain periods, one of the most decisive fronts of the Soviet Republic," declared Comrade Trotsky in his report read at the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow. By means of the Eastern front the Russian counter-revolutionary army, later led by Kolchak, was to cut off the Soviet Republic from fertile and wealthy Siberia, from the industrial districts of the Urals, and from Turkestan cotton supplies. Here, as in South Russia, the economic conditions were of such great importance for the Soviet Republic that strategy considered its main problem the immediate reconquest of the trans-Volga region, the Urals, and all of Siberia. After a long and annoying struggle with the Czecho-Slovaks and unorganized bands of counter-revolutionaries united with them, the Red Command started to concentrate its forces in order to begin a serious campaign for the liberation of Siberia from foreign invaders. In the beginning of November, 1918, the Eastern front extended beyond the Volga along the line from Nizhni-Turinsk, Kungur, Sarapul, Bugulma, Buguruslan, Buzuluk, and Novyi-Uzen. The Red

Army began its offensive in three directions with Orenburg, Ufa, and Sarapul as its objectives. Throughout the winter military operations were in full swing, and at the end of April, 1919, the line of the Red Eastern front extended about sixty versts east of Ufa and seventy-five versts east of Orenburg, Uralsk, Alexandrovgai, and Guriev.

At the beginning of March, 1919, reinforced by fresh reserves, Kolchak directed his counter-offensive on Kazan, Simbirsk, and Samara, and in the middle of April his army attained the zenith of its success.

The situation of the Red Army became very serious. In the Southern part of Russia, Denikin inspired great anxiety, and the operations against the southern invader, though successfully carried out, were not yet really decisive in character, and forced the Red Command to be in full readiness to meet a coming serious offensive on the Southern front. Nevertheless it was first necessary to finish with Kolchak, while remaining temporarily on the defensive in South Russia. Therefore, almost all reserves were ordered to the East.

At first, the Kolchak army resisted with an extraordinary stubbornness, but when its *demarcation* line was seriously menaced, it was forced to fall back to Bugulma and Buzuluk, after which all the Kolchak forces began their retreat eastward. During May, 1919, the Reds had to fight for the possession of the outskirts of the Ural Mountains, finally forced the Ural passes and entered the plain of Siberia. Simultaneously, the workers and peasants of Siberia started their "partizan" campaign in the rear of the Kolchak forces, which, as we know, ended so disastrously for the latter. At the end of August the Soviet forces crossed the Tobol and pressed the enemy towards Ishim, but early the next month the counter-offensive of Kolchak forced the Reds to fall back as far west as Tobolsk. The counter-stroke of the weakened counter-revolutionary army was not, and could not be, strong enough to gain the initiative for a considerable length of time. After a series of serious tactical defeats, Kolchak not only lost the initiative but was completely beaten, suffering a strategical defeat which ended in the occupation of his political and strategical center, Omsk, and followed by a most energetic pursuit of the remnants of his beaten army.

This practically put an end to the campaign in Siberia, from a strategical point of view, and all further uprisings and military operations in East Siberia are more of a local political character.

According to the official report of the present commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, Comrade Kamenev, who is responsible for the whole Siberian campaign against Kolchak, there were fourteen fronts of the Siberian counter-revolution.

The Japanese and American troops landed at Vladivostok in August, 1918, and together with the local reactionaries began a campaign against the Soviets in the Amur district, gradually moving westward towards Lake Baikal, and to the north along the Amur Railway line. A regular

uprising of Russian population attained very serious proportions. Armed bands of insurgents operated throughout the country, and inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese and Americans. The local administration of the Kolchak "government", in spite of its drastic measures against the insurgents, became fruitless. The famous *ataman* and bandit, Semionov, his colleague, Kalmikov, recently assassinated in Manchuria, General Larionov, Baron Ungern-Sternberg, Colonel Silinski, and many others, in spite of all their efforts, were unable to stop the elementary movement of the Russian masses against intervention. Here and there, throughout all of eastern Siberia, fierce sanguinary fighting raged between the insurgents and the Allied troops on the one hand, and between the former and Russian generals on the other. Finally such confusion arose that nobody knew whom he was fighting in reality, and such conditions existed from Chita to the Pacific. The occupation of Vladivostok by the Japanese, after the evacuation of Siberia by the Americans, as well as the further conflicts of Japan with the new Government of the Far East, the friction between Generals Semionov, Horvat, Kalmikov and others, and the streams of blood of the peaceful population, all this was the result of the baseless, stupid, and criminal armed intervention of the Allies.

During 1919 alone, according to official information, the number of victims in towns and villages in that part of Siberia was estimated at about 80,000 civilians killed, besides the casualties in the rank and file of the different Russian forces, Reds as well as Whites. At the present time, the Far Eastern Government, with its headquarters in Vladivostok, is practically in control of the Maritime and Amur districts, which are still occupied by Japan. The Red forces, meanwhile, are concentrated partly in Transbaikalia and in the province of Amur, ready to complete their strategical task in the Far East as soon as the situation in European Russia is settled.

#### *The Turkestan Front*

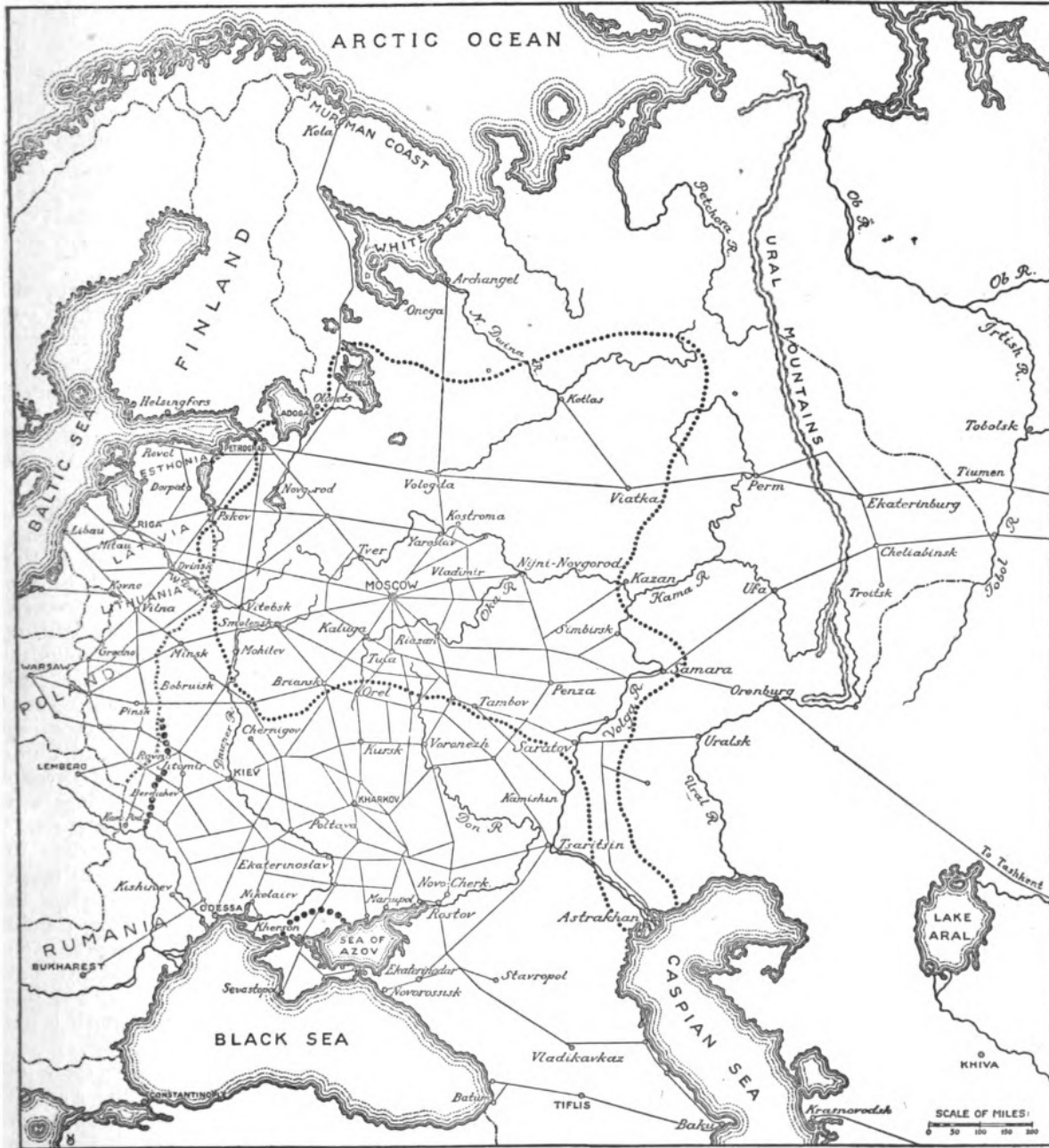
The Turkestan Front was separated from the Eastern Front, and became independent after Kolchak's southern army was entirely defeated in the Orenburg district, and Orenburg was captured by the Red Army. Thus 45,000 Kolchak soldiers were taken prisoner, and an enormous quantity of booty fell into the hands of the Soviet troops. The final union of the troops on the Turkestan Front, (that is, of that part of our front which is facing Turkestan) with those troops which were actually stationed in that region, came about in the middle of September, 1919, in the district of Station Emba on the Orenburg-Tashkent Railway which thereafter became a most important means of communication between Moscow and Central Asia.

This victory of the Red Army opened up inexhaustible possibilities for the Soviets. The Soviet Government was established throughout all Russian Turkestan. A result of this victory was the establishment of friendly relations with Afghanistan and the Extraordinary Embassy of the Amir



# General Map of European Russia, Showing the Strategical Situation on October 25, 1920

(Prepared from a Map of the Military Situation printed in four languages by the Typographical Department of the Field Staff of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.)



The line of heavy dots indicates the present Western and Southern battle fronts; the line of lighter dots represents the farthest advance of the anti-Soviet forces, after the beginning of the Revolution of November 6, 1917; the line of small crosses represents the frontiers determined by peace treaties already signed. Note that communications between Astrakhan and Moscow were never closed, as there was always kept open a wide corridor extending from the mouth of the Volga to Saratov, which was never out of the hands of the Soviet forces.

arrived in Moscow. Strategically, Soviet Russia has succeeded in organizing with Turkestan a united army, and special "partisan" detachments, subjected to one single command, were formed at once. Early in 1920, the result of this victory could already be seen. The British movement from Persia into Turkestan and through Afghanistan now became an impossibility. The revolution in Persia and the Anglo-Afghan War put an end to British indifference as to the influence of the Soviets in Asia, where the Russian proletariat put themselves on a solid footing. The occupation by the Russians of the port of Enzeli, and their march on Teheran, as well as the successful operation of the Turkestan troops in the rear of the Denikin army, were strategical results of the Russian successes in that part of the Republic. The Red Navy took a very important part in the operations on that front, and succeeded in destroying the British naval forces on the Caspian Sea, thus opening the route for the Red Army in Transcaspia, Transcaucasia, and Persia. The famous oil industry of the Baku region, already captured by the British, again came into the hands of the Soviets. A quick concentration of the Soviet Army on the new front alarmed the British. The possibility for Soviet Russia of cooperation with Turkey and the Caucasian republics, became a reality, and the possible menace to India confronted Great Britain more seriously than ever before. Finally, the British Government showed great care in regard to her attitude of further support for the Russian White General, and became less aggressive against the Soviets. Only the success of Red strategy in Central Asia forced the British diplomats to begin negotiations with Moscow, and brought the Russian Trade Commission to London to negotiate commercial relations. How far events would have developed on the Turkestan and Caucasian fronts is difficult to forecast now, but I can state that here the Soviet Army attained a complete victory, and holds so strong a position, that only in a real war with the western coalition would it perhaps yield all it has succeeded in winning.

The West and East Caucasian fronts as well as the Transcaspian front were also of great importance; here the Soviet Army was able to check the British intrigues directed against Georgia, Persia, and the Azerbaijan Republics, and it is only owing to the lack of space that we include the review of these fronts under the general title: "The Turkestan Front."

#### *The Western Front*

At the end of 1918, after the collapse of German militarism, which was brought upon Germany not only by the military force of Allied imperialism, but from within by the masses of the German workers and peasants, the yoke of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, imposed upon Soviet Russia, was automatically destroyed. The Red Army on the Western front in those days included Esthonian, Lithuanian, Lettish and White Russian detachments, which took the offensive, and in March, 1918, a great part of Esthonia and a great

er part of Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia established Soviets. These countries formed their own armies. At this moment, however, the western capitalistic coalition succeeded in supporting the bourgeoisie of the newly formed republics to such an extent that they were able in April to attack the Red forces, defeat them, and start an offensive against the Soviet Republic. This coincided with Kolchak's offensive in the East, and the sharp struggle in the South, making it impossible for the Red Army to resist the advance of the Poles, Letts, Lithuanians, and Esthonians, backed by the Allies. Vilna and Riga were captured by the aggressors, and only in September, the retreat of the Red Army along the whole line on the Western Dvina, from Polotak to Dvina, and later on, along the line of Berezina to Pripet, was arrested. Henceforth the Red front, extending from Pskov to the South, became a permanent line for the concentration of the Red Army. Twice, on this front, the Russian Soviet forces were attacked by the so-called Yudenich army which cooperated with the armies of the small bourgeois republics of the Baltic region. There the question concerned Petrograd and its fate, over which the bourgeoisie of the world gambled. But as our readers are aware, Yudenich's adventure, thanks to the self-sacrifice of the Red Army, and thanks to the superhuman effort of the Red Baltic Navy, became a complete failure. Petrograd was in great danger, not only because of attack from the west, but because of the very serious intention of the Finnish bourgeoisie to support the plot of the Allies. The situation was very grave, moreover, because at the time the Soviet Army was fighting for the fate of Petrograd on the Pulkov Heights, the Finnish White Guards subjected the Red troops to curtain-fire not only from machine guns, but from cannons, and bombed Soviet territory with dynamite. According to the report of Comrade Trotsky to the Congress of Soviets of December 7, 1919, the Soviet Army in those days was "strong enough to make a counter-offensive." "But," says Comrade Trotsky, "we gave orders to the local command saying, 'no notice is to be taken of provocation; but should Finland interfere in spite of this, should she cross the border, should she make an attempt to strike at Petrograd, you are not to limit yourselves to mere resistance, but you are to enter on a counter-offensive, and follow it out to the end.'" And the Finnish bourgeoisie understood what it meant.

The end of 1919 found the Polish army in Lithuania, White Russia, in the greater part of Ukraine, and even in Great Russia. There was no peace between Moscow and Poland, but there were no serious hostilities either. Soviet diplomacy basing its policy on the principles of self-determination of nations did not fix a definite frontier-line between Poland and the Soviet Republic. The Polish Front was not considered strategically important, being the weakest of all the Red fronts, and Moscow made every effort to conclude peace with the Polish Government.

On April 18, 1919, Comrade Chicherin approached the Polish Government with an offer to negotiate peace, but in answer to this a Polish detachment disguised in Red uniform, under Red banner, took Vilna from the Lithuanians.

On December 22, 1919, a formal note of Chicherin with an offer to negotiate peace was transmitted by radio to Poland. There was no reply.

On January 28, 1920, a formal note was communicated to the Polish Government and only on March 27, two months later, did Patek, the Polish Foreign Minister, answer more or less favorably. But difficulties arose because of the insistence of the Polish diplomats that the peace negotiations should take place at Borisov, a Russian town on the Berezina, just captured by the Poles, and situated just in the middle of the battle front. Russian strategy could not permit this, especially when the Polish diplomacy refused to fix an armistice and stop hostilities along the whole front.

On April 23, in its note to the whole world, the Russian Government declared that it was ready to meet the Polish delegates in any country, and in any town that was not on the front zone. But the Polish Government did not desire peace. The negotiations, however, were important to enable it to camouflage the concentration of the Polish army and in this it succeeded in full.

Early in March, 1920, the Poles suddenly attacked the weak Russian forces along the whole front and took Mozir, Kulenkovich, Ovruch and Rezhitsa, and on April 23, began a vigorous offensive on the Volhynian-Kiev front, captured Zhitomir and Zhmerinka and directed the main bulk of their army on Kiev. The famous Ukrainian bandit, Petlura, became an ally of the Poles. In exchange for all Eastern Galicia which he had given up to Poland, he was to be established as a dictator over Ukraine, by force of the Polish arms, thus subjecting ninety-nine per cent of the Ukrainians to the Polish yoke.

The rest is well known. The Polish army crossed the Berezina and Dnieper, and began invading Russia with Moscow as its strategical objective. Fifty miles east of Kiev, the Poles met the bulk of the Red Army, were entirely defeated, and began a hasty retreat, pursued by the cavalry of Comrade Budenny and the advance guard of the Northern army of Comrade Tukharevsky. This pursuit was of great strategical significance, because its duration was more than a month, and the Polish field army was practically annihilated and henceforth deprived of the possibility of repeating an invasion of Russia, and consequently reaching Moscow, in order to overthrow the Soviet Government.

The failure of the Soviet army in their attack on Warsaw and the resulting tactical defeat of the pursuers did not affect the strategical situation of the Soviet Army, which was reinforced by fresh reserves and is gradually recovering its lost initiative, thus supporting the Soviet diplomacy and establishing a long desired peace with the last hostile neighbor to the West. Strategically even

a short armistice with the Poles was of great importance for the Soviet army, not in order to reinforce its western front, but rather to accomplish some regroupments to support the Southern Red Army, which, thanks to the Polish campaign was left to its own fate in fighting the hordes of Baron Wrangel, the only active enemy of Soviet Russia left now in Europe.

The Ukrainian front, being closely connected with the Polish front, is losing its strategical importance since the peace relations between Poland and Soviet Russia are almost established.

#### *The Southern and Ukrainian Fronts*

I have always considered the South Russian front as a most decisive and most important front for the Red strategy. The war in the south is the oldest of the civil wars. It was begun by cossack forces before the Czecho-Slovaks and Kolchak were created as the "champions of the Constituent Assembly." The cradle of the counter-revolution was the Don. Active aid from the working element of the cossack population, together with the Red detachments of Comrade Antonov, caused the liquidation of the power of the White Russian generals. Kaledin shot himself and Kornilov was forced to find a refuge in the Kalmuk steppes; finally Soviets were established throughout the Don. During the summer of 1918 the situation in South Russia was aggravated by the appearance of General Krassnov with his cossacks, who aimed to capture the rich Donets industrial district. He was backed by the Germans, who occupied Ukraine. Early in 1919, the Don Cossacks were seriously defeated by the Red Army, but the reaction in the Kuban and amongst the Don Cossacks gave an opportunity to General Denikin, the successor of the departed Kornilov, to form a strong army in the Caucasus and Kuban.

In the middle of January, 1919, the Southern front is occupied by the so-called "volunteer army", under the supreme command of Denikin, and the Don Cossacks are forming thirty-seven cavalry and infantry divisions—to cooperate with him.

From the Don Cossack region to Kamishin, on the Volga and the stanitza (village) of Nizhni Chirskaia, this front enabled the enemy to cut off Soviet Russia from coal, and oil supplies and from her richest agricultural area. Therefore the strategical problem of the Soviet Revolutionary Field Staff was to recapture the Donets coal district and to open the way to the Caucasus oil region.

In the middle of January, 1919, the Red Army concentrated its forces and started an offensive on a wide front: Ostrogorsk, Borisoglebsk, Povarino, Yelan, Tsaritsin, and Sarepta. In the middle of February the Southern Red Army forced the Don and the beginning of May found the Soviet troops eighty versts northwest of Taganrog and 125 versts to the north and forty versts to the east of Rostov. Further to the southeast a line of fifty versts was occupied by the Reds, south of the river Manich,—and the advanced troops attained the upper Kuma and approached the mid-

dle Terek. The strategical aim of the Red Field Staff thus was accomplished in three months, and the further operations were not undertaken because of the developing battles with Kolchak and on other fronts.

This interruption of hostilities was sufficient to enable Denikin to gain time and to reorganize his army. He then formed a strong body of cavalry and started a vigorous offensive from the Manich in the direction of Tsaritsin, and on May 20, by means of British tanks and poison gas, he broke through the Red front in the region of Yuzevka. The mutiny amongst the Don Cossacks against the Soviets in the middle of March, in the rear of the Red front, helped Denikin's advance and forced the Red Field Staff to order a general retreat, protected by rear-guard actions.

The offensive of the enemy was directed northward, towards Bolashov and Voronezh, as well as in a northwesterly direction, on Kharkov, Poltava, Yekaterinoslav and Kiev. The Red Army stopped its retreat, and then began to counter-attack the invaders, the main front line passing through Nikolaiev, Yelizavetgrad, Bobrinskaia, Romni, Obaian, Korotokmak, Liski, Povorino, thence to the Volga.

The counter-offensive of the Reds in the middle of August had as its objective to occupy the Kharkov region as well as the lower basin of Don. In twelve days the Soviet troops succeeded in capturing Volniki, Kupiansk, Volchansk and approached to sixty versts from Kharkov, speedily moving also toward the middle Volga. By means

of a strong cavalry counter-attack in the Kursk and Novokhopersk direction, the enemy not only stopped the advance of the Red Army, but succeeded in breaking through the Red front in the direction of Novokhopersk, and the cavalry of Mamontov and Shkuro penetrated far to the rear of the Soviet field army and raided Tambov, Kozlov, Yelets, and Voronezh.

Finally, the new retreat of the Red Army brought the Denikin bands as far north as Orel, but here, north of that town, in the Tula direction, he was met by fresh Soviet reserves. A decisive battle took place, and after a series of tactical reverses, Denikin received a final strategical blow near Kharkov, and his panic stricken forces were dispersed in complete disorder and energetically pursued and annihilated by the Red cavalry.

Only in the Crimean peninsula, under the protection of the Allied navy, a small part of the Denikin forces, under Baron Wrangel, one of Denikin's generals, were reorganized, with the help of the Entente, as a new counter-revolutionary force, which was to cooperate with the Poles. The general aim of Wrangel's strategy is practically the same as that of Denikin, but the existing political and strategical circumstances, as well as his resources of man-power and supply are much inferior to those of Denikin.

The third year of the titanic struggle of the Russian proletariat has ended with the triumph of the Revolution.

## A Prophecy by Victor Hugo

*We are in Russia. The Neva is frozen over and heavy waggons roll across its surface. The streets extend before us, there is buying and selling, laughter and dissonance; all possible activities are going on, faint fires are lighted over the water that has turned to granite. It is winter; there is ice, and it seems as if this condition of affairs were permanent. A continuous pale light illumines the sky and it is as if the sun had been extinguished . . . but no, you are not dead, oh liberty! At the moment you are most forgotten, the moment your return is least expected, you will suddenly arise—a blinding vision! Your radiant glance, your invigorating heart will again come to life over this dead mass of ice that has been trodden and become defiled. Can the peoples hear this crumbling, threatening, promising resonance? It is the river Neva breaking up its coat of ice. You said it was granite, and behold it splinters like broken glass. It is the great thaw, I tell you. It is water come to life. Water in its powerful joy and its frightful wrath. Progress once more begins. Humanity continues its onward march. It is a river which now unobstructed again pursues its course, tearing up by the roots, smashing to bits, crushing and drowning in its waves, not only the Empire of the upstart Emperor Nicholas, but also all the relics of ancient and modern despotism. Do you see that bit of furniture floating along there? That is the throne. Over there some other pieces of wood are being carried along. That is the gallows. Do you see that book, half of it submerged? That is the codex of the old morality and law of capitalism. And what are these crows nests that have just gone down? They are the barracks in which the wage slaves lived. All these things are being dragged down and washed away; never to return. And what was required to bring about all this—this incomparable victory of life over death? But one of your glances, oh Sun! But one blow of your mighty arm, oh Labor!*

## Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Sixth Instalment)

THERE is a lack of draft-horses in Moscow. The horses are not sleek, but you cannot see their ribs either. They are not normal horses, *panye* horses, as our soldiers in the East say. At least this applies to the work-horses; the cab horses are often more defective, for the fodder rations are scant and roundabout purchases expensive. And then, there are rascals of cab-drivers who think of their own pockets and let the horses starve.

A cab journey from the Nikolai Station to the Theater Square in May, 1920, cost three thousand Bolshevik rubles, or thirty to fifty German marks. At the beginning of the Revolution the Moscow City Soviet had nationalized everything, surely including the cabs. Now the latter are free from nationalization. Quite a number have been requisitioned for official use; the remainder are free and wait at all corners.

But I was more interested in the dogs than in the horses. I once read about the dogs of Constantinople as they were in the 80's of the last century, of the unnoticed, hardly even kicked, neglected dogs of the Turkish capital. It was said that at Constantinople in those days there was a swarm of dogs, an army of dogs. The street of Moscow is not so rich in dogs as that, but the Moscow dogs are also neglected to the point of not even being kicked; they are unkempt, unattractive. Their skin, their glances, their places of refuge are outcomes of revolution.

They rest in gutters, against the walls of houses, and on the steps. They sleep all day long on these steps, and also at night. I do not know how and on what they live, for they do not stir from the spot.

There are shaggy dogs among them, yoke-yellow Saint Bernards, formerly master-dogs. They are long-sinewed Russian greyhounds, their white pelts soiled. The pelts are disheveled; the dogs' eyes seem pasted shut. They are mere recollections of the splendid days. Moscow dogs no longer have system about them. The dog-days are over. There are no longer masters and dogs. Many among the dogs were once masters. The dog has had his day.

My wife had packed a tin with anti-lice preparation in my baggage. She said: "You will get lice. Every night you must spread some of this powder over your bed. I do not want a lousy husband. I want one with a clean skin, a white-colored man, and not a mangy scratched-up wretch. Guard yourself against lice in Russia."

I made no use of the box of "anti-lice", and yet I got no lice, not even fleas. Not until I got back to Esthonia did the first flea alight upon me, when I was with the doctor at Reval. The doctor was issuing my non-vermin certificate, a certificate declaring me free of lice and fleas, and at that

moment the first flea fell upon me. But at Moscow I was liceless and flealess.

There are some lice, however, at Moscow, also fleas and bedbugs. But the terror of typhus (lice carry the typhus) was past in May, 1920, at least in Moscow. I was told that there was still typhus in other parts of Russia. Physicians, medical investigators, should at least be sent to Russia, and they should have with them stocks of medicaments, of salvarsan, of quinine.

The chief typhus regions are the parts that were evacuated by Kolchak and by Denikin; I was told that these parts were afflicted with frightful epidemics.

### *Makhorka*

It takes time to get used to it. There is some of the Russian forest and of the Russian meadow in it; at any rate Russian real estate. It exhales fragrance—many fragrances. It is a tobacco for men; it knocks you down. You have to get used to it.

All Moscow that smokes pipes, and a part of cigarette Moscow, puffs makhorka. It is a sort of minced landscape with a little tobacco in it, chopped very fine, with obstinate white pieces of resistance. It is an acquired taste.

I did not acquire it. I did not need to, for I had brought twenty packages of tobacco with me from Germany, and in addition Sasha gave us twenty-five Russian cigarettes every other day. They were cigarettes with long paper mouth-pieces and good tobacco in the paper.

But one of the members of the delegation was intoxicated with makhorka. The audacious man smoked only makhorka; he swore by makhorka and sang its praises everywhere.

Makhorka (which was smoked already in peacetimes) is a tobacco for poor people, a substitute tobacco, a growth of necessity, a make-shift mixture, for the fragrant tobacco days of Moscow are gone for the present. The wonderful one-kopec cigarettes are a thing of the past. In May, 1920, you paid the cigarette dealer 400 to 600 Bolshevik rubles for 25 cigarettes. These peddlers were crying out their wares in a thousand streets, out of the recesses of houses, on street corners, and as they ran through the street. They sold you makhorka and also the necessary cigarette papers.

Anyone who has gotten used to makhorka will never part with the habit. I offered English cigarettes to a former director of the Credit Lyonnais and now a director in an industrial combine. He declined on the ground that he smoked only makhorka. He had given up all other tobacco.

All paper, every kind of paper is used for cigarette paper in Moscow. They smoked makhorka in wrapping paper, in newspaper, in tissue paper, in each and every kind of paper.

The matter is very plain. They did not paste

the cigarette paper, they hardly licked it. They turned a little "toot" of wrapping paper or newspaper and smoked. It is not expensive and saves time.

The English were better treated.

The Union of Tobacco Workers handed them great boxes adorned with dedications and containing long cigarettes. The English had a good time. Scheidemann, if he went to Moscow, would also get a big box with a dedication on it. He would not need to smoke makhorka.

#### *The War With Poland*

One day a young Communist came into the office of the combine. The manager signed something and the young Communist departed after shaking his hand.

"What have you signed?" I asked. "It is a front certificate. The comrade is going to the front. He has volunteered. Of course the population is being fine-combed, but this man, like many others, is a volunteer." Before that I had heard nothing of the war with Poland. They spoke but little of this war. Russia has been at war for six years, and, war-weary as Russia is, war has almost become self-evident. It is no longer a matter of lashing up initial enthusiasm, no longer a matter of intoxication, but a simple self-evident truth. It is a pressure, but it will not press Russia down. They say very little of the war with Poland. The leaders, the political leaders, speak of it. They are confident; they do not think of defeat.

This confidence is evident if you have completely grasped Russia. For this country makes use, against each assailant, of its extent and of its millions of men. If the war is a people's war, like the war against Poland, a national war, Russia is unconquerable. Who will conquer this length and breadth and these millions with the sword? Napoleon could not. Russia is one great Kutuzov.\*

The war is oppressive. For war means requisitions, means sucking out energy, means cutting off sources of supply. Every war is oppressive, even to Russia. Who on earth has any right to wage war with Russia? It is a beastly crime. The war weighs down upon the transport roads and cripples them; both the railways and the waterways. The war murders. War is terrible in any case.

Russia will not lose the war with Poland. In the fall of this year, at the latest, Russia will win the war. In the fall at the latest, the defeat of the Poles will be decided. Russia's wars are autumn and winter wars.\*\*

Russia cannot lose the war with Poland. For the Poles are fighting with a demoralized rear, with bloodless peasants: the anarcho-Socialistic peasant of Ukraine is undermining the rear. The Poles have no firm redoubt.

\* Michael Ilarionovich Kutuzov (1745-1813), Russian field-marshal who led the resistance to Napoleon in 1812.

\*\* The fact that imperialistic Poland does not pursue Soviet Russian troops, but makes peace with Russia, shows that Poland has been defeated in her attempt to annex Russian territory.—Editor SOVIET RUSSIA.

There is no sense in attacking Russia. For many reasons there is no sense in it. England, the English Government understands this very well. There is an unheard of brutality, an incredible stupidity in waging war on Russia. Russia is a gigantic cauldron of foodstuffs, a colossal warehouse of possibilities for the whole world. Who has any interest in smashing this cauldron, in destroying the possibilities?

Europe has never before been guilty of an equal stupidity.

#### *The Ruble*

Once the ruble meant something in the world; it meant 2.16 marks, (50 cents American money). Of course there was a lot of trickery about it, a gold standard flim-flamming by Witte and Kokovtsev. For Russia never really had a gold standard, only a centralization of the gold to entice foreign traders. Inside of the country you never saw much of the gold standard. The paper ruble fluttered gaily, the little ruble, the debasing, prostituting, bribing little ruble. The ruble shot its poison into the souls of Russian officials, and to this day not all the souls of Russia have been purged of this poison. Already, in peace times Russia had a color psychology of rubles, a local *agiotage*, according to the age of the ruble, the color of the ruble, the size of the ruble. The Soviet Republic must reckon with this psychology also. Romanov rubles, Czarist rubles, are considerably higher in purchasing power than Bolshevik rubles. In May, 1920, a speculator would pay 20 to 22 thousand Bolshevik rubles for 1,000 Romanov rubles. Of course this is only true of speculators, for the state exchanges only at par.

Russian money, Bolshevik money is not money in the European sense of the word. It is only money of issue, not money of presentation. There is no institution in Russia that redeems the Bolshevik money, as for instance the Bank of England redeems pound notes. To be sure, the obligation to redeem in many countries of Europe is today not different from the case of the Bolshevik ruble. Redemption has ceased. The German Reichsbank, for instance, cannot redeem. It may exchange notes for notes, or notes for treasury loan certificates. But you cannot call that redemption. It is a sort of solution (viewed in the large) but not a redemption. For the present it is a humbug which is not admitted. But the Bolshevik ruble is an open humbug. The Bolshevik ruble is really an unblushing deception, while the European banknote is a veiled deception. That is the right way. Deception should be practiced openly, without a veil, if the whole monetary system is to be swindled out of existence; if that is your object you cannot swindle sufficiently. The Soviet Republic has thus far issued only 600 to 700 milliards of rubles. It cannot print as many as it would like, only a few million milliards a day. That is far too little if it is intended to deal a death blow to the monetary system. But it must be done to death, as it cannot be torn out by the roots at once or beheaded at a single blow.

That is what the system demands; and men will have it so. They do not want it to be decapitated at once; they want to be deceived and they do not notice that they are deceiving themselves. It is an interesting, delightful episode. It is caviar to the financial critic. The more magnificent the deception, the more luscious the morsel to the financial critic.

The Soviet Republic has now issued revolutionary certificates, notes with propaganda printed on them, in all the languages of the world powers; in all the important languages of the world you read: *Proletarians of all Lands Unite!* The notes are smaller than the old Bolshevik notes. I saw 500 and 1,000 ruble notes. The rallying cry of the Communist manifesto, of Marx and Engels, you may read in the German language, and then in the French language, in the English language, in the Turkish language, in the Russian language, etc., etc., right down the note.

This propaganda bank note, this tendentious ruble note is worth less than the old Soviet note, the Red note: 10,000 Red Soviet notes are worth in Moscow, or were worth when I was there, 11,000 manifesto notes. There are also old Red 10,000 ruble notes; you do not see them frequently.

They print small notes, hardly larger than postage stamps, of green, yellow, brown color. Some of these also are manifesto notes, but the rallying cry is printed on them only in Russian. There are also Kerensky notes, whose purchasing power fluctuates between that of the Romanov notes and of the Bolshevik notes. Notes, notes, notes. Heaps of ruble notes, crumpled notes, patched notes, and lost notes. The little postage-stamp notes hardly receive any attention. They are worth practically nothing. You pay with whole perforated sheets of such notes. The individual note is hardly even paper, it is trash. It is a caricature, a money joke, a parody on the capitalist money system.

People do not count in Moscow in rubles but in bread. To be sure they say: "How much bread shall I get for so many rubles"; or "How many rubles must I pay for so much bread?" The emphasis is not on the ruble but on the "bread". Bread is the measure, the standard, not paper. There is a profound meaning in this, a Socialist meaning. This is already one of the consequences of the systematic gigantic devaluation, of the magnificent relegation of money to the background, of the huge mass-production of money. The ruble is therefore a psychological matter, of color, of size, a calculation on a scale according to the size and color. The ruble is no more; money is no more. This is the catastrophe of money, a feverish production of a supplementary purchasing power. If the people do not steal (from a Socialist standpoint), this whole deception would be unnecessary. But as it still has capitalistic tendencies, it must be deceived in this way. That is the essence of this printing of paper money.

In foreign countries the Bolshevik ruble is worth

nothing. Nor need it be worth anything, for Russian foreign trade is financed differently, is financed with gold, with foreign goods, with concessions and products. The sellers to Russia need not worry; the Soviet Government pays promptly, and in good money, or the equivalent of good money. It does not need to deceive foreign dealers. It has enough wherewith to pay. It has a devaluated standard (if you can speak of any standard at all) in the interior, but its money standard abroad is of high value, of the highest value. No country in the world has a standard of higher value, not even America.

#### *Moscow Time*

The clock is set ahead in Moscow. In the summer it is set hours ahead. For that reason, the working-day begins very early and ends very early. As time is counted in Berlin, the offices and factories close at noon. This arrangement is good, for it permits of recreation during the daylight hours. Moscow needs recreation. Moscow nerves are no longer peace nerves. They need walks in the open, relaxation, lounging lassitude.

Of course, there are also nerves in Moscow that cannot escape their torment. The administration heads slave for twelve and fourteen hours, and more. Chicherin is such a slave, and many others toil from early morning till late at night. They are helpless and perplexed because there is such a scarcity of labor, and such a tremendous amount of work. Chicherin begins his work late in the afternoon and continues until six in the morning, Moscow time. But these are intensified exceptions.

There is plenty of time in Moscow. There has always been plenty of time in Moscow, even today. Russia is large, and time is slow in Russia. What is an hour more or less!

Often I lost patience, I stamped my foot, I struck my fist on the table, I could not get used to Moscow time. I liked the summer schedule of time, but not the Moscow sense of time.

A horrible nuisance is the following practice: I am speaking with the head of a department. The thread of our subject weaves back and forth between us. The door opens and some one stumbles over the carefully spun thread, breaks it in two, and talks with the department head ignoring my presence. I am bursting with rage, I stamp my foot, I tremble with impatience, for I have no time. The thread-breaking man or woman goes out, smiling as though nothing had happened, and immediately another breaks in and speaks over my head. There is no rational system in this method of holding conferences, time is frittered away, the department head loses his perspective. There is no sense of order, no sense of sequence, of consecutiveness. Lenin has this sense, and there are others who have it. With them one thing follows another in consecutive order, is assorted, registered, announced, cancelled, admitted. Order, order, order. Blessed folk!

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*

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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**A**N enterprising American engineer, "grub-staked" by a considerable group of California capitalists, goes prospecting in Soviet Russia, strikes a rich lode, stakes out his claim, and returns to arrange the development of his diggings. The Commissariat of Foreign Affairs has announced that the American syndicate on whose behalf Mr. Washington D. Vanderlip concluded his contract with the Soviet Government will commence operations in the spring of 1921. The syndicate has acquired under a sixty-year lease the exclusive right to the exploitation of coal, oil, and fisheries within a territory of 400,000 square miles, comprising all of Kamchatka and a huge area of northeastern Siberia. Here is a notable achievement which runs true to the American pioneering tradition. Mr. Vanderlip and his backers have "broken trail" in the authentic spirit of the American frontier. They may be said, indeed, to have picked up the American frontier and carried it across the Pacific to penetrate new areas and discover new riches. We speak of the American frontier in no nationalistic sense, but as that realm in which the characteristic spirit of the American frontiersman found free play for his audacity and hardihood. Mr. Vanderlip, adventuring into Soviet Russia, braving the real hardships, and no less courageously ignoring all the imagined perils of that hidden land, displayed something of the same hardihood and audacity. And yet, notable as is the performance of Mr. Vanderlip, the extraordinary thing is that at so late a date he should be the first American to bring such an enterprise to successful conclusion. For three years Soviet Russia has been an open field to any American pioneer with imagination and initiative. Almost from its inception the Soviet Government invited American engineers and specialists in all fields to come in and do just what Mr. Vanderlip has done. Soviet Russia asked for American technicians and American tools, but instead of these there came only American soldiers with American guns. Dare we hope at last that Mr. Vanderlip's achievement marks the end of America's ill-advised and unhappy experiment in foreign intervention and signifies the return to the nobler tradition of the pioneer? American soldiers brought to Russia only bitterness and hatred and death. American

pioneers can bring to Russia skill and enterprise and experience. How welcome and how sincerely appreciated these will be, the case of Mr. Vanderlip has proved.

\* \* \*

**T**HE policy of granting concessions for exploitation by foreign engineers and capitalists is not new with the Soviet Government. It is no departure from established principles. On the contrary, it is part of a program publicly announced from the very first. Just as Soviet Russia needs and will buy the most improved machinery developed under the capitalist system and manufactured by capitalists, so it will employ the best technique and the most experienced technicians. If this technique and these technicians can be bought with high wages, Soviet Russia is prepared to buy them that way, as Lenin announced in his famous program speech in April, 1918. If these forces can be attracted in greater volume by the offer of concessions in natural resources, Soviet Russia is rich enough and vast enough to grant large concessions without in any way endangering its sovereignty or social structure. In its reply to the Prinkipo proposal the Soviet Government stated officially that it was "ready to give to the subjects of the powers of the Entente, mineral, timber, and other concessions, to be defined in detail, on condition that the economic and social structure of Soviet Russia shall not be touched by the internal arrangements of these concessions." Discussing this question with Arthur Ransome in 1919, the Chairman of the Committee of State Constructions at Moscow said: "We want from abroad all that we cannot make ourselves. We want a thousand versts of rails . . . We want new railways built. We want dredgers for our canals and river works. We want excavators . . . We shall pay in concessions, giving foreigners the right to take raw materials. Timber, actual timber, is as good as credit . . . We are prepared to say, 'You build this, or give us that, and we will give you the right to take so much timber for yourselves.'"

The principle was exhaustively argued and definitely accepted in the winter of 1919 when the concession was granted for the building of the Great Northern Railway. This contract was approved on the understanding that the foreign promoters were financed by American capital. In May, 1919, the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs stated in a letter to its representative in America, "We are ready to give all sorts of economic concessions to Americans in preference to other foreigners. We mean concessions in Northern Russia, the development of natural resources (forests and mines), the construction of railroads, of electrical stations, of canals, etc."

It will be argued, of course, that concessions to foreign capitalists may endanger the integrity of the Communist state. One might concede the danger. And yet Soviet Russia has already surmounted the dangers of foreign intervention, of





## Recent Pictures from Soviet Russian History

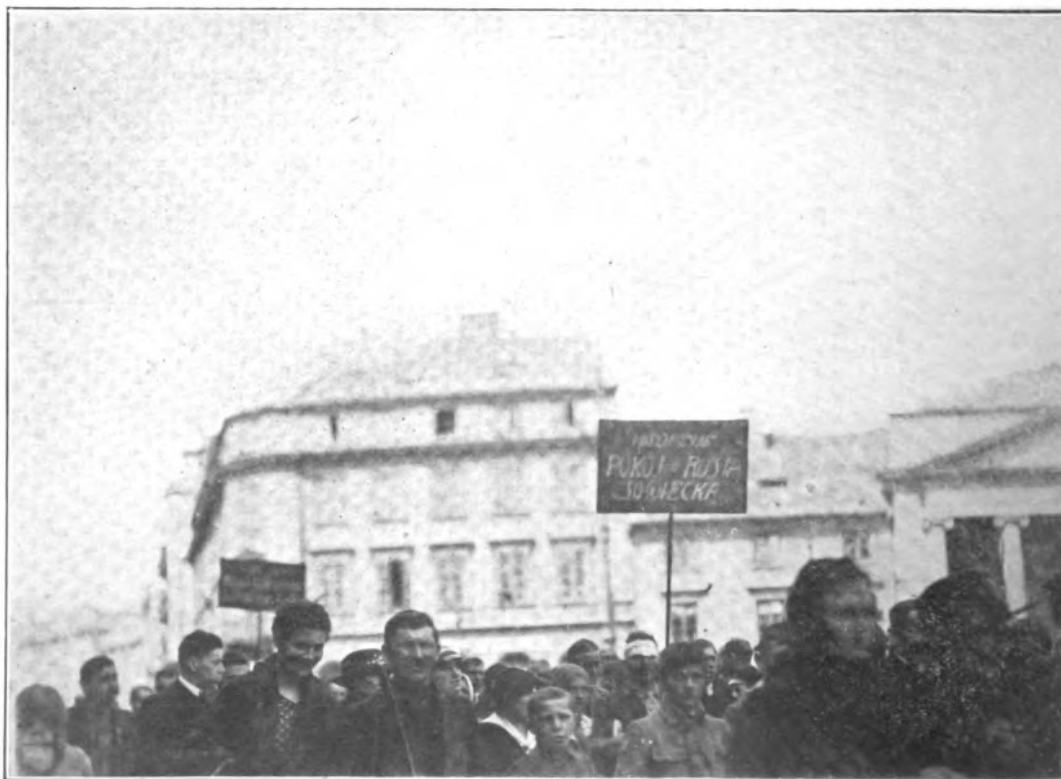
This Illustrated Supplement to the Third Anniversary Number of SOVIET RUSSIA presents a few scenes, persons, and institutions of importance in Russia's history. Our first picture represent Yu. Steklov, editor of the Moscow *Izvestia*, Official Organ of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, leaving an automobile. Below is a 60-ruble Soviet note (worth only a few cents in American money). Both sides are reproduced; the inscriptions read: "Exchange token. Russian, Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Sixty Rubles. Chief Commissar of the People's Bank. G. Po . . . Guaranteed by all the resources of the Republic. Treasurer, G. Galtsov. 60 Rubles. Proletarians of the World Unite. Counterfeiting of these notes punishable under the law."





### May First in Warsaw

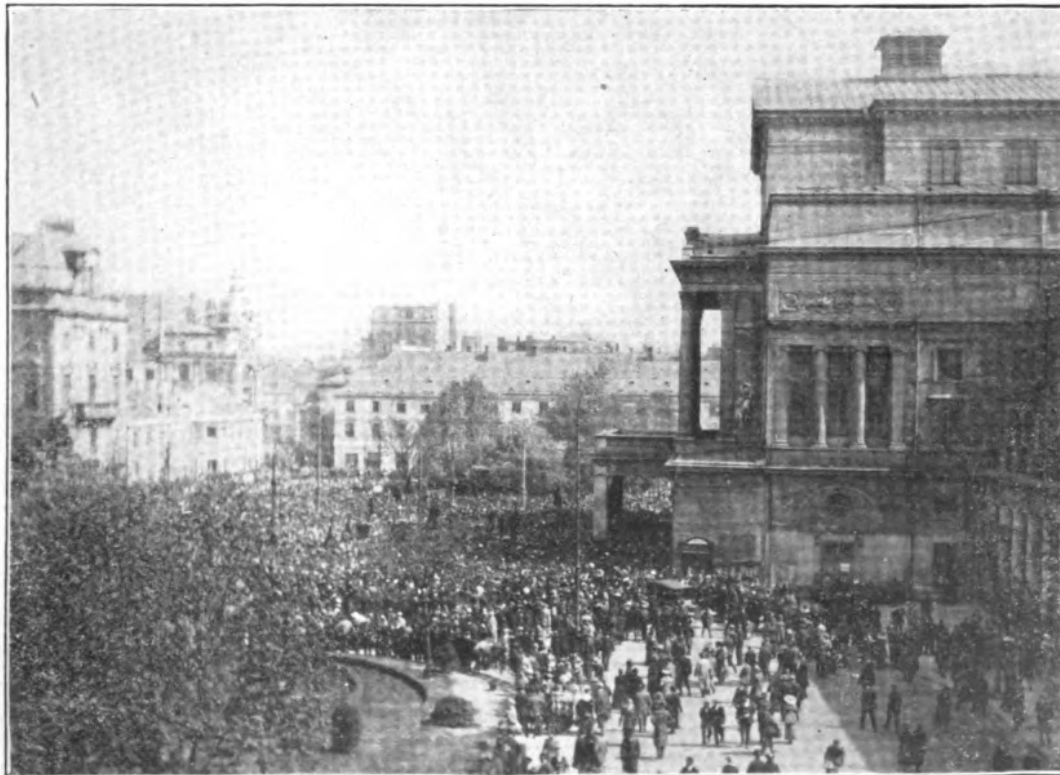
While these scenes were photographed in Warsaw for SOVIET RUSSIA they are of great importance as indications of the attitude of the Polish masses toward their Russian neighbor. In the May First parades in the streets of Warsaw, this year, banners were carried with the inscriptions reproduced in these pictures. The inscription in the upper picture reads: "Long Live an Alliance with Soviet Russia." That in the lower picture reads: "Long Live Peace With Soviet Russia."

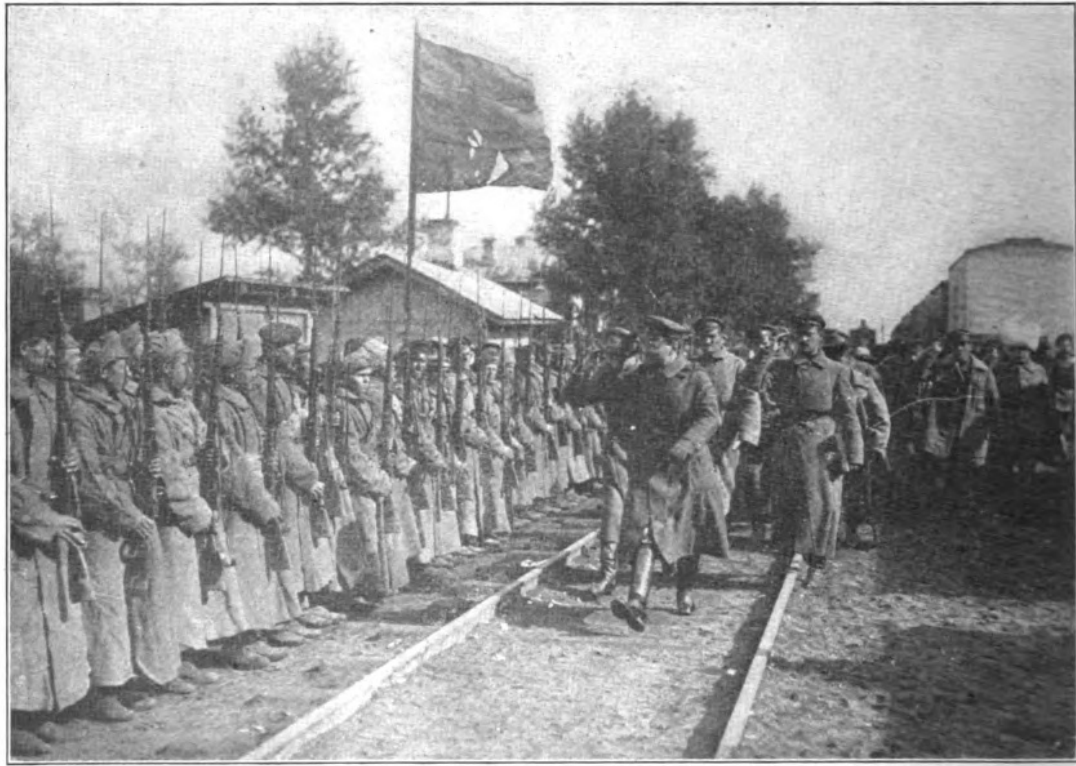




**May First in Warsaw**

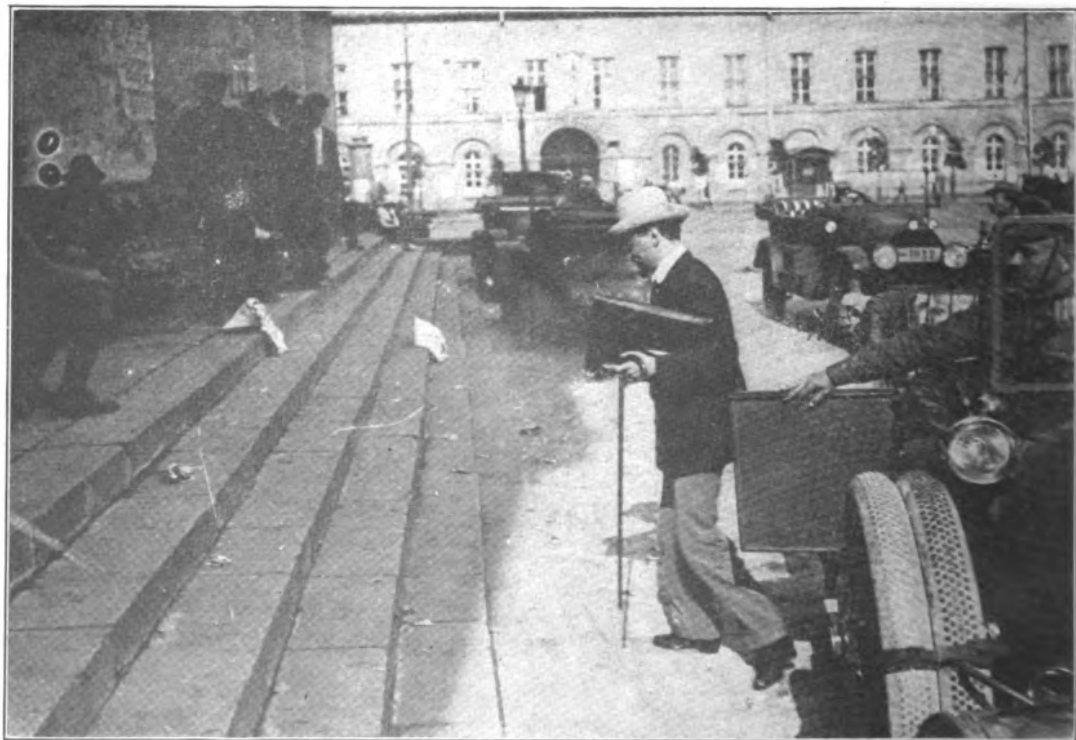
The inscriptions in the upper picture read: "Vistula Section K.P.R.P. Long Live the First of May of the Proletariat", and "We Demand Peace With Soviet Russia". The lower picture represents a scene of the demonstration on Theater Square, Warsaw.

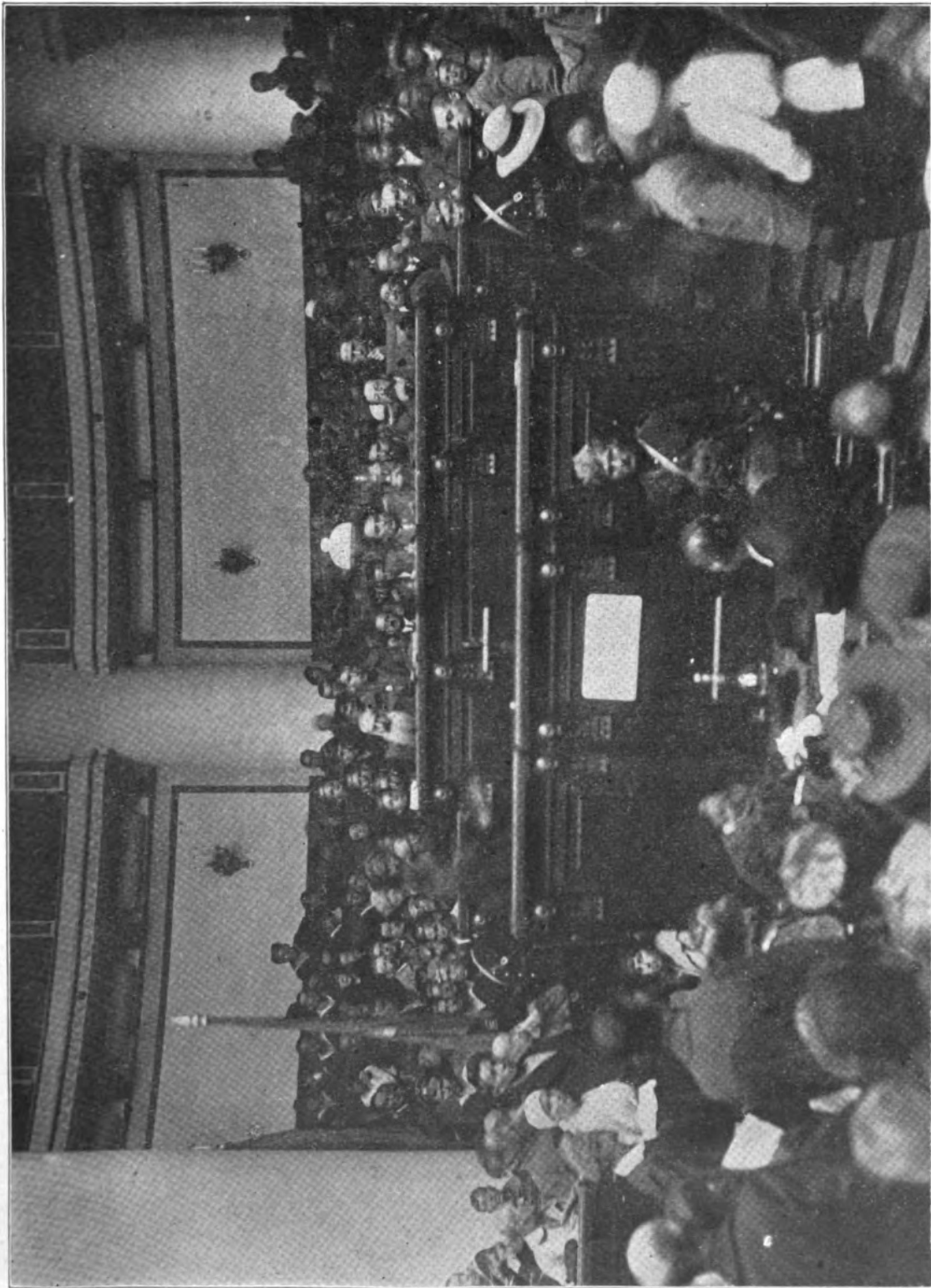




**Trotsky in Military and Civilian Dress**

These pictures give us two new views of the Commissar of War. Above, he is shown reviewing the First Moscow Regiment; below, he is entering the Moscow Opera House from his automobile.





**The Petrograd Soviet**

This important body is shown in session with the Italian delegates as visitors. Zinoviev, Head of the Petrograd Soviet, is seated in the center, under the lamp; Zorn is on the right, second row behind the rostrum, with his hand on his chin. A statistical study of the composition of the Petrograd Soviet was printed in SOVIET RUSSIA a few weeks ago.



**Scenes on the Island of Rest, Near Petrograd**

On this island, which is a sort of rest home for the men and women workers of Petrograd, there are club-houses for both sexes. Above, women are shown resting and reading in a room of a former palace on this island (formerly Kamenny Ostrov); below men in another apartment are playing games.





**Educators and Pupils at Moscow**

Above is a Group of Workers in the Commissariat of Education. Below is a tug of war between boys and girls in the Pirogrov Colony near Moscow.





#### Russian Officials in Conference

Above is a conversation between Trotsky, Lenin, and Leo Kamenev, People's Commissar of War, President of the Council of People's Commissars, and President of the Moscow Soviet, respectively. Below is shown Vladimir Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, seated beside a village school-teacher.





blockade, and of civil war and internal intrigue fomented by foreign agents. Soviet Russia will have many grave dangers to face in the future. There is no reason to suppose that it will lack the strength and vigilance to safeguard itself against any undesirable influences arising from the presence of foreign industrialists engaged in developing Russian resources under the close supervision of the Soviet authority. Let it be remembered, moreover, that Soviet Russia is offering to permit the exploitation of its natural resources and not of its men and women. Workers employed in the foreign concessions will be guarded by all the laws devised by the workers' republic for the protection of labor.

\* \* \*

**L**IEUT.-COLONEL Cecil L'Estrange Malone, M. P., rose recently in the House of Commons to rebuke the Prime Minister for his repetition of the cant charge that there is "no democracy" in Soviet Russia. "Did they really have democracy in England?" asked Mr. Malone of his colleagues in Parliament. "Are our elections really free?" he inquired, and added "I got in by the same method as you got in." From his own experience Mr. Malone then described the processes of an English election.

"What happens when an election takes place, when great issues are before the country—new housing conditions, better industrial conditions, and all the hundred and one new social improvements that are required? A great newspaper magnate, or some other great influential interest controlling the newspapers, comes along two or three days before the election, and instead of the issues being real, vital issues which are before the country, what comes before the people? Hanging the Kaiser, making Germany pay, and all this futile rot which the people are asked to vote for instead of the really fundamental social basis which they should send people back to legislate for and to improve their conditions. Then, even if the people have the sense not to be bluffed, what happens? Last week we saw in this House something of the democratic legislation about which the Prime Minister boasts. In two hours last Wednesday 160,000,000 pounds of the tax-payers' money was voted through the House without a single word, or even half a word, of discussion. That is the democratic legislation of which the Prime Minister boasts. If anyone analyzes the electoral machinery of the country, it is the remotest possible form of real democracy. . . . On pure grounds of industrial democracy, election by industrial franchise is obviously and clearly more democratic than election by parliamentary representation, which confuses, combines and mixes up hundreds of different interests so that the real vital interests of the people are totally obscured."

Thus a member of the British Parliament on the alleged perfection of the British Parliamentary system.

### JOHN REED

John Reed was born in Portland, Oregon, on October 22, 1887, and died in Moscow on October 17, 1920. His career as a newspaper and military correspondent, which he pursued up to the end of his thirtieth year, provided him with numerous opportunities for excitement and adventure. Among the countries he visited in the course of his journalistic expeditions were Mexico, Germany, Poland, Serbia, and Russia. Each of these countries added something to his view of life or provided him with an experience that helped to build up his mass of observation. In Mexico he learned to know the lot of the exploited land-serf; in Germany he came in contact with a temporarily triumphant militarism; in Poland he saw a nation being wrecked by the oscillating sweeps of opposing armies; in Serbia he found a primitive race of shepherds fleeing unarmed before the heaviest artillery in Europe.

His life in other countries is a life of adventure that recalls to the European admirer of the pioneer romances the audacious spirit that was one of the most attractive qualities of American life as seen from abroad. But his life after his sojourn in Russia during the Soviet Revolution, the Revolution of November 7, 1917, was different. His contact with the proletarian revolution was more a grip than a contact; it was to hold him in its grasp until he died. During the "Ten Days That Shook the World", John Reed received the immense stimulus that was to separate him forever from a life of mere adventure and to cement him definitely to the struggle of the working class for its emancipation. He returned to America in 1918, understanding that he was to occupy an important post in the employ of the Soviet Government. It happened that political considerations required his relinquishing this career, and in spite of a possible personal mortification or disappointment in this connection, he never permitted any feelings of this kind to interfere with his affection for the proletarian government to which he had definitely devoted the service of the rest of his life. The incidents in his life during the past few years are still alive in the memory of every friend of Soviet Russia. Many of us still remember the great meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York, at which John Reed addressed a large audience with the message of the new era at whose birth he had been permitted to be present. Many of us also remember the meetings he addressed in November, 1918, held in commemoration of the First Anniversary of the Revolution. His work in connection with American political conditions it is not our function to touch upon. That he was the first American to serve as a link between the United States and Soviet Russia there is no doubt. He was in Moscow since the Fall of 1919, although he left there at least once, early this year, to pass through Finland and return to America, which he did not succeed in doing. He lies buried under the Kremlin wall, together with other faithful men who fell in defence of Soviet Russia.

## The Railway Situation in Soviet Russia

**N**EXT to the civil war and foreign wars, the solution of the railroad problem has been the paramount issue of the Soviet Republic. The history of the railroad situation in Russia, ever since the beginning of the World War, has been very illuminating with respect to its relation to the Russian Revolution. The efforts of the Allied Governments to prevent the entire breakdown of the Russian railway system are quite well known. Two commissions from the United States alone, composed of prominent engineers and railway men, were dispatched to Russia in the hope of saving the situation, but to no avail. The evils of the old government were too serious a handicap to be overcome by good advice from experts of foreign countries.

It was a very lamentable situation to which the Soviet Government fell heir upon the accomplishment of the November Revolution. From virtually nothing, the Workers' and Peasants' Government had to rebuild its railways. Here in the United States we are familiar with remarkable railroad undertakings and developments, but no situation has ever existed which paralleled the difficulties in this respect the Soviet Government has had to face. A transportation system at best inadequate, even under the most flourishing conditions before the war, was practically a complete wreck by the time of the Revolution. On top of this wars of counter-revolution and invasion had to be fought. That a distinct and well thought out policy of railway rehabilitation and extension was actually developed by Soviet Russia is perhaps one of the most remarkable tributes to this country of workers and peasants.

It should not be concluded, however, that Soviet Russia is by any means beyond its difficulties. The situation is improving, and the reason for it is revealed, for example, by the spirit and morale which has actuated the workers to engage, among other things, upon enterprises as are indicated below.

### *The Mobilization of Railway Workers*

The Workers' and Peasants' Councils in the various railway centers have early inaugurated a systematic mobilization of all the local railway workers. All persons who, during the last ten years, have ever been in the service of railways either in the capacity of engineers, firemen, boiler-makers, machinists, trackworkers, agents, supervisors of all kinds, as well as many others, between the ages of 18 and 50 years, were called upon to report for the purpose of engaging in railway work. This movement was suggested from the central body of Workers and Peasants, and carried out at the discretion of the local groups.

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party also issued a circular with respect to the mobilization of all Communists to fight the disintegration of the transportation system. This

appeal is a model of earnestness, sincerity, and devotion to duty truly remarkable.

The groups they mobilized were organized into technical gangs and, by way of a start, a week of intensive work was inaugurated on every railway system. This step alone did a great deal to inject new life and spirit into the badly demoralized railway structure.

On the Nikolai and Murmansk Railway both regular railway men and periodic volunteers worked at high capacity. In the first place efforts were made to clean up all the equipment in need of light or so-called running repairs. As was to be expected, the workers dismantled those locomotives and cars which were beyond repair and utilized spare parts secured in this way for the repair of less seriously damaged rolling stock. Many box and cattle cars (*Teplushki*) were converted for passenger and military transport purposes. From available sources, in forests and elsewhere, great supplies of wood were gathered for locomotive, car and stationary heating purposes. Coal had become very scarce owing to the occupation of the coal regions by counter-revolutionary forces. At stations freight cars were promptly unloaded and returned to service. The permanent ways were repaired, switches and cuts cleared of snow and dirt. Scrap was carefully sorted, and materials which were reclaimable, properly transferred to centers of repair and construction.

The productivity of the shops was almost immediately increased by 70 per cent. In the course of the inaugural transportation week on the Murmansk Railway, 30 locomotives were rehabilitated and two badly ditched locomotives were derailed and repaired. Furthermore six locomotives were placed in condition to be forwarded to the large repair works at Petrograd, 21 passenger cars, 168 freight cars, and 43 *teplushki* were reconditioned. Much detail material for station purposes was manufactured.

Perhaps one of the most serious conditions with which the railway administration of Russia was confronted concerned itself with the condition in which the Denikin hordes left the railways in the Ukraine. The entire technical personnel in this region was forced to withdraw with the defeated and retreating bands. All drawings, maps, and instruments of any value whatsoever were either destroyed or stolen. The bridge situation was particularly serious. To the south and in the north of Kharkov over 47 bridges had been deliberately destroyed. The personnel of the railways worked heroically reconstructing them. Local expeditions were organized and dispatched to various badly affected portions of the railways for the purpose of getting them into shape. Naturally this rehabilitation work was seriously handicapped by lack of necessary materials. The demand was infinitely greater than the supply. Nevertheless, in a rela-

tively short time over 29 of the 47 destroyed bridges were gotten into condition for service.

#### *The Inauguration of International Railway Service*

The conclusion of peace between Esthonia and Russia, together with the gradual rejuvenation of the economic and social life of Russia resulting largely from the consistent and continuous efforts of the railway workers together with the partial lifting of the blockade, created new hopes and incentives for improving the railway situation. Thus the reestablishment of service between Esthonia, Petrograd, and Moscow became one of the really important problems. A progressive plan was evolved looking forward not only to the development of this particular portion of the service which was soon functioning smoothly, but to service with all other countries as well, as soon as they made peace with Russia.

#### *Railway Numbers of the Daily "Economic Life"*

In Moscow a daily paper entitled *Economic Life* is published by the Supreme Council of National Economy and Commissariats for Food, Finances, and Foreign Trade. During the height of the rehabilitation campaign two Sunday editions of this paper were entirely devoted to the fight against the disintegration of the railways. It was pointed out that the workers, who, after the November Revolution, took over the direction of the social and economic welfare of the country, have learned to realize clearly the great necessity of uninterrupted transportation service. Every locomotive, every car, has, in the eyes of the workers, become of great importance. The difficulties under which existence has been carried on in the last two years has made the question of railway service the most burning of life's problems for the proletariat. For only through its fortunate solution will a way be provided for workers to find themselves out of the difficulties and inhibitions which are their heritage from the old reactionary government of Russia.

The paper further points out in clear and precise terms the exact situation with respect to the railroads. Nothing was covered up for the purpose of misleading the large masses of workers. Untiringly were the workers informed of changes which took place from time to time, good achieved, losses suffered. It made no difference how things actually stood. The workers were told the truth. For the intention was to arouse their constant thinking and activity in behalf of the battle against gradual disintegration.

Thus very interesting and accurate figures were presented with respect to the condition of, for instance, the rolling stock. It was pointed out that the number of locomotives in actual service as compared with 1914 is only 25 per cent, or approximately 50 per cent of those which were in service during 1916. It is thus pointed out, as a logical conclusion to the situation as it actually is, that nothing is of greater importance than to repair wherever possible every available locomotive in the shortest possible time, and to provide with-

out delay, from whatever sources available, as many new locomotives as can be secured. The catastrophic condition of the railway situation has forced the following question to the fore.

Are the locomotive and car manufacturing facilities of Russia with an adequate supply of fuel, metals, and other necessary construction materials, as well as with workers, properly fed and clothed, capable of providing the estimated number of locomotives and cars needed so badly? Furthermore, in what time can this equipment be furnished by Russian plants? Making an assumption that the total length of the railways in Russia is 50,000 versts (33,333 miles) certain figures are derived with respect to immediate equipment needs. Thus assuming the normal to be 30 locomotives per 100 versts, at least 15,000 are necessary at the present time. And on the basis of the average Russian train length, normally 30 cars, the total number of cars required is 450,000.

At the present time there are approximately 10,000 locomotives and 250,000 freight cars available. Consequently it is estimated that at least 5,000 new locomotives and 200,000 new freight cars will have to be furnished in the near future.

In the years 1912-13, when the locomotive and car factories of Russia were taxed to their highest capacity, it was demonstrated that Russia could supply from 1,700 to 1,800 locomotives and 40,000 to 50,000 cars annually. When it is thus further considered that approximately 1,300 locomotives and 30,000 freight cars must be retired every year as no longer serviceable, it is revealed that the net rates of increase in locomotives and cars during the best days in Russia were approximately 500 and 15,000 respectively. Thus it appears, if Russia is dependent entirely upon its resources, provided certain detail material can be secured promptly from the outside, it will take at least 10 years to build the 5,000 locomotives immediately necessary, and at least 13½ years to provide the necessary 200,000 freight cars.

Actually the conclusion has been reached that this period of ten years for 5,000 locomotives and 13½ years for 200,000 freight cars must be cut at least in two. In order that this be accomplished it is intended as quickly as possible to utilize whatever locomotive and car building facilities are securable in foreign countries. Furthermore it is intended to rehabilitate as quickly as possible, through installation of new machinery, the severely taxed repair, and locomotive and car building facilities of Russia itself.

The foregoing part of the program of railway rehabilitation merely confines itself to the low rate of railway expansion which prevailed in Russia before the war. If Russia is to progress as it undoubtedly will, and if railway building receives the impetus it should under the revised economic system, additional large amounts of equipment will be needed for many new lines and branches.

#### *New Railway Projects in Russia*

Railway development, under the Czarist Govern-

ment, resulted in a net low level of railway improvement. The existing government has delegated the management and development of the entire railway system of Russia to the Commissariat of Ways and Communications. It has recognized very clearly the weaknesses of the old order of things, and has set about, in spite of many other pressing problems, to study and organize comprehensive projects for the improvement of its railway facilities. Coupled with this are plans for far-reaching developments in the mining and metallurgical fields, the increase of coal production in the Urals, Siberian, Don and Donetz regions, the development of hemp and cotton cultivation in Turkestan, the irrigation of barren and sterile lands, the developments of oil industries in the Embea and Ukha regions, the utilization of the vast lumber resources of the north and of Siberia, which are not only needed by Russia itself, but by foreign countries as well. And lastly, the vast agricultural developments of the new and as yet unpopulated parts of Siberia and Southeast Russia all are expected to contribute to the increased demands for new railways and waterways. A long and interesting story alone could be written on the remarkable economic possibilities which exist and which can be developed with an ever increasing rapidity after peace has once been established throughout Russia.

It has been pointed out very effectively during the last two or three months that nothing is perhaps of such great importance to the stabilization of economic conditions in the world as the reopening of the great granaries of Russia. At the basis of this whole situation lies the Russian railway problem. Consequently every car, every locomotive, every rail which in the future is supplied to Russia will help by just that much in the bringing about of improved living conditions so sadly desired the world over.

The plans which have thus far been developed for the extension of railway systems in Russia have been initiated and carried forward in most cases by the local communal units and authorities who are directly affected. The judgment of the representatives of these territories upon all questions connected with the future development of railways in their localities is always carefully sought. The period when these problems were solved in the remote depths of the Petrograd chancelleries has passed, and passed forever. The time has also passed when the final decision for the building of railway lines and their operation rested with this or that high-ranking, remote, disinterested government or financial official. The people of the different localities are encouraged to initiate plans and proposals for the extension of railway facilities. Local discussion of these problems the country over stimulates their thorough study and consideration from all sides and angles, so that satisfactory and permanent solutions may be eventually secured.

A list of the projects considered by the Commissariat of Ways and Communications, shortly

after its organization, in 1918, along the lines indicated above is given below. Previous to their submission to the central commissariat, they have been carefully studied by engineers and experts in conference with interested communities and regions. There are already many well worked out plans looking towards the realization of these proposals as soon as materials are available and the Red Army can be converted into a labor army for universal constructive service. Among such plans and projects the following may be mentioned:

1. *Kotlas-Soroki*. This line is proposed for carrying local freight, mainly timber, also freight from the Ural and Siberia directly to the Archangel and Murmansk coast, avoiding the Vologda Junction. Besides reducing the distance, this is extremely important because it relieves the congestion of the railroad line connecting Petrograd and Viatka. This congestion has been increasing each year so that the Vologda branch is no longer able to take care of all the freight although measures for its enlargement have been taken.

2. *Yekaterinburg-Sinarskaya and Shadrinsk-Kurgan*. This line is of extraordinary importance because it relieves *Kurgan-Chelyabinsk* and *Tumen-Omsk* sections of the Siberian railroad, which are overloaded even in peace times, and brings the Siberian freight nearer to the northern ports. When the *Kazan-Yekaterinburg* line will be completed the new projected line will open a direct outlet for Siberian freight to Moscow. This is very important, for it will supply central Russia with food-stuffs from southwestern Siberia.

3. *Tavda-Tobolsk* is of great importance because it connects the North Ural region with one of the biggest harbors of Northeastern Siberia.

4. *Kotlas-Solevarni-Verkhoturys-Tumen*. This line must be built next because the line *Viatka-Perm-Yekaterinburg-Kurgan*, with the increase of export, will soon become overloaded. It will not only reduce the transit for the Siberian and Ural freight, but will also attract much of the local shipments, and will be of great significance for colonization purposes.

5. *The second Kurgan-Omsk route*. Simultaneously with the building of the above lines, it is essential to build a second track on the Kurgan-Omsk railway without which it will be impossible to carry all the freight from Siberia shipped through this district going not only to the northwest, but also to Central Russia.

6. *Yermolino-Nizhni-Novgorod-Simbirsk-Kinel* will connect by direct line Petrograd with Turkestan, especially after the *Petrograd-Rybinsk* is completed. Besides its importance for long distance traffic this line will play an important part in the internal exchange of commodities and will facilitate the supply of the central industrial districts with cotton and foodstuffs because this line in its southeastern part will pass through grain-growing regions.

7. *Krasny-Kholm-Svir or Yaroslav-Povenetz*. The next preceding line must be provided with an outlet to the Murman coast. The two variants

# Railways in European Russia



*Indication of Railways:*  
 — in operation; - - - - under construction;  
 ····· construction immediately required; ······ projected for future construction;  
 — variant.

named in the title to this paragraph should be investigated from the economic and technical side. The latter direction, although longer, passes through a region better suited for colonization purposes.

8. *South-Siberian trunk line.* The construction of this line was begun early in 1918, but was interrupted by the Kolchak adventure. This road together with the *Orenburg-Orsk* railway and its junction with the Kulundinsk near Slavgorod is necessary for the transportation of food supplies. With the construction of this railway the granaries of the southwestern section of Siberia will find an outlet not only to the center of Russia, but also to foreign countries. In the near future when Barnaul is connected with Kuznetsk, a new outlet will be provided from the Altai district.

9. *Rybinsk-Krasnoufimsk-Ufa-Ishim-Yeniseisk-Pacific Coast.* Next in order comes this line owing to its great economic, transit, and colonization importance. It is the second more northerly Trans-Siberian trunk line which connects Petrograd with the Pacific coast by the shortest route, through one of the ports on the Amur where it empties into the Gulf of Tartary.

10. *The Trans-Volga region railroad.* For a more complete connection on the northern ports with the industrial centers, and serving them, it will be necessary in the near future to consider the construction of the Trans-Volga region railroad through Kazan to the station Mahturovo of the Northern Railway line, thence either to the line of intersection of the *Kotlas-Soroki* with the Archangel line, or to the city of Povenetz and the Murmansk Railway. The choice between these two directions will entirely depend upon the results of the technical and economic surveys.

#### *Railway Lines Important for the Interior of Russia*

Besides the railway lines necessary for transit purposes in both internal traffic and the export to foreign countries, it is necessary to build a whole chain of trunk lines of great economic importance, mainly for Russia proper. Among the railroad lines which should be built in the first place are the following:

11. *Saratov-Chernyshevskaya* with a branch to the station Millerovo and a continuation to one of the ports of the Azov sea, and the building of a bridge across the Volga at Saratov to be built without delay. The construction of this line and bridge, together with the completion of the lines *Troitsk-Ursk-Orenburg-Orsk* and *Uralsk-Il'tsk* will provide the shortest route for the exchange of commodities between the Donetz Basin and the Azov Sea on one side and the Trans-Volga region on the other.

No matter what the political relations between the different parts of Russia may be, the exchange of commodities on these lines is bound to go on very intensively, because only the Donetz Basin can supply the Trans-Volga region with coal, conveying it further to the Ural ore-beds. To be sure

the Kuznetsk coal region is farther removed from the Urals and yet the railway lines for transporting this fuel to the Urals are still but a project. The building of those lines is more difficult, more expensive and not so important as the branch under consideration. Returning cars on this line can carry to the ports for export the food supply from the grain producing Volga region.

12. *Nikolaevsk-Samara or Saratov-Samara.* One of these lines must be built for straightening the coal route from the Donetz Basin to the Ural in connection with the construction of the railroad *Saratov-Azov Sea*. At a conference in Saratov the *Urban-Balakovo-Samara* line was also considered for serving the same region.

13. *Orenburg-Ufa-Perm.* A start has been made on the construction of the line *Orenburg-Ufa* which has a purely local character. In order to utilize this branch for transport of the rich northern mineral resources of the Urals it is necessary to extend it to Kungur or Perm.

14. *Kiskan-Begdyash.* Approximately in this direction a line must be built to take care of the mine districts of the Southern Ural slope (Komarovskiy, Magnitnaya mountain, etc.).

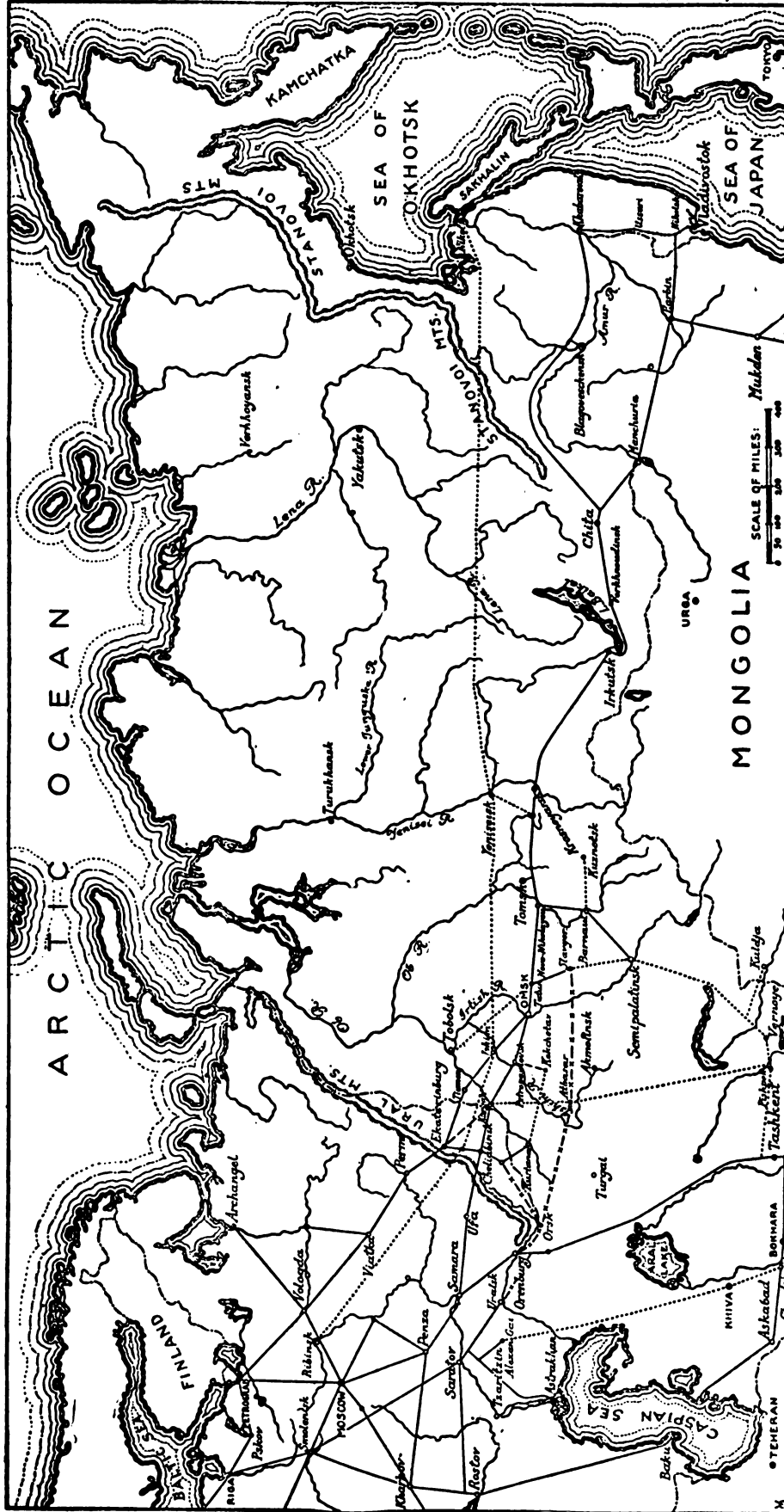
15. *Moscow-Donetz-Basin-Azov Sea.* This line is of the same importance for the Moscow region as the line *Saratov-Azov Sea* has for the Trans-Volga regions and the Ural. Until the political situation clears up, it will be necessary to postpone the building of this line, but it has to be kept in view for the first opportunity. In the same category belongs the long planned *Kozlov-Swyat or Krest-Vladikavkas* line.

16. *Inza-Penza-Tokarevka-Kharkov.* The building of this line, at least that part which will connect with the line *Moscow-Donetz Basin*, should be begun immediately, upon our internal life becoming more or less normal. This line will bring order into the whole railway net of the region, for it will help to relieve the existing congestion of the lines and enable it to take on new freight from the entire maze of new lines in the region which are being or will be built later.

17. *Aleksandrov-Gai-Chardjuv.* This line will be important for the internal exchange of commodities. It will relieve the *Orenburg-Tashkent* railroad and will supply the central industrial region with cotton from the district of Amu-Darya, and with petroleum from the district of Embinsk. With the further development of cotton culture in Central Asia and with the occupation of all available land for cotton raising, the growing population of the cotton region could be supplied by the same railway line from the Trans-Volga region with grain and other commodities of prime importance.

18. *Petropavlovsk-Kokchetav-Chiderty.* It has been found that the first section of the line should be built during the year, because of its importance in provisioning the region. The importance of this line will grow considerably when extended to Chiderty on the Southern-Siberian railway (under construction) as it will make possible the exchange

# Railways in Siberia



*Indication of Railways:*  
 — in operation; - - - - under construction; ..... projected for future construction.

of commodities between northern Siberia, rich in timber, and the Altay region, rich in agricultural products. In addition to this, between Kokchetav and Chiderty, there are beams of excellent quality coal, which is of great importance in supplying fuel to the railway and the iron industry of the Ural.

19. *Kurgan-Atbasar-Pishpek*. Of almost equal importance as the previous line is the line *Kurgan-Atbasar*. The construction of this line will find a new outlet for provision cargoes from the southwest of Siberia to the center through the completed line *Kazan-Yekaterinburg* and the line *Shadrinsk-Kurgan*. The latter line must needs be started during the current year, and if possible, a temporary traffic over the line should be opened during the food supply campaign. By continuing this line to Pishpek through the Spassky works access will be secured for food supply freight to Turkestan, thus making a short cut between Turkestan, and the western part of Siberia and the territory adjoining the Ural.

20. *Inzo-Kokchetav*. Permission to survey the ground for this line was evidently given prematurely, as its local and transit importance can not be ascertained until the Southern-Siberian line has been built. In the near future it would be sufficient to survey and, if the results prove satisfactory, to build the line *Kustanay-Kokchetav*, which is important for provision transit.

21. *Barnaul-Kuznetzk*. Construction should be undertaken immediately after completing the Southern-Siberian line or possibly simultaneously with it, in view of the fact that it will supply the latter line and all others planned in the region with fuel from the close-by Kuznetz coal-mine district.

22. *Kuznetzk-Telbes*. Necessary to be built for rendering more complete services to the Kuznetzk coal-mine district.

23. *Slavgorod-Semipalatinsk-Verny* with a branch to *Kulja*. This line is a natural continuation of the Kulundinsk railroad, connecting it with Semipalatinsk and will be of great importance for exchange of grain and lumber material between northern and southern Siberia and Turkestan.

24. *Tobolsk-Tatarskaya*. Increases the importance of the above trunk line, because it will furnish the shortest route for the cheap Altai grain not only to the north of Siberia, but even farther to North European Russia and its northern ports.

#### *Lines Important for Colonization Purposes*

25. *Perm-Pechora* (near Uakshinsk) is to connect for the first time the rich Pechora region with the railway-net of Russia.

26. *Kotlas-Ob* (through Yakshinsk to the port Chemashovskaya). With the building of this line timber-material will have access to the northern ports. After the war this timber will be extensively exported abroad from the basins of the Pechora and the Ob.

27. *Kostroma-Manturovo-Kollas*. This line must attract timber material to the center of Russia, and on return hauls will distribute the Volga freights among the counties of the Vologda and Kostroma Provinces. It will also cross the best farm lands of the province of Vologda—the region of flax cultivation—and will hasten a transition to higher forms of agricultural economy (the manufacture of oil) for which there are very favorable conditions.

28. *The Bay of Indiga-Ust-Tzilma-Yakshinskaya* and further to *Tobolsk or Turinsk*. This line is to be surveyed next. Aside from its importance for colonization purposes, this line, in case it is possible to build at Indigskaya Gooba, a good port, protected from Arctic ice, will be the shortest trunk line for the transportation of Siberian and Ural freights to the Arctic Ocean.

29. *Archangelsk-Mezen-Shilma*. It has been planned by the technical conference of Petrograd. Yet the significance of this line, and still more its urgency is problematic and, therefore, it is necessary only to survey the line most carefully from the technical and economic points and put it on the list of constructions only in case of weighty results obtained by the survey.

#### *Branch Lines of Industrial and Local Importance*

A well laid railway plan for connecting the industrial centers, factories, plants, mines with trunk lines by means of branches is necessary for the development of local industries. Such branch lines must be laid out for the Ural, Altai, and the Embinsk petroleum district, in the industrial center, etc. The most important ones, however, many of which have been partly begun, are the following:

30. *Tom-Bogoslovskaya* line connects the station Kemerovo of the Kemerovo branch of the Kolchuginskaya railroad with the Altai coal mines of the former Bogoslovsky Company in order to supply the Bogoslovsky metallurgical district with coking coal. Construction has been started and must be finished without further delay.

31. *Ugolbaya* line from the Nadeshdinsk Works to the coal mines of Bogoslov.

32. *Samarskaya* railroad from the Nadeshdinsk Works to the Samarsky region of iron ore-beds.

33. *Bogomolovskaya* line from the station Verkhnyaya on the Bogoslovskaya railway to the copper-pyrite beds of Bogomolovsk.

34. *Sosvinskaya* narrow gauge line from the Nadeshdinsk Works to the Sosvinsk Works to connect the Siberian water-system. *Tumen-Irtyshtobol-Tavda-Sosva*, with the district of Bogoslov and with the county of Verkhoturye in general.

The value of the last four branches is plain. Their construction has already started and it is necessary to complete them in the nearest future. In the mining region of Verkh-Isetsk four other branch lines have been begun, the completion of which at a near date is absolutely essential for the development of the activity of mills in these regions.



35. *Karpushinskaya narrow track line.*
36. *Pyshminskaya narrow gauge line.*
37. *Cheremshanskaya broad gauge coal-carrying branch.*
38. *Bursunskaya broad gauge coal-carrying branch.* The construction of the following branch lines must also be begun immediately in the central industrial region:
39. *Kirshach-Oreykhovo.* Establishes a passage of the southern transit freight to the north, avoiding the Moscow "Knot", intersects the peat beds and passes through the factory district.
40. *Sereda-Ples.* Creates a new outlet from the Shuysky-Ivanovsky district to the Volga, unloads the port of Kineshma and the railway divisions *Kineshma-Yermolino* and *Novki-Shuya.*
41. *Makaryev-Semenov,* which crosses the forest low land estates, undeveloped owing to the lack of railway facilities. This line will open an outlet for the lumber freight to Nizhni and to the Volga.
- Furthermore, construction of the following lines must also be considered for the near future:
42. *Vichuga-Yuryevetz.* Must serve for receiving lumber material, floated down the rivers Volga, Unzhe, and Nemde for the Moscow and Ivanovsk district and for satisfying the local trades.
43. *Kalyazin-Novki.* Is of great importance for the lumber trade and industrial enterprises of the central region. It will shorten the transit

between Petrograd and the regions of Nizhni and Vladimir.

44. *Uglich-Rybinsk.* Gives direct connection between Rybinsk and Moscow, passes through forest lands and is of great local importance.

45. *Belkovo-Chelkovo* brings Moscow within reach of Shyusky-Ivanovsky industrial region.

46. *Tambov-Morshansk,* passes through localities rich in forests.

47. *The Dolgorukov branch* from the station Elnya on the Ryazan-Uralsk railroad is also necessary for the exploitation of the local wealth of lumber.

48. *Iletzk-Orsk* shortens the haul.

49. *Fatezh-Malo-Archangelsk* is of importance for the transportation of provisions.

50. *Mishkino-Kurtamysh* is also important for transportation of provisions, though less so than the line *Kurgan-Atbassar,* with which it must compete.

Two maps indicating nearly all of the projected lines mentioned in the foregoing accompany this article. Reference thereto will be of great interest in explaining the details referred to.

The foregoing information which has been gleaned from many important and reliable reports issued by the local and central railway administrations in Russia, amply reveals the fact originally pointed out that a very far-reaching and thorough policy in railway rehabilitation and extension is in the making at the present time in Russia.

## Notes on Russia

By WILLIAM HERZOG  
(May—August, 1920)

June 1, 1920. We are on our way to Samara. A ship is coming towards us. There is music on board.

At 10.30 in the morning a drive through the city with Russell and Mrs. Harrison. The others in autos to the Soviet House, where a meeting is to take place. We stroll through the streets of the very ugly city. Dirty and without individuality. In the main street in front of the church we meet a slender little woman who is carrying three great round loaves of bread in her two hands. Mrs. Harrison draws her into conversation in Russian, and a man joins our group. He says he is a Jewish worker. He and the woman speak a broken German. Both are complaining. It has never been as bad as this. Nothing to eat, laments the woman with the three loaves of bread. No freedom, wails the alleged worker. It is true, he adds—when I question him in what respect the Jews had been better off under the Czarist rule—it is true the Jews suffered no longer as a race, they have equal rights with the others; but the cost of living is so dreadfully high. As on a phonograph this world-wide complaint is repeated over and over, and yet it loses nothing of its justification by this constant repetition.

The woman invites us to her home. We follow her, curious to see how these plaintive petty bourgeois really exist. So far as we could see, their home, consisting of three or four rooms, was furnished with the customary bourgeois fittings. Her husband, whom she introduced to us, had been a master tailor. Together they bewailed two grown sons who were in America, one of them an engineer, the other a physician, and at the sight of the neat photographs of these two good sons all the smug vanity of the bourgeois came out to bask in the sun of his family pride. The woman continued to whine about everything and nothing, raged against the Terror, told stories of atrocities, and every look and every word begged sympathy. We were soon to learn how much sympathy she really deserved. The proof of the justification for her complaints followed immediately. She invited us to tea, implored us to remain, that we were a godsend to her, for now she could cry out her sorrow over the misery and the suffering which had come over Russia. And when we declined, she went out, and with the evident intention of tempting us to remain, returned with a loaf of the purest white bread which I had seen in six years. She declared that she knew what was due to German

guests, and there should be no lack of genuine tea and sugar. When I delicately hinted that their condition could hardly be so deplorable, since they had such beautiful white flour for their bread, she smiled slyly, and her little eyes became like two pinheads: "Oh, I have been storing that flour for two years!" And the sugar and the genuine tea and the butter, also, most probably. However we investigated no further, for our doubts in the beginning turned to certainty that all her crying and whining about misery, and the cruelty of the Soviet authorities was due to the fear of being arrested as a speculator. We thanked her very cordially for the view she had allowed us of her house, and left this hospitable little usurer, who for obvious reasons could be no friend of a new order so foreign to her thought and feeling.

But it is important to realize that aside from the counter-revolutionists of aristocratic and capitalist extraction none are so dangerous to the Bolsheviks as just this stratum of open and secret enemies, these petty profiteers and speculators.

\* \* \*

At the house of the German pastor, by the name of Lintius. He is out of the city. His wife, a lanky lady wearing gold spectacles, receives us in his library. She obligingly answers all our questions for information. In a very matter of fact manner, simply and decisively, this woman, whose philosophy and whose whole nature must make her anything but a friend of the Bolsheviks, draws for us a graphic and unvarnished picture of the true conditions, and of the difficulties and the efforts of the Communists to prepare a sound foundation for the improvement of the people's condition.

With a few simple illustrations she describes for us every-day life:

The workers (who belong to the first category) receive a daily ration of one pound of good bread. The second category receives three-quarters of a pound a day. Aside from this only one-half pound of salt and two boxes of matches per month are furnished. There should also be meat, fish and oil rations, but none of these supplies are given out. One egg costs forty rubles, one pound of butter from 1,000 to 1,500 rubles.

The children's food dispensaries receive the confiscated supplies of the speculators. The children have the best of it. They receive a nourishing soup with a piece of meat and tasty gruel for lunch. Samara alone has sixteen of these children's dispensaries. All the children in these institutions look well-nourished and well-dressed.

\* \* \*

Shortly after our return to the ship we are visited by the Commander of the Military District of the Volga, Baltiski. This former Czarist officer and member of the great General Staff, is in the service of the Revolution since 1917. He answered my questions for information in the most amiable manner. The soldier in the Red Army receives 1,000 rubles per month, the non-commissioned officer 2,000 rubles, the commissioned of-

ficer 3,000 rubles. The higher officers up to the general of any army 6,000 rubles.

Last year the class of 1901 was drafted. Every man possible is taken on. The general temper of the army: that of the victor.

\* \* \*

At seven in the evening, a meeting of the Soviet of Samara. In a great theater. The pictures of Karl Marx, Liebknecht, Lenin, Trotsky in the lobby, on the stage, around the house. Red flags, standards, banners bearing revolutionary slogans are seen before the wings. A great band from the Red Army strikes up the Internationale. The enthusiastic mass in its great unity, its palpable longing with which it appeals to the foreign delegates, and which culminates in the barely spoken and yet so audible cry: "Carry on the work which we have started", is powerful and compelling.

There is no doubt: the English delegates are waking illusions, hopes, in the breasts of the Russian proletariat. Will they fulfill these hopes? The masses are being stirred up by the representatives of a nation whose government is using Poland and Baron Wrangel to make war on them. These representatives of the English working class are being welcomed by the Russian proletariat with a touching enthusiasm. They are being cheered. The Russian proletariat, of whatever party, expects powerful assistance from the English. Very soon. Are they mistaken? Will they be disappointed again? The Englishmen, whose words often sound revolutionary, seem honest citizens, reformist-opportunistic Socialists. Arrived, self-satisfied, enjoying their position, at peace with the world. No revolutionary, class-conscious fighters.

### TERROR IN RUSSIA

*"There were two 'Reigns of Terror', if we would but remember it and consider it; the one wrought in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred millions; but our shudders are all for the 'horrors' of the minor Terror, whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe compared with lifelong death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty, and heartbreak? What is swift death by lightning compared with slow fire at the stake? A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us had been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves."—A YANKEE IN KING ARTHUR'S COURT.—Mark Twain.*

# The Intrigues of the Officials of the Cooperatives

*Statement of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission*

**I**N THE period when foundations were being laid for the rehabilitation of the economic life of the country the Soviet power was naturally and inevitably constrained to make use of the services and experience of the old cooperators to supply and distribute the necessaries of life to the populace. Favored at times with great confidence from the organs of our power and working apparently hand in hand with them, the cooperators have always maintained that despite the divergence of political convictions and views with regard to the world events which are now developing and with regard to the course of our revolution they can nevertheless work conscientiously and honestly in conjunction with the Communists on the basis of the cooperatives, since the latter are absolutely neutral. The favorite refrain of the leaders of the old cooperatives, which have outlived their usefulness, to justify their existence was the allegation that the cooperatives were non-political, that their activity was of a purely humanitarian character, similar to the activity of the Red Cross, that they did not interfere with the political activity of the ruling power, and so forth. But all these were only phrases. Actually the "neutrality" towards the Soviet power took the form of a camouflaged underground struggle against the entire course of our economic policy within the country, while beyond the Soviet boundaries the leaders of the cooperatives, finding themselves within the sphere of the White Guardists, immediately threw off the mask of "neutrality" and in this case sincerely and cheerfully joined the united front of the enemies of Bolshevism.

Thus, for instance, in his report to Denikin, which was published in the *Bulletin of the Cooperatives of South Russia* No. 2, of December 10, 1919, a member of the Governing Board of the *Centrosoyuz*, Mr. N. M. Mikhailov, wrote: "Whenever the cooperative organizations found themselves in the sphere of influence of the Volunteer Army they immediately and this time sincerely and willingly established close relations with you, sometimes suffering bitterly from the Bolsheviks when the Bolshevik power would be temporarily restored."

At the present time the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission is in possession of ample materials disclosing with incontestable clearness this underground side of the activity of the group of old cooperators that has still remained in the Governing Board of the *Centrosoyuz*. In the course of the investigation made in connection with the case about the abuses in the Petrograd branches of the *Centrosoyuz* and *Centrosectia* (which abuses had taken place before the fusion of these two organizations into one) it was established that the above-mentioned group, behind the back of the other part of the Governing Board, was carrying on its secret activity which conflicted with the interests

of and the tasks set by the Soviet power. Having connections with the center of the Russian cooperatives in the western countries through Mr. A. M. Berkenheim, who found his way to England and played there such a "sensational" role in the question of the resumption of trade relations, this group was receiving from him instructions and directions which, in the last analysis, aimed at the restoration in Russia of free trade, of the denationalization of the banks and so forth, that is in other words, at the overthrow of the Soviet power through economic means, which is fully in accord with the theses of Mikhailov propounded in his report to Denikin.

Thus, last year, on the eve of the expected occupation of Petrograd,\* the aforementioned part of the *Centrosoyuz* gave directions to V. N. Krokhmal (formerly a member of the Menshevik Central Committee), in accord with instructions which they received from England from Berkenheim, with regard to a number of financial operations and to the further activity of the Petrograd branch in the event that Petrograd would be captured by the Whites, the instructions clearly revealing the hand of the hidden instigators, namely foreign capital. Among other things the instructions state:

"Find export commodities, spend for the purchase of these commodities all the means in your possession, spend all that you will obtain from the sale of our goods, and send everything to us. Do not worry about profits. Sell at the prices that you can get, and the profits or losses we will count afterwards. And don't be too particular with regard to the commodities (for export). Flax, hemp, lumber, we can use everything. Even books. We have heard that there are in Petrograd editions of the Russian classics at comparatively low prices, and these goods are now in great demand here. We recommend that you seriously consider this question. In the lists of export commodities you should not confine yourselves to Petrograd, you should investigate also the surrounding district, of course, leaving a certain part of the commodities for the district. If necessary, you should establish contact with and work through other cooperative organizations. In general, this is an important matter just now, and the whole future of our relations depends on its successful solution."

On the basis of these data the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission found it necessary to arrest the members of the Governing Board of the *Centrosoyuz*, D. S. Korobov, V. A. Kuznetsov and Lavrukhin, and to undertake a thorough investigation of this case.

*Chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, DZIERZYNSKI.*

\* By Yudenich.

*Order of the Council of People's Commissars*

On becoming cognizant, through the report of the Chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, of the charges brought against a group of members of the Governing Board of the *Centrosoyuz*, the Council of People's Commissars resolved: that, while the case is pending, the following persons shall be suspended from the Governing Board: Korobov, Lavrukhin and Kuznetsov, who are under arrest; Selgeim, Lenskaya, Vakhmistrov and Mikhailov, who are abroad, and their three substitutes in Moscow, Sakharov, Pruss and Sergeiev.

*Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, ULIANOV (LENIN),  
Chief Clerk, BONCH-BRUYEVICH,  
Secretary, L. FOTYEVA.*

April 22, 1920.

### APPEAL TO OFFICERS IN WRANGEL'S ARMY

CHRISTIANIA, September 14, 1920 (*Rosta, Vienna*).—Officers of Baron Wrangel's army! Time and experience must have shown you clearly what a criminal role was imposed upon you by your leader. While toiling Russia bleeds in the struggle with the Polish nobility aided by the robbers of all lands, you, Russian officers, are playing the part of auxiliaries to the Polish landlords. Who is leading you? A Russo-German baron who has intrigued against Denikin, accusing him of undue democracy and who represents monarchist Russia. Aware of his impotence, Wrangel is ready to yield to his lords and protectors three-fourths of Russia in order to enslave the remainder himself. English newspapers have revealed Wrangel's secret pacts with the French Government. According to the *Daily Telegraph* of August 19, Wrangel has ceded to a French syndicate the monopoly of export and import in all South Russian ports. The *Daily Herald* of August 30 states that Wrangel has accorded to the French bourgeoisie the right to exploit all railways of European Russia, the control of grain export at pre-war prices, and three-fourths of the production of coal and naphtha. Everything Wrangel does depends on the favors of Anglo-French capitalists, who for the sake of economic subjugation of the Russian people are ready to use any one, whether Czecho-Slovaks, black colonials, or Wrangel's hordes. Whatever original purposes you may have had, you are now but the hirelings of Capital, and the prop of the Polish aristocracy that has always hated the toilers of Russia. Wrangel's efforts to occupy the Caucasus have been thwarted, his landing parties have been destroyed. Sooner or later your master will suffer a terrible defeat. You cannot doubt this any longer; but the event will be achieved at the price of your blood and ours, and of new privations for our country. Have you not had a lesson? Is it not clear that all further strife only strengthens the Polish lords, and helps them to subjugate East Galician and Russian territory? The new Russia of the workers and peas-

ants is in need of labor and of economic and cultural reconstruction. This can be attained only with the termination of this senseless and purposeless civil war. In the name of all that is honest in Russia, guided by the need of reconstruction of laboring Russia, we appeal to you: Give up your role of hirelings of Poland, of the French usurers. Lay down the weapons that you are using against your brothers, and freely join the Soviet power. Officers of Wrangel's army! The Government of Workers and Peasants for the last time extends to you the hand of reconciliation.

*President of the Central Executive Committee,  
N. KALININ.  
President of the Council of People's Commissars,  
ULIANOV, (N. LENIN).  
President of the Military Revolutionary Council  
of the Republic, L. TROTSKY.  
President of the Extraordinary Council of the  
General Staff, A. BRUSILOV.*

### PRESS LIES REPUDIATED

Moscow, October 18.—Every day brings new absurd inventions about Russia. The latest fairy tale is about alleged rising in Moscow. This is a pure invention. There is not the least ground for this absurd fabrication as complete order reigns in Moscow. There are no disturbances, no anti-Soviet movement; there is not the least trace of any unrest.

Moscow, October 15.—The news about an alleged rising of sailors in Petrograd is an absurd lie. Nothing of the sort has happened. Reports about the alleged creation of an anti-Bolshevik government in Nizhni-Novgorod are totally untrue, pure inventions. Also Budenny never rose. He remains unswervingly faithful to the Soviet Government. There has been no rising of insurgents in Kiev. At present there is in the capitalist press a general orgy of calumnies and lies.

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## Wireless and Other News

### TROTSKY TO THE RED FLEET

Moscow, September 25, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—Trotsky has addressed the following order to the Red Fleet: The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers, Peasants, and Cossacks decided on September 23 to propose a ten day's armistice to the Polish Government and to sign the preliminaries of a peace treaty. In doing so the Central Executive Committee has given proof of an extraordinary spirit of conciliation having in view the end of hostilities as soon as possible. Red soldiers and sailors should remember that we have not waged war for conquest, annexations, contributions, or glory. We are defending the Republic of Workers and Peasants. We are waging war for peace. Not at the price of blood, but concessions do we intend to attain peace. Our supreme power, the Central Executive Committee, is making today an effort to spare the working masses of Soviet Russia a fourth winter campaign. Each Red sailor should comprehend the meaning of this decision. All commanders and all political and military commissars of the Red Fleet, and of the sailors' formations on land, are ordered to communicate and explain these decisions to the sailors.

### GENERAL WRANGEL

ODESSA, September 25, 1920.—General Wrangel, accompanied by a foreign military mission and newspaper correspondents, left for camp. In saluting one of his regiments the general declared that he and his army fought, not merely to annihilate Bolshevism and to redeem Russia, but to save the culture of the world. That his faithful army was the only power which would break the waves of Red Internationalism that are extending over all western Europe and are threatening to invade America.

### BAKU HAS NOT BEEN EVACUATED

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—Chicherin has telegraphed to Litvinov as follows: "The news spread by radio press concerning the pretended evacuation of Baku is absolutely false and absurd. It is contrary to truth."

### CONGRESS OF THE METALLURGICAL WORKERS

Moscow, September 24, 1920.—The International Congress of Metallurgical Workers, representing three million workers, has passed a resolution against the capitalist war with Soviet Russia. The Congress requested all organizations to prevent most energetically the war waged by international capitalism against proletarian Russia. This war is not directed against Russia alone, but also against Socialism. The congress protested against the White Terror in Hungary.

### COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—According to the report of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade the commercial relations of Russia with foreign countries is improving daily. Over two million poods of merchandise have been imported from Sweden, Germany, and England. Canada has permitted Russia to open credit in Canadian banks. Russia has ordered, in Czecho-Slovakia and other countries, great quantities of agricultural and other merchandise. Russia actually has at her disposal merchandise valued at one hundred million dollars ready for export. This does not include stocks of cereals, oil and wood stored in distant provinces.

### CULTURAL WORK IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, September 29, 1920.—Some Russian factories have commenced the production of paper, but not in sufficiently large quantities. To spread the daily news among the working masses, the Soviets post the journals which are read by millions throughout Russia. There is also a spoken journal which is very popular among illiterates. It is read publicly by some one in the villages, and is greatly enjoyed by the villagers.

The Central Committee of the All-Russian Federation of Arts, with a membership of 150,000, sends its fraternal greetings to all the writers and artists of the West. The committee expresses its conviction that the proletariat alone can guarantee the free development of art.

At the third session of the Central Executive Committee, the Commissar of Public Instruction has given the details of the steady increase of primary schools. The number has grown from 55,000 in 1911, and 73,000 in 1918, to 87,000 in 1920. The schools are attended by five million children.

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—The Commissariat of Public Instruction intends to found a university in Tashkent (Turkestan).

### A RUSSIAN SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—The steamer *Delphin*, having on board a scientific mission sent by the Soviet Government to Kanin Nos, has arrived at Archangel. The ship also carried several thousand poods of fish.

### KALININ IN THE CAUCASUS

Moscow, September 24, 1920.—During his sojourn in the Caucasus, in the village of Armavir, the president the Central Executive Committee, Kalinin, made the acquaintance of the local priest. The latter was converted to Communism, and issued an appeal to the population inviting them to support Soviet Russia with all their strength.

### TROTSKY TO INTERNED SOLDIERS

Trotsky has addressed the following letter to Red soldiers interned in Germany:

Moscow, September 29, 1920.—Bourgeois Germany wishes to exploit the internment of Red troops in Eastern Prussia to arouse differences between the officers and the Red soldiers, and even to recruit troops to Wrangel's cause. This counter-revolutionary propaganda will bear no fruit unless our interned brothers are neglected. This must not be. The interned soldier should observe that the preponderant majority of the German people, themselves suffering under the yoke of the Entente, have naught but sentiments of sympathy and fraternal solidarity for the Red Army. The millions of German workers are with us. Our brothers in Eastern Prussia must know and feel that we have not forgotten them, that we have fulfilled our promises, and that Soviet Russia is thinking of them. Moreover, our comrades must conduct themselves in their difficult situation in captivity as they did in the Red Army in Russia, namely, as conscious militants of the international proletariat. The moral solidarity of all comrades must not weaken. All honest soldiers of the Red Army must evince abroad the same discipline and conscious solidarity. Provocateurs and traitors must be expelled from the community of Red soldiers. Fraternal greetings to our interned Red soldiers! Be brave and disciplined Communists!

### NORWAY AND RUSSIA

The following communication was sent to the Government of Norway:

The Central Governing Body of the Northern Workers' Party and the Secretariat for the National Trade Union Organizations of Workers have been eagerly following the public discussions arising with regard to commercial relations with Russia. It is clear from the agitation going on in the bourgeois press that powerful forces are at work attempting to prevent a commercial agreement with Russia. It has also been publicly announced, without later denial, that the French Government through its representative in Christiania has made representations to the Norwegian Government on the subject of the sojourn of Litvinov, Representative of Soviet Russia, in Christiania. The Secretariat and the Central Governing Body are of the opinion that the government's view of the question does not coincide with the interests of the Norwegian people. And this our view has been strengthened by the manner in which the authorities (particularly the policy of the city of Bergen) have acted towards the Russian Trade Delegation which recently was in Christiania.

In this connection we lodged a firm protest against such treatment of foreigners who come to this country as guests of the Norwegian working class. Both the National Organization and the Party will in the future take every step to prevent the re-occurrence of such incidents.

As for the commercial relations with Russia, it must be demanded that the government should meet half-way the request to bring about a commercial agreement which will make it possible for Russia to carry on regular trade in Norway. This is a demand which first of all concerns the fishing population, but also the rest of the working class, in fact, the entire Norwegian people; for all are interested in securing for one of the country's most important occupations conditions to develop without any artificial obstructions.

*For the Norwegian Workers' Party,*

KYREE GREPP.

*For the National Trade Union Organization of Workers,* OLE O. LIAN.

### ANTI-BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA

VIENNA, October 1, 1920.—The press publishes from time to time alarming news about Russia. According to these reports, rebellions, internal troubles, famines, etc., are the order of the day in Russia. The false news is almost always spread at the moment when the western workers make an assault upon capitalism. On the occasion of the recent action of the Italian workmen, for instance, a counter-revolution in Petrograd was featured. The news is almost always dated at Helsingfors, Stockholm, Viborg, or Reval, and relates a conspiracy against the People's Commissars, the assassination of Lenin by Trotsky, or describes battles in the streets of Moscow, etc. The anti-Bolshevik journal, *New Russia*, gives a list of anti-Bolshevik agencies. Here are the names: Berlin, A. V. Ditmar, Schellingstrasse, 2, Hotel Schneider; Vienna, J. Perski, Wahrungstrasse 5; Hungary, Budapest, A. Chariton, Terezkornt, 34; Czecho-Slovakia, Prague, I. Klopotosky, Tabor-sky 15; Poland, Warsaw, H. Tennenbaum, Nowolipie; Finland, Helsingfors, Alman, Pressbyrg, Asplanadgatte 23; Terioki, Mme. Bogdanov; Greece, Athens, Letteraidolis and Barth, Librairie Internationale; Latvia, Riga, Ed. Petzhold, Schlummeala; Esthonia, Reval, A. Pumpinsky; South Russia, Sebastopol, office of *Zarya Rossii*; New York, office of *Russkoye Slovo*.

### RUSSIANS ARRESTED IN ALEXANDRIA

ODESSA, September 25, 1920.—The police of Alexandria have arrested three Russians accused of having attempted to blow up transports of munitions destined to go to Wrangel.

### HARVESTING IN RUSSIA

Moscow, September 25, 1920.—In the governments of Perm, Vladimir, Tambov, etc., the crops are being gathered very satisfactorily. In some districts the entire population between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five have been mobilized for work in the fields.



wish to gain an accurate idea of the scientific theories which inspired the creation of the Soviet Government.

Mr. Postgate's sanity and scholarship are doubly welcome in the light of Mr. Comerford's lurid rhetorical outbursts. Mr. Comerford, according to his publishers "made a search" study of unpublished material, and he has done so relentlessly, and he has articulated itself to his readers, and he has done so with a hypothesis which is so full of errors and so many mistakes which are scattered broadcast throughout his book. Mr. Comerford repeatedly refers to Yoffe, the head of the Soviet delegation in the recent negotiations with Poland, as "Joffre", apparently confusing him with the well-known French Marshal. Again, he speaks of "the coal fields of upper Galicia, to be determined by the plebiscite between Poland and Germany." No doubt Galicia and Silesia mean much the same thing to Mr. Comerford's mind, which boldly assails the most difficult problems of economics and political science, while it scorns such elementary subjects of knowledge as history and geography.

In reading Mr. Comerford's concrete accusations against the Soviet Government one is conscious of a curious sense of familiarity. There is

the inebriated Rekhalev, chairman of the Ural Soviet; surely his misdeeds have already been called to the attention of the American public. And there is the scandal in the village of Olkhi, where the authorities are accused of manufacturing illicit liquor; surely this has been published before. When we come to the tax irregularities in the county of Dekiashkov, in the third district of Vitebsk, we suddenly recall the sources of all these stories. They were published in *Struggling Russia*, before that harassed magazine gave up the ghost; and, if we are not mistaken, Mr. John Spargo, Mr. William English Walling, and others now busily engaged in "exposing Bolshevism", have already made ample use of this material. In regard to these accusations it may be observed that the regulation of liquor and the apportionment of taxes are apt to be thorny and controversial subjects in the best regulated communities.

Incidentally, the passing of *Struggling Russia* is an evil omen for Mr. Spargo, Mr. Comerford, and all the gallant band of propagandists who lay claim to encyclopedic knowledge about Soviet Russia without having set foot in the country and without knowing a word of the language. This drying up of the main fountain head of their "knowledge" leaves them quite dependent upon the stray tales of *emigres* and Polish propagandists.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

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## Poland, Lithuania, and Soviet Russia

By N. OSSIPOV

[The article herewith reprinted from "Petrogradskaya Pravda" of August 19 is not as recent as we should like, but it becomes more timely by reason of the new occupation of Vilna by the Polish Gabriele D'Annunzio, whose name is General Zeligowski. The "insurgent" Polish troops under the latter's leadership are said to be strongly disapproved of by their home government, but it will be interesting to note whether it takes the Polish Government as long to take Zeligowski out of Vilna as it is taking the Italian Government to get D'Annunzio out of Fiume.]

THE question of Vilna has been the cause of strife between the landlords' Poland and White Lithuania ever since these two republics have come into existence. The Polish Government would not reconcile itself to the existence of an independent Lithuanian republic in which there was a rather strong group of Polish gentry and in which the Polish priests, who play an important part in the aggressive imperialist efforts of the Polish Government, had considerable influence. Having seized Vilna, Poland could not become reconciled to the fact that Lithuania, which looked upon Vilna as her ancient capital, claimed this city as her own. On the other hand, the White Lithuanian Government was dissatisfied with the fact that the Lithuanian Republic embraced only the province of Kovno and small parts of the provinces of Grodno and Suwalki, and therefore persistently strove to find powerful allies among the Entente nations who would defend Lithuania against Polish encroachment and would secure for her, at least in the far-off future, boundaries generous enough to include Vilna as the capital.

Both the Lithuanian and the Polish governments used every possible method to justify their claim on Vilna on the ground that its population was Polish or Lithuanian. Both sides tried to prove by statistical calculations and machinations

that Vilna, as well as the province of Vilna, indubitably are an ethnographic part of the country to which the respective statistician happened to belong.

Poland had seized the province of Vilna by force of arms, but resorted also to the stylish phrases of a plebiscite and self-determination of the population, alleging that the population has definitely expressed itself in favor of Vilna province becoming a part of Poland. This plebiscite and self-determination were carried out in a very "original" manner: the Polish gendarmes went through the populace and inquired of everyone whether he was for Poland or for Lithuania. Naturally, in view of the vast power possessed by the Polish gendarmes, who could without any reason at all throw absolutely innocent persons into the awful Polish prisons and keep them there for months, this plebiscite carried out by gendarmes gave astonishing results. A large number of villages with hardly a single Pole among their inhabitants were recorded as being unanimously in favor of Poland. The Poles, through their General Commissariat of Eastern Lands, organized packed district and provincial conventions where resolutions were unanimously adopted in favor of joining Poland.

Any attempt to protest against this falsified

expression of the will of the population was suppressed. Hundreds and thousands of active Lithuanians of the provinces of Vilna, Grodno and Suwalki were thrown into prisons, where they suffered indignities that could be inflicted only by Polish jailers. The Polish military police was especially violent in small towns and villages, where they subjected the Lithuanian prisoners to flogging and other torments in the name of patriotism and love for Poland.

On its part, the White Lithuanian Government retaliated with repressions against Polish citizens of Lithuania, who were striving to destroy the Lithuanian Republic from within and to have it declared a part of "Great Poland".

The antagonism between the Poland of the gentry and White Lithuania reached its climax but recently, when war between these two young republics seemed inevitable. The Polish Government was trying to provoke such an armed conflict, in its imperialistic blindness hoping to swallow Lithuania without any trouble. Only the intervention of Lithuania's protector, Great Britain, prevented these provocative designs of the Polish Government from going any further than the hysterical attacks of the Polish press against Lithuania.

Convinced that the Entente, and particularly Great Britain, would not allow Poland to attack Lithuania, the Polish Government resorted to the services of its agents, the social-traitors of the Polish Socialist Party, who sent a special delegation to Kovno to negotiate with Lithuanian representatives and to settle the Polish-Lithuanian relations. But the delegation suffered a complete fiasco, for Niedzialkowski and his fellow-delegates to Kovno were given to understand that as long as Poland would not renounce her designs on Lithuania, and would not leave Vilna and put an end to terroristic methods of governing Lithuania, there could not and would not be any understanding between Poland and Lithuania. Instead of forming an alliance with Poland against Soviet Russia, Lithuania found it more profitable to start peace negotiations with Soviet Russia, which led in the end to the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Poland was, of course, infuriated by these negotiations, which began at the very moment when the Polish imperialistic hopes were most radiant, and when the Polish press, intoxicated by victories after the capture of Kiev, was shouting that Poland, having in her hands also Vilna and Kovno, could dictate the fate of all eastern Europe. Had this situation continued a little longer and had not the victories of the Red Army considerably diminished the imperialistic passion of Poland, the latter would not have tolerated the continuation of the peace negotiations between Lithuania and Soviet Russia, and despite the advice of England and of the whole Entente, would have actively attacked Lithuania and put an end to the existence of this republic. But the decisive change in the fortunes of war (in favor of Soviet Russia), which followed the capture of Kiev, put an end to

the dreams of the Polish gentry to seize Lithuania. The great offensive of the Soviet army towards Lithuania and White Russia, which followed immediately, forced the Polish Government to a complete change of front with regard to Lithuania, to which until then Poland deemed it impossible to accord recognition, and she announced through her new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sapieha, the *de facto* recognition of the Lithuanian Republic.

The continued advance of the Red Army and the resulting retreat of the Polish troops, which soon turned into flight, brought to the front the question whether it would not be of greater advantage for Poland to surrender Vilna voluntarily to Lithuania rather than to be compelled by the Red Army to give it up at the cost of many losses. The circles which are grouped around Pilsudsky preferred the first choice to the second, and they began negotiations with Lithuania to have Vilna occupied by White Lithuanian troops before the entry into that city of the Red Army, so that the latter on approaching Vilna would be confronted by an accomplished fact of Vilna having been proclaimed the capital of Lithuania. But the *Narodowa Demokracja*\* expressed its emphatic and categorical opposition to such a solution of the question, refusing even at this grave moment for Poland to renounce "the historical claims" of Poland on Vilna, and but two days before the glorious military corps of Comrade Gay entered Vilna the *Dwa Grosze*, a Warsaw national-democratic newspaper, raised an alarm against the Polish political leaders who were ready to renounce Vilna in favor of the Lithuanians. The negotiations between the Poles and Lithuanians on the question of Vilna, which were carried on in Vilna itself, led nowhere, owing to the pressure of Warsaw and Vilna *Narodowcy*; and the commander of the Polish forces in Vilna, General Boruschak, solemnly announced that Vilna would be defended to the last drop of blood and called upon the Polish residents to arm themselves for the defence of the ancient Polish city. The Polish Socialist Party also issued an appeal to the populace which exceeded even General Boruschak's appeal by its stupid attacks on the Red Army and its wild yarns. But both appeals had no effect. Vilna fell under the blows of the Red Army.

At the last moment, when the first detachments of Comrade Gay's corps were already near Vilna, and when in the city itself the remnants of the Polish forces were looting the defenceless inhabitants at their stores and homes, the Polish commander invited two representatives of the Lithuanian committee of Vilna and informed them that, in accordance with an order which he had received from Warsaw, he turned over the city to the Lithuanian Committee.

This "surrender" of the city was carried out to say the least, in so peculiar a manner that the "brave" Polish commander could not even present to the Lithuanian representatives a copy of this

\* The National Democratic Party of Dmowski and Paderewski.

historic order in writing, for knowing of the approach of the Red troops he found it impossible to lose any time in copying the order, and retired in a hurry, leaving the surprised representatives of the Lithuanian Committee absolutely unable to see what they should do with the city which was "surrendered" to them by the Polish authorities, and into which advance detachments of the Red Army had already entered.

Immediately after the entry of the Red troops

into Vilna, the local Communists organized a Revolutionary Committee, which announced at once that all the power was in its hands. Only a few days later it became known in Vilna that a peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania had been signed in Moscow, and that according to the treaty Vilna and the province of Vilna will become a part of the Lithuanian Republic, the treaty to go into effect within a certain time after its ratification by both sides.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**WE WERE** correct when, in spite of the statement to the contrary issued by some of the foremost European military experts, we declared that the Southern Front in Russia would be liquidated before winter.

Baron Wrangel is defeated and defeated strategically. Both his "armies", which had fought along the Dnieper on the Kherson-Yekaterinoslav front, as well as on the Yekaterinoslav-Alexandrovsk-Mariupol front, are completely routed, and some are forced to lay down their arms, while the rest must seek refuge near the swampy Sivash Bay, by trying to cross it in order to reach Crimea.

France and England, the main supporters of the Crimean Baron, are in a state of great confusion. The peace between Poland and Soviet Russia entirely destroyed the whole scheme which French strategists for a long time have so carefully prepared. Once again the Red Army has succeeded in settling its account with its enemies, one after the other. Trying in despair to save the situation of the South Russian adventure, the imperialistic coalition in spite of the state of peace existing between Soviet Russia and Poland, encouraged the well-known bandit and traitor Balakhovich to continue his hostilities on the Russian Western Front, which certainly has not and cannot present any strategical importance whatsoever, but may cause a little political uneasiness to the Soviet Government, as well as a certain amount of useless and criminal bloodshed.

As it was reported on November 2, the Balakhovich bands entered Minsk and are moving eastward with Smolensk as their objective, after the usurper's declaring White Russia to be an independent state, and convoking a "Constituent Assembly."

It is well known that the armed bands of Balakhovich do not represent the Polish army. Balakhovich joined Yudenich before the latter's famous dash on Petrograd, in which he took an important part. As one of the commanders in the Red Army, enjoying the full confidence of the Soviet Government, Balakhovich occupied with his forces a very important position on the front, when he entered into negotiations with the Estonian bourgeois government, and finally sold it the whole Pskov district. Henceforth he became

an unforgiving enemy of Soviet Russia. And such a man is actually supported by the French and English; such they need and are choosing in their sacred fight for "democracy". In the present case, peace with Poland came so suddenly and unexpectedly for the Allies, that their general staffs were not ready to instruct their counter-revolutionary leaders in time in regard to their further operation in Russia, and finally the Balakhovich movement was started, after so much delay that it did not produce even the effect of a mere demonstration upon the outcome of the Wrangel campaign in South Russia.

Had such a movement taken place at the end of September, after Baron Wrangel had reached Alexandrovsk, and his battle front extended to the north of that town, it would have strengthened Wrangel's position.

In order to understand this, as well as to realize the importance of the recent victory of the Red Army in South Russia, let us remember the report of the *Associated Press* from Sebastopol as late as September 27, 1920. "General Wrangel, the anti-Bolshevik leader in South Russia, has made prisoners of nearly 20,000 Bolsheviki north of Alexandrovsk.

"With the aid of the Ukrainian General Makhno, it is reported that Wrangel controls the famous Donetsk Coal Basin. Wrangel will attempt to carry on a winter campaign. It is asserted that he has obtained a guarantee of \$1,000,000 with which he is purchasing needed supplies, including shoes, overcoats, and blankets. It is said that a Turkish munitions plant is being established for Wrangel outside of Stambul."

The cable from Constantinople of September 28 gives further details: "The troops of General Wrangel are continuing to pursue the Bolsheviki along the railroad east of the Dnieper, beyond Alexandrovsk, according to the communique issued by General Wrangel's staff. North of Alexandrovsk we have captured thirty-three locomotives in good condition, 1,000 cars, ten machine guns and 1,000 prisoners. "The officers of the Russian staff have made public a proclamation inviting their colleagues now serving with the Bolsheviki to join General Wrangel."

"Reports of an important anti-Bolshevik move-

ment in the neighborhood of Kharkov, 150 miles north of Alexandrovsk, have reached here. General Makhno, with the aid of local insurgents, is said to have attacked Bolshevik positions to the south of Kharkov" (*New York Times*, September 30). And this was at the moment when the Red Army on the Polish front, engaged in constant rearguard actions, was gradually retreating in the regions of Grodno, Pinsk, and to the east of Rovno.

A little more than a month has since passed, and the victorious Red Army has completely liquidated the Wrangel battle-fronts. Already in the middle of October, while there was no news of the Wrangel "victories", the Reds began their vigorous counter-offensive.

The Dnieper River was crossed by the Red troops from Kherson to Yekaterinoslav at many points, and its eastern bank fell into the hands of the Soviets. Here the Red Army entrenched itself in very strong positions and, in a state of active defense, awaited the full concentration of its reserves. In vain the enemy tried to force the Reds back across the river, and finally the enemy was severely defeated at Nikopol, in the very middle of its battle front. The losses of the Wrangel forces were so heavy that it was said the French General Staff was afraid to make them public. At the same time, as we know, Red detachments were landed in the vicinity of the ports Mariupol and Berdiansk, on the Sea of Azov. Thus the northeastern front of the enemy was not only outflanked, but also threatened in its rear, and, as I have declared in one of my former articles, was doomed to destruction. What I conjectured has come to pass. The Wrangel front, which was called a "permanent" front by General Maurice of England, and which extended from Yekaterinoslav to Mariupol, was broken by the Red attack and started its disorderly retreat, which gradually assumed the character of a panic-stricken flight. Finally, the strategical railway parallel to Volnovakha-Alexandrovsk-Kherson fell into the hands of the Red Army, as well as, a little later, the railway triangle Alexandrovsk-Starokonstantinov-Feodorovka, thus deciding the fate of Melitopol, which as was reported on November 2, was captured by the Reds.

Meanwhile the Soviet troops which captured Aleshki, southeast of Kherson, on the east bank of the Dnieper, moved towards Perekop, which was also captured about November 2, as well as the single railway line which was still left to Wrangel, that of Simferopol, cut off by the Reds moving from Berdiansk, thus preventing the enemy from continuing his retreat into Crimea. In short, what I had foreseen about a month ago took place: in one article I severely criticized the statement of the British military expert, General Maurice, who had firmly declared that Wrangel would hold his present positions during the coming winter because the Red troops were absolutely unable to concentrate a strong army on the Southern Front, after their failure in Poland. The situation of

the retreating Wrangel army was a desperate one. As far as we have been informed, he succeeded in concentrating on both his battle-fronts 100,000 men. These fronts formed an acute angle, with the apex at Yekaterinoslav. The sides of this angle ran in the west to Kherson, and in the east to Mariupol. At the moment when Berdiansk, west of Mariupol, and Alexandrovsk, south of Yekaterinoslav, were captured by the Reds, the battle-fronts of the belligerent sides were shortened by about one-third of their length. For the Red Army this was very favorable, because of the strengthening of their reserves, while for Wrangel it became disastrous. The space behind his battle-front quickly became diminished and there was not only not room enough for rearrangement of his forces, but even for a normal tactical retreat, thanks to the lack of railways and of roads sufficiently developed for mechanical transport. The retreating troops of the beaten enemy directed their panic-stricken flight towards the remnant of the Simferopol railway which already was threatened also from the south by the Reds, who captured Perekop and entered the Crimean peninsula. The only way for escape that now remains for Wrangel's bands was that across the Sivash Bay, but even here he is unable to effect an orderly retreat.

All that the beaten Crimean Baron can do now is to use the reserves of guns remaining in Crimea, in order to offer some resistance in the eastern part of Crimea, using for the purpose the Sebastopol-Simferopol-Dzhankoi part of the Simferopol railway, with its branches extending to the west as far as Eupathoria, as well as to the east to Feodosia and Kerch. But such a resistance is out of the question and has no strategical importance. We must not forget the fact that Wrangel was in reality prepared for a winter campaign, and as far as I know, from very creditable sources, established throughout all the occupied regions, many supply bases which are considered to be very important. There is no doubt that he had to abandon all these materials during his retreat, because there was no possibility or time to destroy them and no opportunity of evacuating them. Therefore the booty of the Red Army must be tremendous, and it comes just in time. During the last six months, the expenditure of the Red Army in ammunition and war materials was very great, but it was a very necessary expenditure. As usual, the Red Army has again been successful.

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## Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Seventh Instalment)

### *The Third Internationale*

Its office is in the building formerly occupied by the German Legation. Deneshnyi 5. In a side street. The chairman of the Extraordinary Commission lives not far from there.

The day after my arrival in Moscow I spoke with Radek in the study of murdered Count Mirbach. Radek called my attention to it.

It is a beautiful building. An airy vestibule, hung with tapestries. The salon and reception room of the legation look as they did in Mirbach's time. At least so I was told. They showed me the spot where Mirbach was struck by the bullet, and the line along which he staggered until he collapsed. They do not like to think of that horror. The Bolsheviki wanted to work with Mirbach, they regretted the murder in helpless wrath. So I was told in Moscow. They described the murder to me in detail, the auto, the flight of the murderers. It was a shameful and useless crime.

Klinger, the Secretary of the Third Internationale, has his office in a room on the ground floor, not far from Radek's study. He is a slender man, with a great beard and many nerves. Not robust, and often bent with the weight of his office. A peculiar crowd swarms in and out. Here all the races come together, all those who have a longing for Moscow. From Asia, from Europe, from America they come. There is a twittering of languages, a map of heroic proportions. The history of the Third Internationale is perhaps the most interesting history in the world. It is a large scale political story, a story of sacrifices, a story of far-flung interest, almost like the history of Popedom.

I do not know how well this globe-embracing organization functions. Only a few people are working in the office. It is quiet here; but it is from here that red trumpets ring forth. Looked at architecturally it is a little Vatican. Perhaps its influence is no less than the influence of the Vatican upon the world. It is not an artificial influence, it is merely an organization center, a centralized organization of an existing force, a developing force. Revolutions, like religions, are not things of force, things to be grafted on, but they are matters of development and growth.

Behind the building there is a small park. It is sadly neglected.

The grass is tall and uneven, the fountain plays no more. Its statue is weather-beaten. While the Third Internationale is growing strong, the park is crumbling away.

### *Among Bourgeois*

They live in an exclusive street in Moscow. In a good house, with an elevator in the vestibule. But elevators do not function in Moscow at pres-

ent. Power must not be wasted, for fuel is scarce.

A great power distributing station is in operation near Moscow. It was built (in peace times) by a German firm. By Von Siemens, the A.E.G., and the porcelain factory of Rosenthal. A gigantic net spreads over the Moscow district from here. The power station operates, operates efficiently, but it does not supply as much power as one would like, for power must be saved.

Nor are the elevators in the government offices running. At least one pair of soles is used up in climbing to the top floor of the building of the Supreme Council of National Economy, for the elevator is not running. One arrives there with fagged-out lungs. But no matter, the elevator stands still. Blessed ration system.

In Moscow one never says a *bourgeois*, but *burzhui* or *burzhoi*. It is the modern attempt at botching verbalisms, the popular tampering with vocalization. There are many such modern verbal tamperings, such modern short cuts, modern perversions. For instance, *spezi* for specialist. By *spezi*, in Moscow, is meant not an expert; but the rebellious expert, the sabotaging expert, the lazy expert is so designated.

*Burzhuis* do not live in the sewer. Far from it. They are not starved for air, forced to do without. I saw tables in their house, chairs, oil paintings, "real" oil paintings. I sat on a sofa covered with rep, and was invited to partake of the roast.

Mrs. Burzhui was wrapped in a negligee. Perhaps it was a kimona. I am no expert in such matters. I do not even know whether pajama is of the masculine or neuter gender. But it was a good piece of wearing apparel, undulating, and reaching down to a pair of light-colored house slippers. On her feet were silk stockings. I was asked to dinner.

In the third room stood a baby carriage, a bourgeois baby carriage, with a faithful soul beside it. It was a nurse. A real nurse, not a phantom nurse, a fourth dimensional apparition of a nurse, but a nurse of bone and breast. A nurse of the sort used by babies. Hence a vaulted nurse, not a shallow, flat one. It was a real nurse.

The magnificent Landa was with me at the *Burzhuis*. He is a Communist, and is entirely surrounded by a leather suit. The toes of his right foot, to be sure, cannot exactly be said to be surrounded. Or rather, they are surrounded by air, if I might say so. But it was warm Moscow air, summer air, quite harmless to the toes. Of course, it cannot be said that it was particularly cleansing, but it was warm.

In addition, the magnificent Landa wore an *Everclean*. *Everclean* is the perfect thing. *Everclean* is absolutely laundry-proof. One needs only one *Everclean*, one needs no more. The magni-

ificent Landa washed his *Everclean* every morning with a little tea water. Then it flashed and burst into white glory in the warm rays of the Moscow sun.

A bit of lace over a right hand studded with diamonds was flirting across the table with Landa's *Everclean*. Beside it stood a young lady—a young lady, not a girl—with silk stockings, and draped in a large striped swath of silk, with soft eyes and bitter complaints.

For now began a discussion of the system, of the problems. The *Burzhuis* were not satisfied with the regime. No one can blame them for that. For this regime certainly is no garden of Eden affair, not yet. It is rather like the management of a farm, of a rough piece of land, with a great many weeds, badly-hoed, and not even well-ploughed. There is no whole-hearted joy, no *Burzhuis* fun in sauntering along that ground. Silk stockings or silk-stocking souls do not feel at home there. It is no good for silk-stocking souls.

The lady with the silk-stocking soul was a Soviet employe. The kimona lady did no work at all. "I would like to serve the people," she said feelingly, "but I cannot serve the people, I haven't learned to do anything. Revolutions should only be allowed after every one is competent to serve the people."

"What can I do," she said. "I must sell my things, for I can't do with less than 100,000 rubles a month. Too little bread, nothing to go with it. What can I do? I sell one thing after another. Unfortunately," said she, "unfortunately I cannot serve the people."

They doted on Lenin, but they complained about others. There is much to complain of in Moscow still. Every one actively engaged under the Soviet is far from being a paragon of unselfishness. Unfortunately many of them do not serve the people.

The little silk-stocking soul, wrapped in the swath of silk, complained too. Although she served the people in her way, she was not earning enough. The Soviet employes, whether male or female, really do not earn enough, with some exceptions. Neither in money nor in supplies. The Moscow government dinner (usually served in the government office building) is no luxury. It is not sufficient. The bread ration is likewise insufficient. It is mostly a matter of wage depreciation. The ruble depreciates with such rapidity that the wages and salaries simply never catch up.

But the little silk-stocking soul did not look starved in the least. She was no skeleton, she was a comfort to the eye. She was lively, trim, and her nails sparkled luxuriously. She was evidently living, and living well. Every one complains in Moscow, and hundreds of thousands of people are living quite comfortably.

No bourgeois can really become a friend of the system, can really come to love it, that is. The Moscow bourgeois, in times of peace, was lavish in the enjoyment of his food, his drink and his bed. He cannot get used to the vexing frugality now. That goes without saying.

But he lives, though he may not be able to serve the people. He lives so long without serving the people until he has used up everything that makes his exemption from service possible. Then, of course, he is compelled to serve the people.

Complaints about bread, about meat, about meals, about clothes, about money. One hears them constantly. They are complaints over temporary conditions, over the present. There is no perspective, only a retro-perspective. That is natural, it is probably the same in other places, or will be.

The bourgeois are no Socialists, and certainly no Communists. They lost what Socialism gained. For this reason their complaints are justified, for they do not know that a gain for Socialism is their gain too.

I remarked upon the baby carriage, upon the baby with the vaulted nurse. I said: this baby will one day serve the people, and will cease complaining. He will not be a mere plaintive present conditionist, he will perhaps not even be a mere perspectivist, but may become a real human-being seeking his happiness in the present. The past will have become a museum for him.

Perhaps, said the kimona. Perhaps said the silk-stocking soul. But what good will that do us? It will do us no good whatever. We are present conditionists, and present conditions are not in a nice state, they are in a state . . .

We did not accept the invitation to stay for the roast. Not because of a prejudice against roast. I longed for a Moscow roast, I reviled the roast-fed English Delegation. When I stopped in Narva on my return journey, I immediately ruined my digestion on a heaping dish of pork chops. That is how much I longed for roast meat.

But the bourgeois roast would have been a roast fought over and hedged about with principles. Therefore I went home, to a meal with *kasha*; to a meal served by Sasha, the Soviet cook, with her plump cheeks, her toothache, and her willingness to serve the people.

#### *Profiteering and Sabotage*

Moscow lives. Moscow is no starvation camp. The women of Moscow are balloon-cheeked. Their faces too. The children of Moscow are round-bottomed little ducks. Moscow men are far from anemic, far from being narrow, or spineless creatures.

Moscow lives. But Moscow lives only partly on the rationed products, only partly on the money it earns. A large part of Moscow lives by speculating. Actively and passively it speculates. It speculates, it buys and sells illegally, it speculates, and speculates, and speculates.

This illicit commerce is a necessary evil. For one cannot command the people: Live on your rations—when the rationed supplies are inadequate. That, in my estimation, is a matter of transition, but nevertheless it is an important phase of the Moscow psychology just at present.

There is speculation in everything in Moscow.

From a pin to a cow, furniture, diamonds, cake, bread, meat, everything is traded secretly. The Sukharevka in Moscow is a speculator's bazaar, an illicit trading-house. Now and then the police make a raid upon it. But the speculating is not cut down; it is a hydra-headed monster, which returns with a thousand heads.

Moscow has free market-places, a number of open markets, officially tolerated markets, supplementary markets, markets to fill out the inadequate rations. For instance, there is a supplementary market near the Theater Square. There are cucumbers, fish, hard-cake, eggs, vegetables of all kinds. There are great crowds on the long pavement. Booths are ranged along the edge of the sidewalks. Dealers are sitting around, are whispering from behind into ears of prospective buyers.

The price of a cucumber is 200 to 250 rubles, an egg is 125 to 150 rubles, and everything else in proportion. It is not much according to western exchange value, to say nothing of American exchange. At the time I was in Moscow a dollar was valued at a thousand Bolshevik rubles among exchange speculators. Some one told me of an American who changed 3,000 dollars into Bolshevik rubles. He received nine million Bolshevik rubles. Exchange speculation is not allowed, to make the money rate fluctuate and confuse the market—if one can speak of a standard rate. But there is speculation just the same. There is speculation in everything, in money too, of course.

Milk is being offered at every street corner by peasants. Good milk, not watered milk. This trade is allowed. It is not speculation, it is a legitimate relief and supplemental trade. But other things are speculated in. Every rationed product in the way of small goods is speculated in. But they speculate in bulk products, also. They speculate in fire wood, in clothing, in everything.

This speculating, this profiteering, this hoarding is a serious work preventer. Speculation is in the soul of the workers. They speculate while they work, they speculate when they should be working.

It is being fought against, but it has been impossible, so far, to overcome this mania for speculation. So far it has been impossible, naturally. This is war time, and there are not enough courageous ones in Moscow to take hold of things. It is a matter of development. I do not think it is a cardinal question.

The problem is well-known in Germany: Fixed prices and a ration system tempt people to break the law. But in Russia the underlying basis is different, the principles underlying arrest, the hypothesis upon which punishment is based are more radical and fundamental.

Moscow has always been a city of dealers. It was a political matter during the Revolution, and is one still. Moscow is still trading. The bourgeois trades, the Soviet employe trades, the worker trades. Moscow is the great port in Russia for illicit free trade. Often the trading is a mere process of exchange. I witnessed the following: One man, in high felt boots, stopped and spoke

to another man in leather shoes. They ended by going behind a laurel bush. There they both pulled off their footwear, or leg-wear. Then the felt-boot man put on the shoes, and the leather-shoe man the felt boots. It was a mere exchange, a corner trade, a trade behind the laurel bush, a simplified moneyless business transaction, so to speak.

The death penalty has been abolished in Russia. It is still in vogue at the front only. So I was told. The Extraordinary Commission is now fighting speculators and saboteurs. Speculation is considered a conscious interference with the rationing system, injurious to the common welfare. Sabotage, the direct or indirect refusal to work, is considered to be a rebellion against work, a hindrance to work, and welfare laziness.

The speculator is popular in Moscow, popular on posters, in the vaudeville theaters. He is not only being fought with every means, put behind the bars or forced to work, but he is also being made a laughing-stock. I saw one comedian who whacked a wooden doll to the tune of his refrain. Speculator, speculator, whizzed the song against the wooden cheek. The audience was in a frenzy of delight, and not one of them felt himself hit. Quite like us, quite like us, but still with a difference, looked at in the light of a problem.

There are small and large speculators, there is petty and great sabotage. Incredible horrors are still being perpetrated, crimes against the health of the people, storehouse speculation of colossal proportions. The punishment is in accordance. Such scoundrels should not be spared, scoundrels who steal the fuel from the freezing. Such scoundrels must be punished until the bones crack. I think they are still being treated much too mildly in Moscow.

Hard labor is supposed to be the chief punishment for laziness, as well as for speculation injurious to the public welfare. But it seems to me there is too little system connected with this hard labor. Every crime against the people should be paid with the sweat of the brow. Such trifling should be made good with production.

There are small disciplinary punishments for petty sabotage, lazy sabotage, rebellious sabotage. Certain administrative heads are vested with disciplinary powers, as for instance those of a captain in the former Prussian army. Jail up to two weeks. They are punishments by request. They are not given arbitrarily, but at the instance of the Extraordinary Commission.

Very little use is made of this power. Generally offenders are merely threatened. I experienced the following: A Soviet woman typist remained away from the office for weeks, without an excuse. She sent no doctor's certificate, nor did she excuse her absence with a single line. The managing head was clearly justified in recommending punishment. At last she appeared at the office, wept, begged, and blandished. Perhaps the lovely spring weather had tempted her to a little spree. Finally the managing head relented, and let the matter

drop with a good, strong warning.

On that account the offices are constantly short of help. On that account there is a lack of punctuality, there is slovenliness and flattery when punishment is about to befall. A firm hand is needed here. One must and does consider all the exigencies of life, but things must be handled with a firm hand. At least there must be a more definite punishment. Else there is danger of indifference. Perhaps it will be different when the war ends. There are not enough self-assertive administrative forces in Moscow. The majority are at the front.

But these things will change, for a reason which I cannot go into at present, for it is a matter of economic psychology, a matter of organization psychology, a scientific matter. This book is to be no heavy, weighty matter, but a gathering of anecdotes, a light diary, a recreation, and not a brow-sweating job.

#### *The Streets at Night*

I have already mentioned that there are no prostitutes prowling at night. Neither during the day nor at night. The streets of Moscow are free from prowling women even at night. One is not constantly baited, leered at, no one tempts you with fond reference to a waist line. This form of germ I did not notice in Moscow, either by day or at night.

The night is not dark in Moscow. It is not a white night as in Viatka, in Helsingfors, or among the crags of Finland. It is not even a dusk-like night. It is almost a rose-colored night.

Only a few lamps light the streets. The night glows in Moscow. Even the Bolshevik night. The glow of the Moscow night was not a product of the bourgeois light—the night is not revolutionary. It remains unconcerned about the system. It brings peace without bothering about the system.

After ten o'clock at night the theater, the concert halls, and the lecture halls begin to empty. But life is still throbbing in the social-gathering places, and the crowd on the boulevards is only just beginning to come to life. Toward one o'clock it is quiet on the dark green girdle encircling Moscow, and on the street.

In May, the Moscow sun went down about ten of an evening. An enrapturing sun, a rapturous sun. It glitters on all the golden domes, it frolics in a mirror with a thousand faces. It rainbows in all these golden mirrors as it sinks beyond the horizon. It is a gaily-colored sun, a sun which rises once more just before it sets, rises in the thousand domes of Moscow.

Then there is quiet. The watches are doubled. Those brown soldier watches in the door-ways, for the dead, and on the crossings. Men and women watches, with the gun shouldered upside down, or the gun held between the knees, or in the crook of an arm propped against a wall.

We were on our way from a visit to the German consul at three in the morning. The streets were quite still. They echoed almost like the streets in a small German town on a moonlit night. The

watches were dozing. I said to my companion: What nonsense they write in the European press. If the people could only smell this peaceful quiet. If only they could wander through this stillness of the Moscow streets. He nodded, was about to answer. Suddenly a gun-shot only five paces away. It shattered the quiet, broke it into a thousand pieces, drove it away in all directions, hunted it, lashed it down the street.

What was it? People passed by and did not even look around at the watch who had fired the shot. We passed the watch and he shot again. What was the matter? We did not find out that night, and we were disturbed. Perhaps the Terror was not quite gone from the streets of Moscow.

The next day I was told that they were young militia men, greenhorns with a gun, men and women who like to pop a gun. They are forbidden to shoot and so they do it. It is a safety valve to discipline. A twitching finger on the trigger and the bullet is gone. It does not lodge in a wall, it misses a stray cat, or whizzes into the air between the houses.

Those free with their fingers are punished if they are reported. It is a waste of ammunition, it is insubordination, it is childish. Several times I heard this gun-popping during the following nights. Then there must have been a sudden blow-up. For the streets of Moscow became very quiet. The rifles slept. I think someone must have been locked up.

Any women may go through the streets of Moscow at night, unmolested. Miss Harrison, the courageous newspaper woman, went to the Foreign Bureau every night at eleven. About two in the morning, and even later, she returned. One noon hour she told us: "Once in Berlin a monocled-being spoke to me. One of those who are exquisitely creased and pressed, including the brain, a hand-kissing, finger-tip-touching expert. At the Victory Arch I caused his defeat," she said. "In Moscow I go about perfectly unmolested, even by looks." That is what an American woman told me, who appreciates good manners. She wanted to tell that to the folks at home, especially the women-folks.

#### *Without Alcohol*

A relief device: I am tired of writing and must have a diversion. Otherwise I won't write any more. Mrs. Snowden has just gotten some new, high, stout, yellow leather boots, so that she may have a look at Russia. And she has also gotten from her husband a splendid hat with wings of Hermes on it, so that her brain may not be disturbed by the Russian summer sun. But her boots, her high, stout, yellow leather boots and her splendid hat with its pinions have been of no avail. The hat did not defend Mrs. Snowden against the heat of summer, and in her boots she may have gone through Russian cities and over the Russian streets, but not through Russia. She certainly did talk a lot of nonsense in her article in the *Vossische Zeitung*. I tell you, she cooked together something that Karl Marx once said about Russia,



in a way that shows her absolutely devoid of reason, shows that Mrs. Snowden not only did not see Russia, but never even saw Karl Marx. And she goes on to say something about Russian agriculture, which is absolutely wrong. And she talks about the cities, which she has never understood. She was led through Russia like so many others, without having grasped a single point of the essence of Soviet Russia. But she considers it her right to judge. She was taken around in an automobile and paid visits to exhibitions and homes, to cities and villages. But my dear high-booted, wing-hatted lady, you must work, and work hard, or else you will understand nothing of Russia. When Mrs. Snowden left Moscow, the soles of her high boots were still intact. People told me so. When our Delegation left Moscow all their soles, not to mention other things, were in pieces. That is the point, wing-hatted, high-booted, dearly-beloved innocent with your English energy and your glance—but I shall say nothing of your glance.

Not only Mrs. Snowden was without alcohol, without whiskey, without any stimulation in Moscow. I have seen many persons in Moscow that had spirit, but none with alcohol. Many were intoxicated and none so sober as Mrs. Snowden, but no one was drunk. Many were intoxicated with the Idea. They were not so immune to it as Mrs. Snowden who is not intoxicated with any idea because she sees none. She does not see the Soviet idea nor the Marx idea. She simply releases silly babble about children, future, humanity.

I saw no one drunk, not a single intoxicated man in Moscow. Inebriation was a social disease in Russia, a social disease that had to be eradicated. And damn it, it has been! I will not maintain that there is no such thing as a drunken man in Moscow. But alcoholism in Moscow is a thing of the past. There is no longer (*relata refero*) any alcoholism in the Russian army or in Russia as far as the system of the Soviet reaches.

Do you know the story of the Russian alcohol monopoly? It is a drunkard's tale, a delirious tale, a tale of an idiotic way in which the state financed itself. It is a story of national intoxication, of national stupefaction, of murder by millions, of a low-down national assassination. The whole world raved and fumed against the Russian vodka monopoly, against this base whiskey treachery. The German press raged against it, the English press, the American press; every anti-rum paper in the world raged against it. Why do not these anti-rum papers now recognize this social deed, this deed of eradication, this tremendous sobering act, this health-giving act of the Soviet Government? You might at least recognize that! The elimination of prostitution and the driving out of the rum demon, you might at least recognize that. That is all we ask from you. Do you know the didactic story, the deterring story, the educational story of Tolstoi against the demon rum? He wrote it for the health of the peasants. The Moscow proletariat had to drink rum in peace times. He had to keep himself on his legs by means of

rum, until his legs no longer kept him up, until he dropped and died in his tracks. The state required that he should drink rum. The rum monopoly dragged its 600,000,000 rubles every year out of peasant hearts, peasant livers, peasant brains and peasant kidneys. It dragged its 600,000,000 rubles everywhere out of the hearts, brains, livers and kidneys of the industrial proletariat. It made all Russia drunk, it made a pig-sty of Russia. You cannot deny that that was a base murder, a vile and general assassination, a universal poisoning without parallel.

I am not saying this with propagandist purposes. I am simply recording the narrative of a man whom I trust. This is what he said to me: White armies, aside from their other ailments, were soaked in alcohol. The Kolchak army was a staggering army. Prussian books of history tell of Russian soldiers in the Seven Years' War licking up alcohol with their tongues. The Whites, I was told, did not only lick up alcohol, they ate it alive. This staggering army was fighting against a sober army, and the sober army was victorious. Sober armies will always be victorious; sobriety will always conquer. Not the sobriety of Mrs. Snowden, who knows no intoxication, but the abstinence from alcohol, from cocaine, from all stimulants.

#### *Stünkel*

When you come to Moscow do not forget to pay a visit to Stünkel. But make known your coming in advance for he is a dreadfully busy man. He works in Room 125 in the building of the Supreme Council of National Economy. He is the metal-master of Russia, an organizer of the metal division of the Supreme Council of National Economy, which embraces the entire metal industry of Russia, or will embrace it. I shall not give you his private address, for Stünkel must remain undisturbed at night. He works from early in the morning until late at night.

You have surely not yet heard of Stünkel. You only hear of the Soviet stars, the Soviet celebrities. But I shall give you a tip: Politics is not as important as economic organizers. I have brought a number of things with me from Moscow, and one of them is a strong aversion for politicians. Politicians are stale, unproductive, officious, scribbling, orating, but not working. This staleness is something out of place in the modern age. The middle ages have just been overcome, the new time is dawning, and it is to be hoped it will be without politicians. The new era will not be made by politicians, but by workers of every stamp, it will be made by the machine workers, the garden workers, economic organizers, physicians, teachers, popular artists, technologists, workers of every kind, but not by politicians. There are politicians in Moscow who are workers, and there are workers who are politicians. Lenin, for instance, is a political worker and a working statesman. But even Lenins will not make the new era, important though they may be for the transition period. The new era

will be created by other persons, and among them is Stünkel.

Stünkel is a Finn who was brought up in Germany. He is an engineer, one of the few Russian engineers who recognized the course of events rather early. He plays an important part in the Russian Society of Engineers, and that means a part in an important phase of the Russian Revolution. I cannot give you more information on this just now; I can only say that this society is very important for Russia, both in a negative and a positive way, for the Russian Revolution.

Stünkel is amiable, cool, and is equipped with organizing eyes. He can at once tell you whether things are not well in Kolomna, one of Russia's metal hearts. He sees the cycle of development, the path of evolution, the economic tendency, the errors and possibilities, and acts accordingly. He acts quickly, without much apparatus, without the red tape which is elsewhere so customary in Moscow, without the official awkwardness sometimes noticeable in Moscow, without long meditations, circuitous routes, and fruitless discussions. He is not a man of paper decrees, but a practical man. In short, a splendid fellow.

In his ante-room (125-A) you will find people who have been already satisfied, who know where they are at. They are sure that Stünkel will tell them something definite. It will be a positive statement, a plus or a minus, but it will be positive. He disposes of all these cases calmly, one after the other, no one mixes in with the other. Meanwhile he telephones, quickly and definitely, as it were with an amiable lash. He is a magnificent business man, a smooth, cool organizer, a briber with calm energy. Soviet Russia needs such people, and has all too few of them. Germany has such people, and so has America. Send them over to Soviet Russia, you will not regret it.

Outside of the city, across the Moskva, in a garden shaded with cherry-trees and infested with Stünkel's offspring, I worked with him until late at night (that is he worked with me). At tea, which was served by the amiable Mrs. Stünkel, he told me things of which I had had no suspicion. On four evenings he delivered a course of lectures to me on the history of nationalization. I understand the necessities, the requirements for development, the distinctions. He took his drafting-board and drew for me, and thus illustrated the history of nationalization, simultaneously outlining it in the air with his fingers. I now grasped the present needs of economy, the chaos, the crying aloud for order; I saw people in this chaos, above this chaos; I saw money in this chaos, money that was fleeting and gone; I saw the accelerators and the retarders, the understanders and the non-understanding, the wanters and the resisters. All was as clear as a straight line to me now; a road; everything was disentangled and I breathed freely. It was Stünkel who provided me with this point of vantage, with the tower, the hill from which I could review the whole. I now understood the social economy of Russia; the social-psycho-

logical transformation which was driving for revolution. I understood the struggle of the officials and private employes against the workers, the struggle of the engineers against the workers, and the counter-struggle of the workers. For the first time I understood the new commercial geography, the new economic map of Russia, which Krzyzanski later made concrete for me, just as once before Wermuth, now Mayor of Berlin, one of Prussia's best officials, had explained to me with the aid of a map a matter that I had not previously understood.

In the little cherry garden, Stünkel gave me these points, these illuminations and I am grateful to him for them. I have rarely had such an instructive teacher.

## Burtsev and Benes

The agent of Russian reaction, Burtsev, during his stay in Prague last week, was immediately received by Foreign Minister Benes and President Masaryk. In the *Narodni Listy* and *Venkov*, he openly acknowledged that he was traveling as an agent for the purpose of obtaining military assistance for the Poles and for Wrangel against Soviet Russia.

Prior to his arrival in Prague he was in Berlin for the same purpose, and negotiated with the Pan-Germans led by Luetwitz-Kapp. He published an article anent his activities in the *Vossische Zeitung*. After leaving Prague, he will travel to America to obtain financial assistance there from the capitalists. The immediate reception of Burtsev by the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, even were it not for other matters to which we refer below, is tactlessness against Soviet Russia, and is diametrically opposed to the manner in which the official Russian Red Cross Mission, with Comrade Hillerson at the head, was received; against whom the bourgeois and the National-Socialist press combined, is aroused. At the time, the President of the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross, Dr. A. Masaryk, sent a note (!) to Comrade Chicherin in which she protested against the "agitation by the Russian Mission," although there was no agitation, and in spite of the fact that a long time before the Russian reactionaries had made of Prague their Centrum and Eldorado.

It is, however, not only a question of Burtsev—it is more than that. Although the Government declared its neutrality in the Russian-Polish controversy, and although Foreign Minister Benes declares his readiness to resume relations with Russia, as though in direct ridicule of all present customs, ammunition is being delivered and transported to Poland. All of Benes' actions, whether regarding the famous *Little Entente* or anything else, have an edge directed towards Russia. On the 9th of August, the Government declared anew strict neutrality, the war minister denied that ammunition was being sent to Poland—but all assurances are in vain. The Manifesto of Organ-

ized Railroad Men, which we publish elsewhere, shows that the Government and the Foreign Minister are lying. We reiterate: It is not a question of Burtsev, he is merely a link in a chain; we say no longer that it is sophistry, but an evident and—what is more—unconcealed hatred of the Proletarian Russian Empire. Burtsev merely proved how far-reaching is Benes' hatred and shamelessness, for he is not ashamed to welcome openly and to overwhelm with attention an agent of the Russian and of the Polish capitalistic reaction. Besides this, on the occasion of Benes' last visit in Paris, a banquet was given in his honor by Burtsev and by the entire group of Russian reactionaries. It was then that Benes declared that the Czech nation (!) would never recognize the Bolsheviki, and that he himself *looked forward to the time when he would be able to welcome in Prague the representatives of the "liberated" Russian nation and of Wrangel's government.*

In the case of Wrangel, the story of Kolchak whom Benes warmly admired, repeats itself. It was not only Kramar, but also Benes, who first of all, during his stay in Paris while peace negotiations were in progress, agitated for repeated intervention of the Siberian armies against the Russian Revolution. But while Kramar openly acknowledged his enthusiasm for Kolchak, Benes with a truly realistic shrewdness knew how to put on a mask of neutrality so cleverly, that he deceived even his friends of the Realist Party. At that time, Professor Radl, in a polemic against Herben, quoted as a contrast to the policy of intervention Benes' neutrality, and received a reply from Herben which at that time we already remarked as a true picture of Benes' sentiments. Herben said then: "It seems that an explanation of politics or rather of the political A B C is necessary. A political party (Herben understood here Kramar's position and that of his party in the question of intervention) is more free than the administration though their purpose may be the same. The politician of a party may act and speak differently from a Foreign Minister who is bound by considerations and agreements. A Minister sometimes finds himself in a situation where he is compelled to reject a policy though he may personally be in accord with it. Sometimes he must even announce publicly that he is not in accord with it." It is clear from this that Herben carelessly betrayed that Benes was a Kolchakist just as Kramar was, and that he is today a Wrangelist again just as Kramar is.

Such is the appearance of Benes' neutrality, which on the other side he parades in the House under a mask of good-will and what not, sends notes to Russia full of assurance of the Government's goodwill toward Russia. It is therefore necessary to view the furore artificially created by Burtsev's visit in this connection, especially as it appears in Benes' organs, the bought-over *Cas* and his voluntary servant *Ceske Slovo*. These papers wash their hands of Burtsev, pronounce him a reactionary, and show with transparent tend-

ency that it is upon a hint from the Hrad, that they bamboozle their readers, saying that Burtsev was not successful on the Hradchin. It is noteworthy that the policy of Hradchin is to clothe itself in a mantle of duplicity and humanitarianism, and meanwhile, to poison the Czech atmosphere with lies, intrigues, reaction, in such measure that in the end no one will see his way clear in this tangle.

We brand Benes as an evil spirit of the Czech foreign and internal policy. From the very beginning of his taking hold of things in State Administration his career was marked by insincerity, hypocrisy, and lies, in every act of administration in relation to Russia. The falsehood has, of course, its tradition from the time of the organized attack upon Russia of the Czech armies, who were deceived by the allied "liberators", and designed to become the executioners of the Russian Revolution. Influences which, at the time, were active upon the leadership of the Czech armies are still active today—and everything else is a contemptible lie.

To all the sins which our party has committed will be added its support of Benes' double game and his intrigues against the Soviets. It is impossible to believe that the leadership of a party was not aware of the real sentiments and the real purpose of that man, when he so often so openly, and so shamelessly showed his true face. Notwithstanding this, the party continued to deceive the working-classes regarding the goodwill of the Foreign Minister towards Russia. And today when the third Coalition has passed away, and preparations are being made for the fourth, Benes again figures in it. There is not the slightest doubt that Benes has his fingers in the postponement of Congress, and in the terror brought about by Tusar against the proletariat and its representatives by the uncompromising Left; it is certain beyond doubt that this terror was arranged upon a direct hint of the allied rabble whom Benes serves. And here it will be necessary for the proletariat to speak decisively, once for all. The organized capitalistic reaction, whose servants are both Tusar and Benes, is planning an attack upon the proletariat who until now have been an obstacle in the way of execution of the plan of the Allies to make of the "liberated" Republic a stepping-stone for an organized attack upon the Russian Republic.

Russian Comrades demand of the proletariat of the world, not only in the interest of the Russian Empire, but above all in their own interest, that they prevent any attack of the European capitalists upon Soviet Russia. This is the task, in the first place, of the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia. There can be no peace as long as the agent of the allied capitalists will direct the foreign policy of our state. The first duty, therefore, of the proletariat of the Czecho-Slovak Republic must be: Down with Benes! Down with Intervention! Long live Soviet Russia!—From *Obrana*, New York.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

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**G**ENEVA in 1864 was the scene of the first Red Cross Conference. It was the original plan of this organization to assure to fighters on both belligerent sides, in any war that might arise, the medical and surgical care of a body of men and women—doctors and nurses—who would be entirely neutral in the conflict being waged, who would treat the soldiers of one combatant with exactly the same degree of solicitous attention as those of the other side, and thus contribute, to this extent at least, to diminishing the horrors of war. The American Red Cross organization was founded in 1881 by Clara Barton, who had already practiced in at least one war (the Franco-German War, 1870-1871) the principle of conducting a neutral organization that should give aid, comfort and care to fighters of both opposing nations. High hopes have naturally been placed in the effects of the operation of such kindly agencies—in fact, more than one gentle enthusiast has expressed the belief that the natural kindness of many persons contributing to the relief of friend and foe alike would instil in both a spirit that would ultimately make war between them impossible.

Headlines appearing nearly two weeks ago in New York newspapers (our attention has just been called to them) would make it appear that this splendid prospect is being more than realized. It would appear that the kindly offices of the Red Cross are being bestowed not only on enemies against whom frank and open warfare is being waged, but even on a nation against which the hatred of its torturers is so great that they must invade it without declaration of war, blockade it without open confession of blockade, distort and misrepresent its current history while pretending to issue the truth. So great would appear to be the kindness of the American Red Cross, to judge from the headlines of which we speak. They read thus: "\$14,000,000 Spent in Russia by Red Cross.—2,667 Persons, Including 503 Americans, Employed in Relief Work, According to the Annual Report.—18 Hospitals in Siberia.—10,000 Different Articles Distributed Free of Cost; Sanitary Trains Operated."

Even Russia, then, barbarous, tyrannical, autocratic proletarian Soviet Russia, seems to benefit by the generous ministrations of the Red Cross.

But when you read through the news item, which

is dated Washington, October 30, and which announces certain data to be printed in a forthcoming annual report of the American Red Cross Society, you find that while no word has been permitted to enter the paragraphs that might weaken the impression that *all* of Russia has been thus magnificently nursed and fed and tended, there is yet not a single indication in the article that would point to any aid actually given to combatants or non-combatants in Soviet Russia. Read a few of the paragraphs of this forthcoming American Red Cross Report, as quoted in the *New York Tribune* (October 31):

"Service was extended to millions of men, women and children and ranged from hospital care for the sick to food and clothing for the starving and ill clad. The work was carried on through commissions sent to Siberia, western Russia, southern Russia and the Baltic States; a total of 2,667 persons, including 503 Americans, were employed and 10,000 different articles were distributed free of cost.

"The commissions operated sanitary trains with a total of seventy-five cars and equipped with 830 beds, with a capacity of 1,550 patients. Anti-typhus trains operated by the commissions traveled 11,000 miles, furnishing preventive baths to 105,000 persons, disinfection for 1,000,000 and issuing 500,000 clean garments. In Siberia alone Red Cross trains distributed 8,000 tons of supplies and eighteen hospitals with a total of 6,596 beds were operated."

And then remember that Siberia means the Siberia of Kolchak, Semionov, and the Japanese, that Western Russia means Poland and the territories of Soviet Russia wrongfully held by that country, that Southern Russia was lately the Russia of Denikin and only yesterday the Russia of Wrangel, that some of the Baltic states were still at war with Soviet Russia four months ago, and that the report even frankly says, as far as Southern Russia is concerned, that the work there "consisted largely in caring for refugees and in fighting typhus and cholera in the Crimea."

Particularly difficult, according to the report, was the work of the organization "in helping the people of Esthonia, where there was no ambulance service and little in the way of hospitals when the Americans arrived." We quote further:

"The army was in retreat and disorganized and the combined force of soldiers and civilians to the number of 20,000 was described as a hungry, suffering, panic-stricken mob. In December typhus broke out, and for months the Red Cross workers fought the disease amid great difficulties."

Without repeating all the details in the newspaper report of these Red Cross activities in Esthonia, let us come to the point and state simply that aid was given to every military and civil organization outside of Soviet Russia, including many that were at war with Soviet Russia, that aid began to be given to Esthonia—in the very words of the report—only when the army of Yudenich, in retreat across that country, badly needed such attention, and that no effort seems to have been made—at least none is described—to carry similar benefits of the Red Cross into Soviet Russia. For the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has committed the crime of permitting the workers and peasants to rule, and that republic is there-

fore considered an enemy by those countries in which the workers do not rule, and there is no neutrality, we must assume, and not even a neutral Red Cross organization, between the old system and the new. At least the old will not have it so.

Generous care devoted to the people of Esthonia will meet with no disapproval in Soviet Russia. The people of Soviet Russia well understand how much suffering there was in Esthonia before its people finally forced a reactionary and pro-Entente government to make peace with Soviet Russia. And the people of Soviet Russia hope that Esthonia will continue to receive gifts at the hands of the American Red Cross in spite of the fact that they have made peace with Soviet Russia. But the people of Russia cannot fail to understand that war is being waged upon them not only by treacherous foreign chancelleries, but also by what is allegedly the world's greatest humanitarian organization, the Red Cross.

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**M**R. H. P. DAVISON, then President of the American Red Cross Society, made, shortly before the opening of the war between the United States and Germany in 1917, a declaration to the effect that it was necessary to give contributions to the American Red Cross because that organization was one of the most potent agencies in the winning of the war by the United States. Whether Mr. Davison really meant this, we do not know, but at the time the statement was interpreted by many persons as meaning that the benefits of the organization would not be impartially distributed to soldiers of both fighting groups, but that the Red Cross was a combatant organization, aiding one of the belligerents to "win the war." However the case may have been in the war with Germany—and that war is one with which we are not now concerned—there is no doubt that Mr. H. P. Davison's remarks are entirely true when applied to Russia. For in Russia aid is given by the American Red Cross only to the reactionary or semi-"democratic" republics that have there been set up, or to out-and-out counter-revolutionaries; and no aid is given to the people who have dared set up a government that is new, a government that has overthrown the capitalists and refuses to recognize as valid the claims of creditors who long ago had lent money to its oppressors to aid them in the prosecution of their autocratic designs against the people of Russia.

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**O**NE of the servants of the masters is Wrangel, the Wrangel who occupied the Crimea while the Red Cross was feeding refugees and fighting typhus in those parts. The *New York Tribune* of November 5 has the following news item concerning General Wrangel's mother:

TERIJOKI, Finnish-Russian Frontier, November 4.—The mother of General Wrangel, the anti-Bolshevik commander in the Crimea, arrived here yesterday from Russia absolutely destitute. She was cared for by the American Red Cross and furnished with money and

supplies by Colonel Edward W. Ryan, of that organization. Mme. Wrangel is anxious to join her son in South Russia.

Colonel Ryan, it will be remembered, spent a few days in Russia this year and described conditions there as far more terrible than they really were (we spoke of his report in our editorials in the May 22 issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*). There is no reason why a helpless old lady should not receive assistance from a representative of the American Red Cross, and it is fortunate that the refugees from Russia who need the attentions of the Red Cross are members of the reactionary classes; but it is unfortunate for the American Red Cross that it has few cases to point to, judging from the Washington message of October 30, in which it has given assistance to the persons really constituting the population of Soviet Russia. The colony of Petrograd children who were being transported home across the Pacific and the United States by the American Red Cross is the only body of persons connected with Soviet Russia whom the American Red Cross ever aided, as far as we know, and even then it was the intention for some time to return the children to Russia only after long delays. Their recent arrival in Finland is good news, however, and it is to be hoped that all of the children will soon be restored to their parents in various parts of Russia, most of them in the vicinity of Petrograd.

Recently we learn that Semionov's wife and mistress, both of whom seem to be estimable persons, are now in Japan, and have been supported thus far on funds whose ultimate origin is the treasury of the Japanese Government. Had they gone to Finland, their benefactor would have had to be the American Red Cross. But Semionov's mistress is not entirely without all relations to the latter body. We quote the following from the *New York Globe* of November 5:

"In Chita, this woman officiated as the leader in the distribution of the American Red Cross relief supplies and bestowed jewels and furs on many of the girl workers in the organization. One of her many trips to Japan and China, when she is supposed to have brought Semionov's wealth to places of safety, was made on an American train. The arrival of the bona fide wife may start a fight for the possession of these millions."

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**M**ANY guests have visited Soviet Russia since the establishment of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, now already in its fourth year. The number of visitors during the third year of the life of the Republic was much larger than in the former years, and the number of their printed reports has therefore also increased greatly. Furthermore, the number of picturesque fabrications for which some of these visits serve as an excuse is also on the increase. The latest misrepresenting guest is a guest indeed: he is Dr. L. Heilen Guest, Joint Secretary of the British Labor Delegation to Soviet Russia, and "a prominent English Fabian Socialist" (*N. Y. Tribune*, October 31). Here is what he writes in a recent number of the *London Times*:

"Lenin is best understood if he is thought of as a Central Asiatic Mahomet, sending out the cry of his new materialist religion from his high tower of the Kremlin in Moscow, and calling to the millions of the Russian and Siberian peasants to work, fight, and die for the new conception or against the errors and evils of the western democratic world. And this 'new conception' already is hopelessly old in the western world. It is the kind of materialism that speaks of mind as 'an excretion of the brain as bile is an excretion of the liver.' It is the kind of materialism that expects to find in a man's economic circumstances a complete explanation of his character and beliefs. In a word, it is the crudest kind of materialist fatalism.

"And Lenin and his helpers have all the marks of the zealous propagandist in the missionary zeal with which they seek to impose their views on other nations. The conditions of adherence to the Third International sent out lately to Germany, France, and England all lay stress on the need of subordination to Moscow and the need of implicit obedience. Like Mahometanism, too, the new faith is militant—its good is to be carried everywhere by fire and sword, heavy civil war and terrific struggle. The democratic side of Socialism, the liberal ideas implicit in western Socialism, such as free speech, free meeting, free and secret elections—all these disappear in the Russian conception. Lenin declares 'liberty is a bourgeois superstition.' Democracy is said to be a pretence to fool the workers. And Bolshevism is declared to be salvation."

Of course this silly stuff will be believed by no one that knows anything about "Western" Socialism, for any such person is fully convinced that "Lenin" Socialism and "Western" Socialism are identical, in so far as the latter is Socialism at all. And we hold no brief for "Mahometanism". It may be that Mahometans disseminated their faith at one time with the aid of the sword; it was certainly also the case with "Western" Christians at certain stages of their history. But it is not necessary for "the new faith" "to be carried everywhere by fire and sword, heavy civil war and terrific struggle." At least neither Soviet Russia nor the often-mentioned "Third International" is obliged to carry out this process. There is much oppression in Europe—in fact oppression in some countries has become unbearable. Ireland is in constant rebellion and Hungary and Germany are smarting from the wounds inflicted by the frightful blows of a savage reaction. Revolution in Italy is in progress and serious events are expected in Greece and Poland. It is difficult to see why Asiatic qualities must be attributed to Lenin merely because he understands the forces that are driving the peoples of other countries to revolution and frequently writes essays describing and evaluating these tendencies. The Norwegian Government, acting under orders from abroad, refuses to allow its fishermen to sell fish to Litvinov who is authorized by Soviet Russia to purchase their fish, and gives the fishermen no other means of realizing on the products of their labor, and yet is surprised to find disaffection growing among the population of North Norway. Is the slant of Lenin's eyes or the height of his cheekbones really so very important in a discussion of revolution in Europe as to make such allusions worth while? Mr. Guest seems to think so:

"In a few moments a secretary came and conducted us to a large, light room, furnished chiefly with large

desks and chairs, where Lenin stood ready to greet us. Lenin is a short man, nearly bald in front, and his hair is slightly ginger; his English is fairly good, but his French is better. The face is high as to cheekbones and the eyes are somewhat slitlike—the color of the face is very sallow, its general appearance definitely Asiatic. Lenin smiles often, but without geniality.

"We began the interview at once by asking about raising the blockade and getting peace.

"Lenin—It is perfectly impossible to get a capitalist government to raise the blockade. The English Government says it is not helping Poland, but this is not true. English liberal newspapers acknowledge that help is being given by England to Poland. The League of Nations is a capitalist conspiracy.

"Mr. Tom Shaw and I asked for definite proofs of help being given to Poland of a character we could produce in this country. Lenin retorted by saying we must turn out our government by revolution, and then we should find the secret treaties.

"Lenin—England and France are waging war against Socialist countries, and I hope for their defeat.

"In answer to a question, 'What kind of defeat?'

"Lenin—There is only one kind of defeat or victory.

"In answer to a question as to what was the obstacle to a League of Nations delegation:

"Lenin—The League of Nations is France and England waging war against us—we are not at peace.

"In answer to a question as to how we could help to get peace:

"Lenin—More resolutions are a little help. But only real help can come from the British revolution.

"In answer to a question as to how we could get Socialism in England:

"Lenin—I am a pupil of English Socialism. It would be childish to say that all our institutions must be copied. The Left Communists in England are making blunders because they are too much copying the first forms of the revolution in Russia. I am in favor of parliamentary action. We had twenty-five per cent of Communists in the Constituent Assembly, and this was enough for victory. In your country fifteen per cent might be enough for complete victory.

"In answer to further questions, Lenin suggested sending a message to the British workers (the one already published in England). In answer to another question:

"Lenin—I do not believe the blockade can be lifted with a bourgeois government in power in England.

"With regard to the Terror:

"Lenin—The Red Terror has been infinitely smaller than the White in Finland, Hungary, Egypt and Ireland. We are firmly for the Red Terror against the capitalist class. We are firmly convinced that the capitalist class will use every means of violence against the proletariat."

And yet everything Lenin said to Mr. Guest, according to the latter's own questions, was plain speaking of a moderate and sensible type; the suggestion that the English working class should overthrow their government might even be taken as a little joke on the part of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, for it really does seem rather ridiculous that two grown men should seriously ask him for proofs of British and French aid to counter-revolutionary generals, proofs that everyone in England has read in English newspapers. Of course Lenin has not the documents themselves, and of course he is right in saying that they can be obtained only from the foreign offices of the governments that have signed such treaties. Yet to some persons such badinage may seem so outrageous as to be worthy of that adjective which to them covers so much villainy—Asiatic.

## The Russian Blockade and American Cotton

[The Representative of the Soviet Government recently received a letter from the Managing Editor of the "Oklahoma Leader", setting forth the adverse economic conditions affecting the cotton farmers of the United States as a result of the artificial restrictions imposed upon world commerce, and inquiring as to the possibility of Soviet Russia as a market for American cotton. In reply, Mr. Martens showed that the blockade of Russia was depriving the American farmers of an annual market for more than 760,000 bales of their cotton, that being the quantity of American cotton normally imported into Russia in pre-war years. Forty per cent of the cotton imported into Russia before the war came from the United States. In addition to the loss of this normal market, Mr. Marten's letter pointed out that the American farmers were being deprived of an even larger demand created by the present abnormal scarcity of cotton textiles in Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government is already negotiating for the purchase of cotton in the English market and would purchase great quantities of American fibre if the restrictions upon trade between the United States and Russia were removed.

We reproduce this correspondence in full.]

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA, October 14, 1920.

L. C. A. K. Martens,

Representative of the Russian Soviet Republic,  
New York City.

My dear Sir:

A situation which threatens poverty and ruin to thousands of cotton farmers of this section of the United States has come about. The price paid to the farmer for his cotton has fallen below twenty cents per pound at the end of a season in which the farmer has been forced to pay exorbitant prices for everything which has gone into the production of his crop. The cotton producers state that the 1920 crop has cost from thirty to forty cents per pound to produce.

Cotton farmers so deeply resent the injustice which the situation imposes upon them that cotton gins over a wide area have been threatened with destruction if they do not cease operations until the price of cotton rises. Numerous gins have been burned.

There has been much talk, but no constructive measures have yet been taken. It seems reasonable to assume that the best way to attack the problem is by going at causes.

It is clear that the drop in the price of American cotton is largely due to the restrictions artificially imposed upon world commerce. It is manifest that if peace were made in Europe on a basis which permitted normal industrial activity and free commercial intercourse the present situation could not have arisen.

I desire to have a statement from you as to whether the government of the Russian Soviet Republic is at this time ready to make a definite offer for American cotton. If so, will you state the amount of the present crop which Russia would buy, the price and the terms upon which it would be taken and other pertinent conditions which would apply to the transaction.

I would like a statement as to what steps would be necessary to permit shipment of any cotton which the Russian Government might buy. The cotton farmers have an immediate interest in knowing what are the restrictions affecting their industry and whether the present policies of blockade and embargo are denying to them a large market for their cotton at a good price.

Very truly yours,

EDWIN NEWDICK,  
Managing Editor, "Oklahoma Leader".

\* \* \*

NEW YORK CITY, October 22, 1920.

Mr. Edwin Newdick,

Managing Editor, "Oklahoma Leader",  
Oklahoma City, Okla.

My dear Sir:

I have given your letter of October 14th most careful consideration. The situation which you describe in the cotton industry of America has already engaged the attention of experts in the Commercial Department of this Bureau. It is quite true, as you state, that the present depression in the American cotton market, as

in many other lines of industry, is largely due to the artificial restrictions imposed upon the normal processes of production and commerce in Europe. Of these restrictions, the blockade and the continuous succession of wars waged against Soviet Russia by various forces and by counter-revolutionary bands supported by foreign powers are the most important and most far-reaching in their economic effect throughout the world. Russia has always been an integral part of the economic system of Europe. It was impossible to withdraw the extensive resources of Russia and the vast purchasing power of the Russian people from contact with the rest of the world without producing everywhere dislocation and depression in industry. Although the Soviet Government has been victorious in defending itself against its foreign enemies and is at present rapidly dispersing the last of the counter-revolutionary elements, nevertheless, the blockade is still in force, particularly as it affects trade between the United States and Russia.

In the case of cotton, the destructive influences of the blockade and of foreign intervention are particularly noticeable. Prior to the world war, Russia's annual raw cotton imports, during the period of 1909-1913 average \$56,804,500, which was nearly ten per cent of the entire value of Russian imports. Of the total quantity of raw cotton consumed by Russian textile mills during 1913-1914, about fifty-one per cent was of domestic origin (from Turkestan). Of the remainder, nine per cent came from Egypt and India and about forty per cent from the United States through Hamburg, Bremen, Liverpool, and other distributing centers. (It may be surprising to many American cotton growers to learn that such a large proportion of their crop reached Russia. Since it was almost exclusively handled by English and German middlemen, it was generally included in American statistics among the exports to England and Germany). Of the pre-war yearly consumption of cotton in Russia, totalling 1,784,752 bales, 762,352 bales were of American origin. This, then, represents the actual market of which the United States is deprived by the blockade of Russia, assuming all other conditions remained the same. But the potential purchasing power and demand in Russia for cotton today is of course vastly increased beyond this figure by many circumstances. Through a variety of causes the Russian textile mills have for some period been deprived of their regular domestic supplies and have been cut off from all foreign sources. The shortage has been so acute that various substitutes have been employed and a large quantity of flax, for instance, is now being worked into goods which normally would be made of cotton. Moreover, because of the blockade and of the disruption of transportation due to intervention and civil war, production of all textiles has been greatly curtailed in Soviet Russia. Thus, summing up the present situation, it will be seen that Russia for several years has been deprived of an annual import of 762,352 bales of American cotton, and that this shortage has been greatly augmented by the curtailment of the domestic supply, and that, further, the whole production of cotton goods within Soviet Russia is greatly in arrears of normal needs. If to these conditions we

add still another factor, namely, the greatly increased purchasing power of the Russian peasant and worker which has come to them as a fruit of the Revolution, we see that the immediate demand for cotton in Russia enormously exceeds that of pre-war years and will remain very large for a long period.

I need not point out to you, nor to any American cotton grower, the obvious relation of these facts to the present condition of the American cotton industry. In reply to your question as to whether the Russian Soviet Republic is at this time ready to make a definite offer for American cotton, I can say that it would be ready to do so, but that unfortunately under the present conditions no such offer can be made. Soviet Russia is most effectively blockaded. My Government is not recognized by the Government of the United States. There is no provision for cable or postal communication between America and Russia. The right to travel between the two countries is withheld. The Soviet Republic is prevented from transferring any funds and from establishing credits in the United States with which to finance purchases of the goods which it so greatly needs. Under these circumstances it is of course impossible to state the specific price or terms upon which we would be prepared to purchase American cotton, since so long as present restrictions remain in force there is no possibility of our making any such purchases and the question of price and terms can only be properly determined under conditions of practical trade and not on a merely hypothetical basis. I can of course say, and the statistics which I have given you show this clearly, that Russia will immediately desire to make large purchases of American cotton as soon as the blockade is lifted. In this connection I would call your attention to a letter recently addressed to Mr. Lloyd George by Mr. Karssin, the chief of the Soviet Government Trade Delegation at London, published in the *London Daily Telegraph*, October 6, 1920. Writing with regard to the various commodities for which the Trade Delegation is contracting in London, Mr. Krassin says: "Purchases of Egyptian cotton . . . could be effected soon after the conclusion of the commercial treaty." To your question as to the steps necessary to permit the shipment of cotton which the Russian Government might buy in America, I can reply that the only preliminary requisites are the establishment of such arrangements as ordinarily exist between commercial nations and without which international trade is impossible. The Soviet Government has never demanded formal diplomatic recognition as a preliminary to trade relations. We have merely pointed out that trade cannot be established without the necessary facilities for communication by post and cable, and for travel and for the transfer of funds. Without these facilities, of which we are at present deprived, it is of course impossible to resume trade.

Very truly yours,

L. MARTENS,

*Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.*

## POLAND AND SOVIET RUSSIA

By N. LENIN

The following is a portion of a speech by N. Lenin, President of the Council of People's Commissars, delivered in October, at the first session of the Russian Communist Party:

"When in January we made to the Poles a proposal for peace, which was extremely favorable to them and unfavorable to us, this proposal was interpreted by the diplomats of all countries in the following way: The Bolsheviks are very accommodating; therefore they are very weak.

"Intoxicated by this claim, the Poles ventured

their great assault and took Kiev. But our counter-attack threw back the Poles and pushed them almost as far as Warsaw. In the latest strategic turn of events, we have again retired 100 versts. The doubtless, rather serious position which grows out of this retirement is not however decisive; it is very important to know that the diplomats have been wrong in their calculations as to our weakness, that they are convinced that the Poles cannot defeat us, and that we were not far from achieving a victory over the Poles, and are not far from achieving such a victory even now.

"By our advance on Warsaw, we have come into touch with the center of the imperialistic world system. Poland, which is the last support in the struggle against Bolshevism, and which is absolutely in the hands of the Entente, is such a tremendous factor in that imperialistic system that the fact of a serious threat of this support by Soviet Russia has caused the whole system to tremble. The Soviet Republic has become a factor of increasing importance in world politics. The new situation has expressed itself particularly in the fact that the bourgeoisie of the countries in which the Entente rules have expressed their sympathy for Soviet Russia. The border states, whose relations to Bolshevism were expressed only in mass persecutions of Communists, have concluded peace and made treaties with us against the will of the Entente. This fact has had its reverberations in all the states of the world.

"On the occasion of our advance on Warsaw, great excitement and commotion was produced in Germany, resulting in a situation similar to that brought about in our country a year ago. A further consequence of our contact with Warsaw was the struggle of the western powers with their own proletariat, particularly in England. When the English Government sent us its ultimatum it transpired that the English workman had first to be consulted. These workers, whose leaders are—at least nine-tenths of them—opportunists and turncoats, answered with the formation of a Committee of Action, which is a union of all workers without regard to party."

## WORKERS' AND PEASANTS'

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Supplanting the state control of the former regime, the Soviet Government has undertaken the creation of a live controlling organization which would look after not only the formally correct spending of state funds, but also the actual enforcement of all possible abuses. To participate in the work of this institution to be known as "Workers and Peasants Inspection" representatives of the workers and peasants are elected. Elections are now being held for this workers' and peasants' inspection, and the entire press points out the importance of this event which gives workers and peasants an opportunity to rule the country for themselves, and control the activities of state officials.



## British Capitalism Against Soviet Russia

By LT.-COL. CECIL L'ESTRANGE MALONE, M.P.

*[The following is a portion of a speech delivered by Col. Malone in the House of Commons as contained in the official report of the proceedings of the English Parliament.]*

**I**N ORDER to understand this matter, you must understand the financial interests which Members on the front Bench and their friends have in Russia. Before coming, however, to that part of what I am going to say, I want to make a few remarks concerning the Prime Minister's speech. To listen to the Prime Minister's speech was like listening to an anti-Socialist orator in Hyde Park—and a very indifferent one, too. I do not think, from the arguments put forward by the Prime Minister this afternoon, that he would have earned £5 a week which the average anti-Socialist orator in Hyde Park is able to earn. He made several very inaccurate statements concerning the internal conditions of Soviet Russia.

He selected statements from certain individuals who have been to Russia, and he took care to select individuals whose reports favored the case he wished to put before us. He chose the reports of a very few individuals—two out of some two or three dozen—who have reported to the contrary effect; and of those two whose reports he selected, one has been disowned by a large section of the Independent Labor Party. I am told that resolutions of protest are pouring in from every part of the country. (Hon. Members: "Name!") It is Mrs. Snowden. The Prime Minister made three points with regard to that, namely, that Mrs. Snowden is alleged to have reported—I hope for her own sake that she has not reported—that in Russia there is no Socialism, there is no democracy, and there is no Christianity. Let me deal briefly with those three points. With regard to the statement that there is no Socialism, no one has ever suggested that there is either Socialism or Communism in Russia. It is futile to suppose that there is likely to be Communism in Russia in this generation. Even if they had not been subjected to the war of intervention and blockade, and to other difficulties which have been imposed upon them by the Secretary of State for War and his colleagues, it would have taken a great deal longer than two or three years to pull down the old capitalist system and to build up a new Socialist order. You have to disorganize and reorganize nearly every government department—education departments, boards of trade, commercial departments. Every department is built up on a new system. Apart from the war which they have been waging—and, I am glad to say, waging successfully—it is not likely that you would have found Socialism in Russia today. The second point which the Prime Minister made was that in Russia there is no Christianity. What is the true fact about that? It is true that they have disestablished the old Orthodox Church. Anyone who knew the pernicious, vile political influence which

the old Russian Church held over the people in the time of Rasputin knows what a benefit to the Russian people the disestablishment of that Church has been. People who have been in Russia know quite well that religion is free in Russia today, with this difference over the past regime, that the clergy have to obtain their pittance from the contributions of the faithful and not from the taxpayer—a very beneficial change. (An Hon. Member: "They have all been murdered!") Not only I, but many other people have seen these priests and bishops, and as there is prohibition in the country I am sure they are not all ghosts. But it is really rather ludicrous to talk about lack of Christianity in Russia. Are we really so Christian in this country that we can talk of another country which has disestablished its old reactionary religion? I believe Russia is just as religious and as Christian as we in this country, and probably more so.

The third point was that there is no democracy in Russia today. But have we really got democracy in this country today? The Prime Minister spoke about elections. Are our elections really free? Are they any freer than the show of hands he referred to? (Hon. Members: "Yes!") I do not think so. (Interruption.) I got in by the same method as you got in. (An Hon. Member: "How did you get in?") What happens when an election takes place, when great issues are before the country—new housing conditions, better industrial conditions, and all the hundred and one new social improvements that are required? A great newspaper magnate, or some other great financial interest controlling the newspapers, comes along two or three days before the election, and instead of the issues being real, vital issues which are of importance to the country, what comes before the people? Hanging the Kaiser, making Germany pay, and all this futile rot which the people are asked to vote for instead of the real fundamental social basis which they should send back to legislate for and to improve their conditions. Then even if the people have the sense not to be bluffed, what happens? Last week we saw in this House something of the democratic legislation about which the Prime Minister boasts. In two hours last Wednesday £160,000,000 of the taxpayers' money was voted through the House without a single word, or even half a word, of discussion. That is the democratic legislation about which the Prime Minister boasts. If anyone analyzes the electoral machinery of the country, it is the remotest form of real democracy. Look at the Press. Ninety-nine per cent of the Press is controlled by financial interests. Only one daily paper is controlled by Labor, and even that paper

is in a bad way because it is boycotted on the capitalist bookstalls. It has to struggle against *The Times* and the *Morning Post* and the great papers which represent the financial interests. When I hear the Prime Minister comparing the two systems of electoral machinery I know he is simply talking through his hat. I know he does not mean it. I remember the time when he was living in a little room on the third floor in the City and he was boasting of the day when he would come before this country and lead it to Socialism. I wonder what he thinks of that now. I remember the conference in Glasgow in 1917 when he was howled down and he reminded us of that, too. He said he was going to lead the country after the war to become a great Socialist England. I do not know whether he is disguising his policy, but if he is, he is certainly disguising it very well. On pure grounds of industrial democracy, election by industrial franchise is obviously and clearly more democratic than election by Parliamentary representation, which confuses, combines, and mixes up hundreds of different interests so that the real vital interests of the people are totally obscured.

I will pass from that to a point which is of more vital interest today. I want to deal with the great financial interests in Russia—the people who are interested in Russia—and I will not leave the Front Bench untouched on this matter. I think there are two causes which are operating in this country in favor of intervention in Russia. First of all we have that large section of Conservatives—perhaps I will call them the people whose thoughts and ideas are represented by the *Morning Post*, who are frankly afraid of Socialism. I admire their outspoken frankness as I admire the outspoken frankness of the Secretary of State for War. At least they have the courage to say what they mean and what they want. They have a legal right from their point of view to oppose Bolshevism and to use every means in their power to fight it, because it is quite obvious that if Bolshevism succeeds the idea is bound to spread, and on that ground they will be quite justified in asking us whether or not we would spend money to fight against this terrible menace which they look upon as a devil from their point of view. And we of course should vote against it, and we should also use force outside to prevent these troops going to Russia. From that point of view it is quite legitimate. But what I regret is that beyond this there are groups of people and individuals in this country who have money and large shares in Russia, and they are the people who are working, scheming, and intriguing to overthrow the Bolshevik regime, because if Bolshevism continues, what will happen? Under the old regime it was possible to get ten or twenty per cent out of exploiting the Russian workers and peasants, but under Socialism it will not be possible to get anything at all probably, and we find that nearly every great interest in this country in some way or another is connected with Soviet Russia.

I will run through one or two of the big interests. First of all I will deal with the companies, and I will get down to specific individuals later. First of all we have the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated, Limited. That is an amalgamation of the businesses which were formerly controlled by Leslie Urquhart. This concern has interests in the Russian-Canadian Development corporation. In this Sir E. Mackie Edgar is the controlling influence. This gentleman is also the controlling influence in Sperling's, which is the controlling influence in those centers in which there has recently been agitation—I mean in Motherwell, in Glasgow, in Londonderry, and in Belfast. Then there are the British and the French interests. I have been at some pains to try to ascertain the exact extent of British and French investments in Russia, and I find from the Russian Year Book of 1918 it is estimated that approximately they amount to £1,600,000,000. That is a very considerable sum indeed. I should think it is composed, to about a half, of the Franco-Russian Loans, and the Franco-Russian Loans are largely financed by the Rothschild Bank in Paris. I feel it my duty to point out that the Prime Minister carries out these conferences at the house of his private secretary, who is very closely connected with, indeed, I think he is a nephew of, Lord Rothschild. These facts are very unsavory, but I cannot help drawing attention to them. When we talk about M. Millerand and about Marshal Foch and the French people being opposed to peace with Russia, we do not mean the French democracy, and we do not mean the French peasants or workers, but the French bondholders. Let us be quite clear about that. We mean the people whose ill-earned savings constitute the £1,600,000,000 which have been sunk in Russia.

I will give one or two other corporations interested in Russia. The next concern of any extent is the British Trading Corporation, which was the outcome of the Farringdon Committee. That corporation has two or three branches. It has a branch in Belgrade to watch the interests in Hungary. Naturally it is not in the interests of the British Trading Corporation that Bolshevism should spread to Hungary. It has another branch at Batum, and it has another branch at Danzig. It is rather curious that this great concern should have this branch at Danzig, and that after establishing the branch at Danzig the Allies should have declared that Danzig was a free port and maintained a free port at all costs, for the sake, I suppose, of trading relations with Eastern Europe. This same British Trading Corporation, which controls millions of pounds, also controls the National Bank of Turkey, whose headquarters are situated at Constantinople, and here again we find that Constantinople is in the hands of the British military. There is hardly a single headquarters of these big financial interests which are not being protected by British soldiers and British blood. The next thing is the Turkish Petroleum Company at Mosul, an-

other outpost of Bolshevism which we have to protect. That company is controlled jointly by three companies—the British Trading Corporation, the D'Arcy group and the Shell Company. The Shell Company has vast interests in Russia. These are some of the interests which the Shell Company, with a nominal capital of £23,000,000, has in Russia—the Ural Caspian Oil Corporation, the North Caucasian Oilfield, the New Schibareff Petroleum Company, Limited, and many others. It is quite obvious to any common-sense individual that these great financial interests are going to do everything they can to fight against Bolshevism. It does not matter what the Prime Minister says here. The War Minister and his organization is supreme, and whether or not he comes to the House and tells us he wants peace, every effort will be made openly or secretly to carry the war on, even if they have to use black troops from Madagascar or elsewhere. When you have £1,600,000,000 invested in Russia it is not likely that Hon. Members opposite, who largely control it, are going to risk losing it. I bring this point out so that people may know the influences that are behind the present movement; so that they may know what is going on, and why the people who are sitting here cheer anti-Bolshevik action. Does the House imagine that Hon. Members behind the Prime Minister who cheer his rhetoric, who cheer his Socialist bosh, do so with any feelings of humanity in them? Do they want to save life, do they want to have peace in Eastern Europe? No, they want to save their bonds and their dividends in their pockets. (Hon. Members: "Names!") If Hon. Members want names they can look at the directors of these companies. The book of directors is a cheap book to purchase. The British Trade Corporation might form an interesting study in other parts of the world. A study of its ramifications in the Levant Company, in which it holds large stocks, and in Syria and the Balkans might also provide useful information as to many of our commitments, naval and military, in different parts of the world.

The case before the country today is whether or not peace is to be established in Eastern Europe, or whether these dividends are to be made up again. Those are the alternatives. Is peace to return to Eastern Europe or are the profiteers who support the government to continue to get their profits out of the Russian workers? What I do object to, and what I do think is despicable, is that any member of the government should be connected with this business; that a member of the government should have financial interests in Russia. (Hon. Members: "Name!") I have already spoken about the Shell Company. I know it is a very delicate matter, but this is a very serious business, and it is very necessary that the people should know all the facts about the Russian business. Let us put all the cards on the table. Let us know all the facts, and let everybody in the country know exactly who is getting money out of Russia. I find that in the Shell Company the Prime Min-

ister's secretary holds 9,861 £1 shares. (An Hon. Member: "Lucky dog!") In connection with another person, whose name I need not mention, because he is not a Member of this House, he also holds 11,500 shares. There are distinguished naval and military officers whose names also appear on this list, but I am going to observe the ordinary courtesy of this House—which I must say is not always extended to me—by declining to give the names. I will read out the names of the gentlemen who control the British Trading Corporation, the Supreme Council which dictates its policy, the people who control hundreds of millions of pounds. (An Hon. Member: "What has that to do with it!") It has this to do with it, that if these men do not look after their interests they ought not to be there. There is Sir Vincent Caillard, who is one of the chief directors of the largest armament concern in this country, Messrs. Vickers, and its associated companies. Naturally a big firm like that are not disinterested in a little war in a country like Russia. There is Sir Dudley Docker, who is chairman of the Metropolitan Wagon Company, and also, I believe, chairman of the Federation of British Industries. This shows that all these big interests are interwoven one with the other. They are all interested in keeping the war going with Russia. Not a single one, with the exception of a few trading companies and a few exporting companies, are really interested in stopping the war. Behind these interests and behind the financiers who sit on the other side of the House are the newspapers and the other influences which go to make up public opinion in this country. In addition to the directors mentioned, there are in the British Trading Corporation Sir Hallewell Rogers, of the Birmingham Small Arms Company, Mr. J. H. B. Noble, of Armstrong, Whitworths, Sir J. Hope Simpson, and Sir Algernon Firth, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Great Britain and Ireland. That shows how the big interests are concerned in keeping the war going with Soviet Russia.

## Murder of Baku Commissars

[A report of the execution which was published in the Socialist press of the Trans-Caucasus and reprinted in the Vladivostok "Krasnoye Znamya".]

As has become generally known in Baku and far beyond it, in September, 1918, a group of commissars who had come to Krasnovodsk from Baku completely disappeared, under puzzling circumstances, on the territory of western Turkestan (in the Trans-Caspian region). A number of contradictory, grewsome stories originated in connection with the disappearance of these men, who had been officially arrested by the Trans-Caspian authorities when they landed near Krasnovodsk and were afterwards locked up in the local jail. There were rumors that all twenty-six commissars had been taken to India; or that they had been killed during an attempt to escape; or

finally, that these men, as adherents of the Bolshevik rule with all its peculiarities and extremes, had been sentenced to death by an unknown tribunal and that the sentence was carried out.

Despite all the horrors of the implacable internal war which has dulled the senses of the people, there was no end of surmises and suppositions.

In reality the hideous action of cold-blooded decision concerning the life or death of over a score of people, and their removal and murder occurred in the following manner:

1. About the middle of September, 1918, the representative of the British Military Mission at Askhabad, Captain Reginald F. Tig-Jones, having been informed of the capture of twenty-six Bolshevik commissars on the Krasnovodsk banks, communicated with the head of the Trans-Caspian Criminal Bureau, Semyon Lvovich Druzhkin and with some members of the Regional Executive Committee, stating that, in accordance with the plans of the British Mission, he would like to have these commissars in India.

2. Fully agreeing with the reasons which Reginald F. Tig-Jones advanced in favor of the removal of the Baku commissars from Krasnovodsk to Meshed, and thence to India, S. I. Druzhkin, on his part, urged upon some the members of the Executive Committee of the Trans-Caspian region the necessity of assisting the execution of the plans and designs of the chief of the British Military Mission.

3. At the same time, however, Tig-Jones and Druzhkin informed the said members of the Executive Committee that they considered the removal of the commissars to Meshed and to India insufficient in many respects, and that all the commissars should be shot on the journey from Krasnovodsk, which was also fully in accordance with the designs of the British Military Mission in Askhabad, but that it should be arranged with certain "formal guaranties".

4. Specifically, Tig-Jones' and Druzhkin's plan provided for a fictitious receipt stating that the Baku commissars had been turned over to the British military authorities at Meshed, though in reality they were to be shot during the journey on the railway, between the stations Krasnovodsk and Askhabad.

5. The receipt of the British military authorities at Meshed to the effect that the twenty-six Baku commissars had been turned over to them, was intended, according to Tig-Jones and Druzhkin, to explain to the public the disappearance of the commissars, and so to put an end to all rumors of their death, murder, or escape.

6. However, assuming naturally that some public organizations, or the relatives and friends of the victims would sooner or later demand that the ultimate fate of the removed commissars should be ascertained, Captain Tig-Jones told Druzhkin—who in his turn told the members of the Executive Committee who had been informed of the plan on foot—that in due time official certificates

would be issued at certain intervals of the death of the twenty-six commissars, to which effect "any required medical certificate can be obtained."

7. All these reasons and the "formal guaranties" of Tig-Jones and Druzhkin convinced the members of the Executive Committee who had been taken into their confidence, and who at first were undecided, that the murder of the twenty-six Baku commissars was practicable, expedient, and necessary, and as a result they gave their consent to the plan and to its immediate execution.

8. To effect this plan, the aforementioned members of the Executive Committee and some other persons arranged to go to Krasnovodsk, and in the evening of September 19 a special train arrived at the Krasnovodsk station for the purpose of removing towards Askhabad the commissars who were to be shot.

9. Late in the night of September 19 they applied at the Krasnovodsk jail to take the twenty-six commissars to India through Meshed, and the jail administration gave its consent without any particular formalities.

10. The same night, the special train left Krasnovodsk with the commissars, the persons in charge of the removal, a guard, and continued on the way toward Askhabad for about seven hours, with but few stops.

11. At about 6 A. M. the train, having run 200 versts, stopped on the road between the stations Pereval and Akcha-Kuima.

12. Here those in charge of the removal and the execution informed the twenty-six commissars of their fate and began to lead them out of the car in groups of eight or nine.

13. All the commissars were overcome by the announcement of their fate and were absolutely silent, with the exception of one sailor, who exclaimed loudly: "I am calm. I know that I am dying for freedom." To this one of the men in charge replied: "We know that we too will sooner or later die for freedom. But we understand it differently."

14. After this a group of the commissars were led out of the car into the morning twilight and were at once shot. The second group when led out—apparently noticing the character of the locality which is covered with gray sand mounds, and which may have aroused in them some hope of finding cover from the shots—made an attempt to escape, but were riddled by the bullets from repeated volleys. The last group made no attempt to escape.

15. After shooting all the commissars, and making sure of their death, the executioners hastily buried the corpses in the sand (about 200 feet from the railroad bed) and burned a part of the belongings of the victims there. Most of their belongings were burned in the train itself.

16. After this the train went back to the place from which it had started.

Such, in brief, is the story of the execution of the twenty-six Baku commissars.

## Wireless and Other News

### THE COTTON CAMPAIGN IN SOVIET RUSSIA

A recent issue of *Pravda* reports very satisfactory results for the last cotton campaign. The cotton spinneries of the Moscow district are now supplied by Caucasia, Persia and Turkestan, by way of Astrakhan and Samara. From August 20 to September 20, 1,000 carloads of cotton were loaded for Samara alone. Since the beginning of this year 2,000,000 poods of cotton have passed through Samara on their way to the spinneries. The Russian cotton spinneries are now supplied with cotton in sufficient quantities to enable them to work without interruption for one year.

### RADEK ON FRENCH IMPERIALISTIC POLICY

Moscow, October 17 (*Rosta*).—In *Izvestia* Radek outlines a series of attempts by French imperialists to create an anti-English outpost all over the world and thus secure for itself a position of European hegemony. One instance follows: The Franco-Belgian military convention was concluded outside of the League of Nations. Other instances are: The German policy pursued by France, the aggressive measures in regard to Lithuania, and the alliance with the Hungarian Government of Horthy. In the Near East France not only supports Kemal Pasha, but is deliberately creating an Assyrian kingdom headed by a French general.

### CZECHO-SLOVAK DELEGATION IN MOSCOW

Moscow, October 15 (*Rosta*).—Part of the Czecho-Slovak Delegation of Trade Unions has left Petrograd for Moscow. Their aim is to study the Russian labor movement. The delegation will also inquire into the conditions for the admittance of Czecho-Slovak trade unions into the Moscow Labor International Councils and the Communist Internationale.

Moscow, October 17.—The Czecho-Slovak Trade Union Delegation arrived in Moscow on October 15. At the same time representatives of the Roumanian labor movement, headed by Popovitch. Green, Secretary of a Chicago Labor Council, also arrived.

### PROGRESS IN RECONSTRUCTION WORK

Moscow, October 15 (*Rosta*).—An electric train invented by Engineer Makhonin arrived in Moscow on the evening of October 12, having left Petrograd at eight o'clock that morning. It ran one hundred and fifty versts without interruption and covered the whole distance from Petrograd

without recharging, thus beating the world record as German electric trains can only travel three hundred and fifty kilometers without recharging.

The first Russian vessel of reinforced concrete was launched at Samara a few days ago. Such vessels will gradually replace the wooden barges of the Volga fleet.

### VOLUNTARY LABOR

Moscow, October 17 (*Rosta*).—Moscow factories, shops and individual artisans are frequently applying voluntary increase of working hours, besides extra Saturday afternoon labor to prepare clothing for the Red Army.

### ADDRESS TO RUSSIAN WOMEN

Moscow, October 3, 1920 (*Rosta*).—*Pravda* publishes an address by Clara Zetkin to Russian working and peasant women. The concluding words of the message follow:

"Your example inspires us. Our victory will be your victory too, for the union of Soviet Russia and Soviet Germany will make both proletarian states invincible, and will immeasurably facilitate our common task of creating a new economy and culture. All hail to you, Russian working and peasant women. Your struggle is our struggle, the struggle of world revolution against world counter-revolution, and we proletarians of the world shall prevail."

### POLES DESTROY BRIDGES

Moscow, October 6, 1920 (*Rosta*).—According to careful estimates the number of bridges destroyed by the Poles in their retreat reached the total of 109, large and small. This considerably exceeds the number of bridges destroyed by the Germans in 1914, and by the bands of Denikin, Petlura, and other counter-revolutionary leaders that have held sway over the southwestern part of Russia.

### ECONOMIC SITUATION

Moscow, October 17 (*Rosta*).—Provision work in Central Russia, as well as in the western provinces is proceeding successfully. Passenger train traffic in Russia is rapidly approaching normal. At present direct fast trains are run: Moscow to Kharkov, 24 hours; Moscow to Archangel, 50 hours; Moscow to Omsk, 119 hours; Moscow to Saratov, 23 hours; and Moscow to Petrograd, 15 hours.

### PEAT PRODUCTION

Moscow, October 7, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Official statistical data show that the peat production program in the Ural peat works will be fulfilled almost to the full amount of the proposed output, about 60,000 cubic fathoms.

### FLAX PRODUCTION

Moscow, October 7, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Flax production in the current year is estimated to amount to four million poods. It is about half of the normal output. The government proposes to introduce premial system of rewards to increase the productivity of lint culture.

### PRESS LIES REPUDIATED

Moscow, October 5, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Rumors about alleged revolts in Russia are absolutely false. The spirit of the people is most resolute for defence. In these days, every town and every village in Russia shows an extreme readiness to help the Soviet Government in its struggle for freedom and peace. Strikers on the northwest railways and in Semionov's factories, who are falsely reported to have killed commissars do not exist. Rumors as to the wounding of Trotsky are also false. The temper of the Red Army is magnificent and a campaign is in progress behind the front to supply troops with enough materials to finish with Wrangel during the winter.

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—In view of the malicious anti-Soviet propaganda abroad alleging unrest and uprisings in Russia, and particularly among sailors in the port of Petrograd, Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs issued today the following statement: "Petrograd is absolutely peaceful as is the rest of Soviet Russia's territory. There is no unrest among sailors, on the contrary their morale is excellent, and fancy stories spread in western Europe giving revolts and unrest among them only provoke mirth. The internal position of Soviet Russia is unshakable. As a result of the determined stand of peasants in southern Russia in favor of the Soviet Government the initiative on Wrangel's front is getting into our hands. Wrangel's rear is badly harassed by green partisans. A symptomatic incident is that Makhno has come over to our side and is now operating under our command. In the Kuban district unrest which first arose in conjunction with Wrangel's offensive has entirely been done away with. Stories abroad alleging weakening of Soviet authority are unmitigated lies calculated to confuse the situation in order to prevent the establishment of peace with Soviet Russia.

### CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST YOUTH

Moscow, October 3, 1920 (*Rosta*).—The Third All-Russian Congress of Communist Youth opened at Moscow. About 600 young workers and peasants came from all parts of vast Soviet Russia as delegates to this congress. Lenin, greeted by stormy ovations addressed the congress, dwelling on the task of upbuilding the new Communist life. After the conclusion of the address, Lenin answered a series of questions put by the delegates. Lunacharsky greeted the congress in the name of the Commissariat of Public Instruction. Podvoisky explained to the congress the aim and significance of military training of youth. Preobra-

zhensky and Bukharin welcomed the congress on behalf of the central committee of the Communist Party.

### ALLIED IMPERIALISM AND UKRAINE

Moscow, October 3, 1920 (*Rosta*).—*Izvestia*, in a leading article points out the important role played by Ukraine in revolutionary plans of all imperialists ever since the establishment of Soviet Russia. First German imperialism supported Skoropadsky and occupied Ukraine in order to deprive Soviet Russia of this fertile land and its rich resources. Then the Entente did the same supporting Denikin. Now France does the same in openly supporting Wrangel and covertly inciting Poland to come to terms with Petlura. France hopes to kill two birds with one stone, namely kill Bolshevism (one word out) to French imperialism and capture Ukraine's rich stocks of raw materials. After peace with Poland the South Russian front will remain the only front of the world bourgeoisie against Soviet Russia. There the long battle between Soviet Russia and world capitalism will come to a final issue.

### PROLETARIAN CULTURE

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—In yesterday morning's session of the First All-Russian Congress of "Proletcult" (meaning proletarian culture establishments) Chairman of the Congress and the Central Executive Bureau for Proletarian Culture, Lebedev Poliansky made a report which stated that in spite of manifold unfavorable conditions of work, proletarian culture establishments had increased in number and now amount to three hundred. They are scattered throughout the central regions of Siberia, Ural, Ukraine, the Caucasus, and even Georgia. The "Proletkult" idea is spreading even in Western Europe and now notably there exists an international board of "Proletkults". Russian "Proletkults" did great work in the army on various fronts having organized concerts, meetings, lectures, theatrical performances, etc. In the domain of art "Proletkults" actively struggles against cubism, futurism, and other morbid forms of bourgeois art. The working class of Russia has already its own musicians, composers, sculptors, and painters as well as writers and poets.

Moscow, October 7, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Yesterday the Second All-Russian Conference of the Proletarian Culture Association opened in Moscow. There are more than 100 delegates representing one half million associated workers of 350 sections. The elected chairman is Lebedev Poliansky, vice-chairman, Member of the International Bureau for Proletarian Culture, John Reed.\*

### SPANISH SOCIALIST DELEGATION

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—The Spanish Socialist Party is sending a delegation to Moscow to study the economic and political situation in Soviet Russia.

\* John Reed has since died of typhus in Moscow.

## A Letter to Lloyd George

*The following letter from Krassin to Lloyd George, in regard to trade with Soviet Russia, is taken from the "Daily Telegraph", London, October 6, 1920:*

Sir.—The Russian Trade Delegation arrived in London at the end of May of this year, and for over four months has been endeavoring to come to an agreement with the British Government as regards the fundamental conditions which are to govern the resumption of economic and trade relations between the two countries. During its stay in Great Britain, the Russian Trade Delegation, with the help of its experts for various branches of trade and industry, has acquainted itself with the position of the English market, and has planned out a number of definite transactions and trade contracts, which could be carried out immediately after the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the two governments. The theoretical anticipations as to the extensive orders which it was thought could be placed with the British trade, have now become a definite assurance borne out by the knowledge of the British market, which knowledge has been secured as the result of direct communications with various mill and factory owners, and the visits paid to some of the largest industrial undertakings in this country.

The preliminary negotiations have established the possibility of exporting from England to Soviet Russia finished locomotives for the Russian railways, this being conditioned only by comparatively slight modifications in the present organization of locomotive works. Having regard to the fact that Russia's demand for new locomotives will grow on an ever-increasing scale with the economic rebirth of the country, and that this demand for new locomotives can be fully satisfied only in the course of several decades, the placing of orders for a considerable number of new locomotives of the same type with English producers should, it would seem to us, be of especial interest to those producers, and particularly to those amongst them who are now interested in making full use of the powerful plants which were erected during the war for the production of munitions. Certain locomotive and engineering firms in England have shown interest also in the work of repairing Russian locomotives, for which a special organization is proposed, so as to bring over on specially-fitted steamers the locomotives in need of repair, and to carry from England to Russia on their return journey those repairs which have already been completed. The annual demand of Soviet Russia in materials for railway transport (tires, pipes, forgings, boilers, etc.), which is estimated at the sum of over £10,000,000, could also in its greater part be satisfied in England, as the metal works here have sufficient stocks of metal and a large margin of unused productive capacity. There is also a possibility that in the near future the Russian railways will place orders for carriages and sets of wheels, particularly of the newest types, with a greater lifting capacity, as well as for special carriages with automatic fittings for unloading coal and ore.

As regards the general engineering trade, orders could be placed for heavy lathes for metal work and complete outfits for locomotive and railway repair shops. A special department is engaged in drafting orders for electrical appliances, varying from complete turbo-generating sets for the equipment of electric power stations, to ordinary standard types of motors and dynamos, measuring instruments, telegraph and telephone installations, etc.

The delegation has already entered into negotiations with large English firms with regard to orders for motor trucks, and these orders could be actually given in the shortest time possible. Orders for chemicals and medical supplies on a small scale have already been placed by the delegation, but they could be considerably increased with additional orders, such, for example, as for aniline dyes could be given as soon as normal trade relations between both countries are established. Various metal articles, steel for tools, files,

drills, various tools for metal and wood work, are obtainable here in large quantities, and could be delivered within the shortest possible time. Orders for a quantity of such articles have already been placed by the delegation, but considerably bigger purchases could be made in the near future, provided regular shipments could be secured.

Soviet Russia, on account of the limited paying resources which will be at its disposal during the next few years, cannot become as great a purchaser of English cloth and textiles as would be commensurate with the actual needs of Russia and the size of its population. But already the Russian Trade Delegation has received instructions from its government to place orders for textiles amounting in value to several million pounds, and has actually done so with regard to some orders; whilst with regard to others negotiations are being carried on with a number of textile firms. Soviet Russia stands in need of considerable quantities of raw materials and semi-manufactured articles required by various branches of the Russian industry; orders for such materials could also be made in London, which is the world market for goods of that kind. Purchases of Egyptian cotton, rubber, Colonial products, such as coffee, tea, and tanning extracts, could be effected soon after the conclusion of the commercial treaty.

The Russian Trade Delegation during its stay in London has been conducting negotiations, and partly, has actually signed agreements with a number of English firms with regard to the export of goods from Russia to this country. Preliminary agreements have been entered into for export from Archangel and Petrograd of timber to the amount of several tens of thousands of standards, and also for the delivery of two million sleepers for the English railways. An agreement has been concluded, and is already being carried out, for the delivery of various kinds of plywood, more especially as material for manufacturing boxes. Soviet Russia could make immediate deliveries of considerable quantities of fine sorts of wood, and particularly of oak for cabinet-making and carpentry. The export of flax, hemp, leather, fur, carpets, peasant "kustar" products, bristle, hair, tobacco, manganese ore, and certain other goods is held back solely owing to the impossibility of free sailing between Russian and British ports, as well as conducting regular trade operations, until an agreement between the two countries to this effect has been arrived at.

A very important and immediate part in the export trade of Soviet Russia could be played by naphtha, kerosene, benzine, lubricating oils, and other products of naphtha, the stocks of which, both in the Baku and the Grozny districts, are very considerable, viz., about two million tons.

The above brief enumeration of various branches of the import and export trade shows that even before the navigation season is over, a considerable exchange of goods could be effected, thus serving to relieve the grave economic situation in which Europe has found itself since the conclusion of the world war. The Russian Trade Delegation regrets to state that the best part of the navigation season of this year has been lost for the resumption of trade relations with Russia which could have supplied considerable quantities of raw material. This delay in the resumption of trade relations between Russia and Western Europe is to be all the more regretted as it would seem the principles which were to form the basis of the agreement between Russia and Great Britain in the main outlines have been fixed in the negotiations which during the last four months have been taking place between the representatives of both countries. There seems to be every reason also to assume that no irreconcilable differences of opinion exist between the two governments with regard to the details

of the trade treaty. It may be considered, therefore, that nothing actually stands in the way of bringing the negotiations to the speediest issue embodied in a trade treaty, so as to make possible the carrying out of the proposed transactions for mutual exchange of goods before the present navigation season is over.

In bringing the above to your notice, I beg to add that I have received instructions from my government to take all such possible measures as would lead to the speediest conclusion of the trade negotiations, and, as far as possible, the immediate signing of the proposed agreement.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully.

(Signed) L. KRASSIN.

### BRITISH AND RUSSIAN PRISONERS

A Note forwarded to Lord Curzon by Mr. Krassin deals exhaustively with the exchange of prisoners. In this Note Mr. Krassin states that he is instructed by his Government to state that the Russian Government is prepared to start immediately the exchange of prisoners and is in a position to deliver the English prisoners very soon across the Finnish frontier, for which purpose the British Charge d'Affaires in Finland should be instructed to act on behalf of the British Government.

Instructions have already been sent to the Russian Government representative at Tiflis to deal with the question of the repatriation of the Baku

prisoners on the lines agreed to by Lord Curzon in his Note of October 9. With reference to the Russian prisoners in England, the Russian Government expects the delivery of Mr. Babushkin's party to meet the first consignment of British prisoners on the Finnish frontier, and expects the delivery of Russian prisoners in Egypt and Constantinople, and especially representatives of trade unions arrested by the British military command at Batum during their occupation of Batum.

Allegations are made in this Note that a Russian citizen at Constantinople was kept in a wooden cage for two months, badly fed and maltreated and that the prisoners' trade union leaders at Batum are kept under bad conditions, not sent to hospitals when ill, maltreated when refusing to work, not supplied with underclothing, and kept with ordinary criminals.

The Russian Government, the Note adds, expects that the British Government will carry out its undertaking to release its citizens suffering in such a way, not only in the letter, but in the spirit of Lord Curzon's Note of October 9. Meanwhile, the evacuation of British citizens from Russia is going to be carried out without delay.—*The Manchester Guardian*, October 16, 1920.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. JAPANESE INTRIGUES AND PROPAGANDA, by *Max M. Zippin*.
2. NATIONALIZATION OF WOMEN, by *Leon Trotsky*. *An interesting exposure of the falsehood of the nationalization decree attributed to Soviet officials.*
3. NORWEGIAN DELEGATES ON SOVIET RUSSIAN CONDITIONS. *Report of the Norwegian Metal Workers recently returned from Russia.*
4. *Last Instalment of MOSCOW IN 1920*, by *Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt*. *Among other interesting topics Dr. Goldschmidt describes the following: the Supreme Council of National Economy, the Textile Central, the German Consulate, and the Return Journey.*
5. *Interesting BOOK REVIEWS*, by *A. C. Freeman*. *A review of several interesting anti-Bolshevik books, exposing their misrepresentations and exaggerations.*
6. *Regular Weekly MILITARY REVIEW*, by *Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek*.

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## Norwegian Delegates on Russian Conditions

Christiania, October 10.

THE delegation of the Norwegian Metal Workers has made a report on its journey in Soviet Russia. The statements were made at the plenary session of the Norwegian Trade Unions by the two delegates Kristensen and Langseth, members of the Norwegian Workers' Delegation:

"It was already clear at our reception in Murmansk that we were in a country whose social basis was no longer capitalistic. It seemed as if capitalism had been swept away in Russia by the wind. Everything has been simplified and clarified, and even the uneducated workers can understand. The members of the delegation were permitted to go about everywhere, although special permits were required for the war zone. To be sure, prices have been raised immensely when goods are obtained by speculation, but otherwise all goods are distributed equitably and all speculation is disposed of in the most stringent manner, particularly if the guilty ones are Communists.

"I was particularly touched," said Kristensen, whose remarks are being quoted, "by the care for children. I am a member of the Christiania City Council, and I know what we have done for the children, and I must admit that it is a disgrace for us to consider how far behind Soviet Russia we are in this respect. The Russians give the children the best of everything. When the rations of adults between 25 and 50 years of age were reduced, those of the children were increased.

"It was difficult to explain the new order of things to illiterates. The eight-hour labor day was divided into two parts: four hours in the work shop, four hours at school. Ideal continuation schools were founded for instruction in practical matters and industrial arts. Parents were not

obliged to deliver their children to the school homes, and yet the homes were overcrowded. Children were taken away only from those parents who were incapable of bringing them up themselves. The same was done in the case of those families who made their children peddle things in the street. Every adult person who is able to read and write is obliged to impart this knowledge to two persons heretofore unable to do so. This is the explanation for the small number of illiterates in the cities.

### *At the Places of Work*

"In the workshops and factories the conditions vary considerably with the various parts of the country. In the western parts, for instance, in Petrograd, you have about the same conditions as in Scandinavia. Farther to the east the situation becomes far less advanced. In the Ural regions, for instance, labor is by no means very intensive, for up to January of this year this was still a theatre of war. The Kolchak soldiers destroyed innumerable machines and inundated the mines. One of our interpreters had formerly been a director of an enterprise that employed 30,000 workers. This man is no Communist, but according to his view the present form of society will restore Russia industrially, which no other form of society could do. The form of management in the various localities is also different. In many enterprises there is a single trustee at the head, in others there is a workers' council; in some a director or an engineer. Wherever we went, the burning question was what is the best form of management.

### *The Founding of Garden Cities*

"Housing conditions also vary considerably. In Petrograd there are enough dwellings; in Moscow

there is a lack of sufficient facilities. Great plans for the construction of houses have already been worked out, according to which the most beautiful garden cities of the world will be constructed in Russia within five years. The question of rent has been eliminated. Formerly there were often strikes. When we asked the workers, on this trip, whether there are still strikes, they answered: "Whom have we to strike against?" The people know very well that every product is being distributed justly, and once they know that, there is no trouble about their remaining at work." Kristensen closed his speech with the remark that only volunteers are now being sent out as soldiers, and that there are nevertheless so many soldiers that not all can be assigned to military work.

Haavard Langseth had a large amount of printed matter which he had brought back to Norway with him, all of which was confiscated by the Norwegian Government, and only a small portion was later returned. He discussed the economic changes that had taken place in Russia. "We live too much in a capitalistic frame of mind and can therefore little understand what is going on in Russia. In the year 1905 Russia was nothing else than an economic colony, but after 1907 there developed, in consequence of Witte's economic program, a very rapid industrial growth, with the result that the production of raw materials could hardly keep pace with the demands of industry. This unnaturally rapid development had brought forth a great economic crisis, so that only a revolution could save Russia. In consequence of Germany's invasion, industry had to be withdrawn more and more from the west of the country to the center and to the east. Not only were the machines transplanted, but also the class-conscious revolutionary workers, which had an advantageous influence on industry. Unemployment was imminent and production going down, but the greater part of the bourgeoisie was making great profits, as in other countries. The decline of production was the chief cause of the Russian Revolution. At the end of 1916 and the beginning of 1917 the workers in many places already were demanding the control over production in many factories. Councils of factory workers were being formed, in spite of the indignant resistance of the capitalists. The Mensheviks, who at first were the majority in the workers' councils, were unsuccessful in their work, and therefore the power over these councils passed into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

"The November Revolution made possible the completion of the necessary economic readjustment, so that there is already a certain activity in economic life. Organs were established for the control of the entire industrial production. The sabotage of the bourgeoisie involved an acceleration of the processes of socialization, which it had been originally intended to prosecute rather slowly. Foreign capital also began to become rather restive. In the midst of the most bitter struggle with the bourgeoisie, production had to be speeded up. A strong centralized leadership of production

was required. This centralization, which saved Russia, is a different thing from the trustification of capitalist society, because it may be supervised by the workers themselves. Russia is still suffering under the economic pressure, which is however only a consequence of external attacks. This is the manner in which we must understand the economic situation of the Bolsheviks, the institutions that gave them their strength, and that they will sustain with all their might. They recognize that they have made mistakes, but such mistakes can be remedied, for the system is a good one. We shall see Western Europe pass through the same transformation as Russia. Therefore we must learn to grasp the decisive and purposeful policy of the Bolsheviks in the economic field. For this policy is what has enabled Russia to stand until the present time."

Langseth further reported how economic life in Russia was being administered. "At the head is the Supreme Council of National Economy, consisting of 68 members, 10 of whom are from the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, 31 from the trade unions, 10 from the local economic councils, and two from each People's Commissariat. The trade unions have great influence all over. They are the representatives of the people in productive life; three great economic combines have been formed, and there are three different systems of organization: a collective (workers' council) administration, a financial administration (director), and finally, a private administration. The industrial councils represent the direct interests of the workers in the factories; they have supervision over each man's actual work, they control the dwellings, the hospitals, etc. Through the trade unions they also have influence on the administration of industry. Together with the People's Commissariat for Labor, they determine the various workers' tariffs, etc.

"The great problem of production can only be solved gradually. For the electrification of Russia a unified plan has already been worked out: in course of eight years it is to be carried out. In Petrograd alone there are 70 electric stations. These are being united into a great single gigantic whole, which will supply the whole city and its environs with electricity. The question of fuel is one of the most difficult ones. In the central portion of the country it has been nevertheless possible to gather 50,000,000 cubic meters of wood. After the occupation of Baku, the exportation of naphtha began immediately and was continued throughout the summer—6,000,000 poods were exported."

The speaker reported also on transport conditions and foodstuffs, and stated that nutrition in Russia was better than it had been in Germany during the war. He denied that there was any minority rule in Russia, since the whole centralized system is under the control of the working-class. "It is the only possible transition form, the capitalist tendency is becoming weaker and weaker, for centralization involves voluntary self-discipline. The

Russian Communist Party had to unite all the energies of the working class, and thus secure the victory of the Russian Revolution. The trade unions are maintaining peace within and protecting the

cities against any possible spasmodic efforts of capitalist restoration."

The reports of the two delegates were received with the greatest enthusiasm.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**WOULD** the liquidation of the Crimean front put an end to the bloodshed in Soviet Russia? My answer is in the negative.

As things appear to me from a purely strategical standpoint, there is no chance for peace in Europe, in general, or in Russia in particular, as long as the capitalistic coalition of world imperialism does not desire peace.

We have many proofs of the peaceful attitude of the Soviet Government, and it is not necessary to repeat them here. Soviet Russia wants peace. The aim of Russian strategy is to force the numerous enemies of the Soviet Republic to conclude definite peace with the Russian workers and peasants; while the strategy of the capitalistic coalition, on the contrary, is based on a determination to destroy the established regime in Russia. In view of this state of affairs, there is nothing for the Russian people to do but to fight those who attack them.

Now let us calmly review the situation in Russia. The time has come when the truth must be told without fear of criticism by those who dwell in the morass of lies and calumnies so generously spread throughout the world concerning Russia. At the present moment the Red Army of the Soviet Republic for the sixth time in its three years of fighting against enemies armed and strongly backed by formidable capitalistic powers once again has completely defeated its southern foe, and we hear nothing in the capitalistic press of the superhuman sacrifices of the Russian people and the Red soldier.

Let us recall the Great War, the "heroism" of the Belgian bourgeoisie, which fled in panic before the Kaiser's legions. The Belgian "hero" manufactured by the capitalistic press of England is popular to this day among the ignorant classes, while the Belgians are now being chosen for a newly planned "pacification of Russia", and on a greater scale than in the past. Let us mention also the Serbian landowners who were turned out of their own country by the force of German militarism, in spite of all support of the Allies, and who have finally sold out entirely to British capital and have now been sent to fight the Russian workers and peasants. We know what a high tribute was paid the "brave little Serbians" who are recorded by bourgeois historians of the Great War and of the armed intervention in Russia as a heroic nation.

And what about Russia?—the Russia which, now destitute, starving, crucified, tortured and bleeding, the Russia which sacrificed on the altar of western "democracy" seven million workers and peasants, and is now entering her fourth year of fighting

a more formidable and cruel enemy than Germany, and is still strong and victorious!

Does it not deserve admiration—this heroic struggle of the Russian workers and peasants for the sacred right to organize themselves in the way they think is right? But the bourgeoisie of the world hates their bravery, hates their self-sacrifice, hates their ideals, and inflicts upon them a systematic destruction by means of starvation, epidemics and murder. Now that there isn't any doubt that the whole Wrangel adventure is a complete failure, now that his bands have abandoned to the victorious Reds their strongest strategical positions south of Perekop and in the Chongar Peninsula, with all their artillery, stores, concrete fortifications, and other booty, I find in the *New York Globe*, of November 10, a report from a "disinterested" military observer at Sebastopol, who says that "the recent retreat of General Wrangel's army into the Crimea was accomplished with notable success, it was said at the French Foreign Office today." "The morale of the troops," the report declared, "remained extremely high, and General Wrangel was represented as confident that, with proper material, he could reorganize his forces and maintain his position without great difficulty. It was the overwhelming number on the South Russian front which precipitated Wrangel's retreat, the general asserted." The readers of my military reviews may insist that the final victory will be with him who has a superior number of fighters. "La victoire est aux gros bataillons." That is my motto, and the western military organization, with all its destructive technical means, inspires me with no doubts as to the final victory of the Red Army, because Soviet Russia, while defending her gigantic battle-fronts, will always be numerically superior to her enemies.

In order to understand the absurdity of the above quoted statement by the French Foreign Office in Sebastopol, it is necessary to study the latest operations of the Red Army which has fought its way into Crimea. As we know, the last stand of the fragments of the beaten Wrangel forces was in the west, south of the town of Perekop. Here had been prepared several lines of modern trenches, protected by a wide belt of barbed wire entanglements. This narrow fortified front was closely watched by the Allied navy from the Gulf of Perekop in the west, and by Wrangel's flotilla from the so-called Sea of Sivash in the east. Several powerful batteries of siege artillery were placed behind these positions, which were in communication with the Simferopol railway, by a new-

ly constructed narrow-gauge railroad. French military experts considered these positions as impregnable. East of the Isthmus of Perekop, almost in the middle of the Sivash Sea, is situated a peninsula, Chongar, connecting with the mainland, and called "the bridge", because the Simferopol railway passes over it from Melitopol. This peninsula is the northeastern gate of Crimea, and was strongly fortified by reinforced concrete constructions and numerous armaments of the modern type.

The French General Staff made every effort to arm the Chongar forts and batteries in such a way that they they might definitely bar the entrance to Crimea. Besides this, the sandy Tongue of Arabat protects the Sivash Sea and consequently Crimea from the east; and it was said that Wrangel had at his disposal a strong detachment of destroyers and an armed flotilla in Arabat Bay, in the Sea of Azov. The eastern extremity of Crimea was protected by the fortifications of Kerch. The southern shores of the peninsula are guarded by the Allied naval forces, thus permitting Wrangel to get supplies and reserves without being menaced by his adversaries.

From a military point of view, the position of the anti-Soviet forces in Crimea may be considered as very strong; they could have offered resistance to an attack of an enemy of at least three times their strength, had Wrangel remained on the defensive.

But unfortunately for Wrangel, the French strategists interfered and made things easy for the Reds. A study of the reports from Moscow on the last victory of the Red Army in Crimea, leads us to conclude that General Mangin suggested to Wrangel absolutely the same tactics as were used by General Weygand at Warsaw. At the end of October, after a series of tactical defeats in the north, Wrangel, it seems, has determined to pass the winter in Crimea, under the protection of his strong advanced position at Perekop and Chongar. It may be that the hasty retreat of his hordes from his two northern fronts to the Crimean peninsula was partially due to the interference of the French command, which had in view a repetition of the mistake the Reds had made during their swift march on Warsaw. In fact, the advance of the Red Army from Alexandrovsk to Crimea was very quick and caused some anxiety. There already were some signs that the Red forces had not brought to the battle-line all the necessary reserves, for certain successes of the Wrangel bands, as shown by the number of prisoners taken, seem to indicate that Wrangel had seen a favorable opening somewhere.

A strong counter-attack by a mass of freshly concentrated reserves, having in their rear some such fortified position as was at Wrangel's disposal, might easily have ended in a victory over an enemy whose operative lines extended over a rather long distance, and suffering a shortage of railway communications as well as of mechanical transport.

Therefore two big counter-offensives were planned by the French command against the Reds, who

had already occupied the town of Perekop and in the northeast were in possession of Salkovo and Genichi, thus being at the gates of Crimea.

According to the military communique from Moscow, of November 8, which was sent from London to the *Christian Science Monitor*, "in the Perekop region, enemy attacks on Bolshevist positions east of Perekop were successfully repulsed." Later on it became known that the famous entrenched lines south of Perekop, after a stubborn fight, were broken through by the Reds, and Wrangel's demoralized bands were forced to fall back in complete disorder, being menaced from the rear. This was the result of the failure of a second counter-offensive which Wrangel undertook to a northwesterly direction from Chongar.

"The enemy," says the same dispatch, "forcing his way toward Salkovo and Genichi, was energetically pursued by Bolshevik troops, who on November 3, as a result of a rush attack by cavalry and infantry, captured the station of Rykovo and Novo-Alexeievka, and further developing their successes, broke into the Chongar Peninsula, overcoming strongly fortified positions near Dzhinbuluk station and near Chongar." "On November 4," this dispatch continues, "Bolshevist light cavalry detachments (the Red Cossacks), continuing their advance, were forcing their way into Sivash. In the course of November 3 and 4 the Bolsheviki captured a large number of prisoners and booty. Of the latter, 22 guns, three armed trains and 40,000 shells have so far been counted." It is very characteristic that the British censor carefully omitted to allow the fact to pass through that Wrangel's troops were defeated by the Reds, nor is it explained in the dispatch what kinds of guns were captured, and how many Whites were made prisoners. After having crossed the narrows between Chongar and Crimea by the Simferopol railway, the advance Red detachments took, some of them, the direction of Shankoi, a strategical railway junction of the Perekop-Kerch and Simferopol-Melitopol railways and particularly, westward in order to cut off from communications with their rear the troops which fought the Red attack directed against the entrenched positions of Perekop. As far as I know that last movement decided the fate of Wrangel's Perekop front which has finally collapsed.

But rejoicing in this important victory of the Red Army we must not be too optimistic. We understand clearly that even the complete defeat of the forces of the Crimean Baron, and even his death or his reported retreat to France on a French warship will not put an end to the sufferings of the Russian people.

There is another bloodthirsty bandit in the west who has already started a new campaign against the Soviets, a campaign which like those in the past is being carefully planned by the Entente. Balakhovich in company with Savinkov, Guchkov, and other traitors are ready to try a new march on Moscow. There is no doubt that energetic concentration of the Polish forces on the Russian frontier

is in full progress. The appearance of the Belgian troops in Lithuania proves that the capitalistic coalition has not abandoned its aim to crush the proletarian republic of Russia, and is organizing a new combination for a new sudden attack.

The support from the Polish shliakhta, which the bandit Balakhovich is enjoying in Minsk, as well as the fact that the Polish Government is helping Simon Petlura, the Ukrainian usurper, to join Wrangel's bands, sufficiently prove that the present Polish rulers are prepared to use the arm-

istice with Soviet Russia as a blind to prepare for a new war. I do not trust the Polish shliakhta, the most chauvinistic, most ambitious and bellicose class in the world, and a peace signed with a proletarian republic by their representative they will always consider a scrap of paper to be torn to pieces at the first order from London or Paris.

A real peace with Poland, I repeat once more, can be established with Soviet Russia only if the Polish people liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism.

## Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(*Eighth and Last Instalment*)

### *Krzyzanowski*

The office of the Electrical Section is in a street on the other side of the Moskva. There is no bustle, no bee-like activity (from the outside) in these rooms. It is much quieter here than in the building of the Textile Central or in that of the Supreme Council of National Economy, which is one uninterrupted swarming mass. Here Krzyzanowski works, Lenin's friend. He is an elderly man, perhaps even an old man, in years, perhaps sixty. Hardly of medium height, slight of build, somewhat the privy-councillor, somewhat professor. But he is a man that still has fire, a man who burns, a man with cerebral muscles. A practical man, sublimated by theory, a man who plans on the largest scale.

I had two heart-moving experiences in Moscow, as I have already mentioned: My session with the Factory Committee of the Prokhorov establishment, and my visit to Krzyzanowski.

He is a friend of Lenin. He has a direct telephone wire into the Kremlin, into Lenin's office. I believe Lenin takes his advice on economic matters, and he is not making a mistake in doing so. For this man, as it were, is a Stunkel raised to the highest degree. He is more sinewy, more brilliant. He is older than Stunkel, not so obviously energetic, but his brain is much more delicately articulated.

He had an interpreter with him, an electro-technician who had studied in Germany. Krzyzanowski speaks German too, but not well enough for all purposes.

They were both enthusiastic about Germany. Both hoped for the organizing assistance, the technical assistance of Germany. Both were trained by association with the plans of Klingenberg (of the General Electric Co., *Allgemeine Elektrizitaets Gesellschaft*). But, as Krzyzanowski says, the plans cannot be carried out under capitalism; they must be carried out under Socialism. For electricity is the power of Socialistic society, while steam is the power and was the power of capitalistic society. The new era of electricity has come.

He then outlined his plans for me. He gave me a map, which I shall publish later. For it is

not only a map showing the transformation of Russian economy; it is a map showing the alterations in world economy, if its lines are prolonged to cover the rest of the world. It is a wonderful map, and you may well have high hopes for it. He developed his plans before me. Russian industry traveled, settled down, was transplanted, went from the north to the south, to the east, to the Urals, to Siberia. Electricity drove it on, drew it, encircled it, enflamed it, gathered it, organized it.

Riches of which I had no suspicion rose before me. The master key had been found. Minerals were pressing their way through the crust of the earth, gigantic yellow fields of grain extended before us. Immense power stations shot their currents through a systematic web of wires. I understood the sense of rational distribution of points of vantage, the sense of new shifting. This was really a new economy.

He spoke of the nitrogen plans, of the phosphate deposits, of a Siberian region that offers nourishment to 40,000,000 people; a Canada of the East was revealed. He spoke of investigating commissions who are examining Russia's riches. He wielded, as it were, an immense divining rod, a Paradise opened before me, an orderly paradise, with well-equipped trees, with neatly-stoned roads, with well-fed people, people with lots of time, people who idle in God (to use an expression of my friends Matthias and Dengel).

He said: "Now the economic errors of the old era are coming out, the errors of extravagance. Now these things that were hidden by the old era are becoming clear. The never revealed is assuming form, the never raised treasure, the forgotten Paradise."

He was full of enthusiasm. He had his doubts, he knew how long it would take. He knew the difficulties, he longed for help. But he was all enthusiasm, full of courage. The designs could never be lost again. They had been conceived even before the war. But their practicality, their definite formation, their concretion is the problem of today. It has nothing to do with politics. It is non-political, non-partisan, free from party strife, for this is the new era. It is not Russia, it is the

world, the new world. It is the beginning of the new world.

Palaces glittered, the homes of the people glowed with a new light, potash poured from the mines, piled up, vitalized the fields, and made the sap rise and swell the heart of the grain. Life became a swarming ant-hill, the golden age had come.

I became breathless, my breath ran short in my attempt to absorb so much new material. Here was a strategist completely different from the strategists at the front, or from the political strategists. This was the new peace strategist, the power directing strategist. I think there are such strategists in Germany, too. Happy the people who are being guided by such strategists. For guidance of this kind is the basis of the new era. No partisan croakings, no violent slaps in the face, no mud-throwing, no disgusting crimes and penalties, no sitting in judgment, no stale legal quips, but the new era, with its peace, its joy of life, its clear vision of a definite goal. May our children enjoy it.

#### *Plavnik*

Glav-Textile (Textile Central) was formerly a sub-division of the Chemical Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy. It is now an independent department; for the textile industry is one of the greatest industries of Russia.

Plavnik is a member of the presidium of the Textile Central. He is in charge of the financial bureau, of the accounting, of the treasury of this giant combine. He is a man 34 years old, tall, narrow-cheeked, with very quick movements. On holidays he wears a white Russian blouse with red embroidery.

I worked with him every day for four weeks. Or rather for four weeks he gave me a daily lecture, for my benefit, on the organization of the Russian textile industry. It is to be the main chapter of my book on the industrial organization of Soviet Russia.

He showed me the beginnings of the Soviet textile industry, its development. He showed me the conflicts, the difficulties, and their successful elimination, showed me the compulsory labor system and its application.

He explained the system of state control, of socialization. I began to comprehend through him the production system, the new budget, the Socialist budget, the budget that is no longer based on a capitalist money system, on the profit system. I learned to comprehend the universal moneyless system, the currency system without currency, payment without means of payment, the universal system of accounting. The socialist system of accounting which is so different from the accounting under the system of private property.

He had sketches made for me illustrating the system of socialization of industries, and statistics showing the control of production. He explained to me the financial sheets and the proof sheets. He took me through the different sections and departments, and through the offices of the textile union.

Plavnik is not unknown in Germany. He was in

Germany in 1918. He was on the staff of the Russian Soviet Embassy in Berlin, and occupied previously one of the most important administrative posts in the German textile industry.

Plavnik is appreciated as a man of clear intelligence. He is an energetic man, a man of quick decisions, a busy man. He has other duties besides, for men, leaders, are scarce in Moscow, and the individual is overburdened with offices and responsibilities.

He longs to be in Germany, he would like to work there negotiating and promoting Russian industrial affairs. He has the necessary qualifications, there is no doubt of that.

I became acquainted with the entire system of state owned industries. Managers from factories in the provinces came and submitted their wants, orders were issued to employes, disciplinary measures were arranged, tests were made with the help of charts, and proofs taken.

Very often there was a veritable attack upon the office in the great trust building, by complainants, men with new projects, people ready to explain budgets, and people demanding budgets. They were quickly dispatched. A small, red-globed electric lamp was behind me. If it was alight it meant: I am busy. But this did not keep all the intruders away. I have already mentioned the abominable Russian custom of breaking into a conference.

The telephone was never at rest. Often Plavnik worked with two telephones at once, both with the inter-office phone and the outside wires. Apparently, here was organization, present and in the making. The Russian textile industry is almost entirely nationalized, almost completely socialized. It is hemmed in by organization, it cannot escape any more. That much has been accomplished, and is an irrevocable fact.

Plavnik is a master of German. He is also a master of Hebraic scripture. He is one of the foremost writers of Hebrew in Russia. If I remember rightly he edits a Hebrew periodical. I promised him an article for this magazine, but I lacked the time to keep this promise.

He is a shrewd man, an efficient business man, a business man of the new order, a business man with ideas. Socialist industry, too, needs business men. Not business men for profit, not business men trained to the scent of competition, not dealers or salesmen, but business men of a different type. Plavnik is such a business man.

#### *Landa*

Landa is a blond Jew, 26 years old. Perhaps a little older, but not much. I have already spoken of him, of his leather suit, of the toes surrounded by Moscow air, and of his *Everclean*.

But that is not the most essential part of Landa. The most essential thing about him is his almost incredibly clear comprehensive vision of the whole, his fabulous gift of summing up, his unparalleled penetration.

In May, 1920, he was head of a department in the Foreign Office of the Supreme Council of National Economy. He worked with me daily, often for

many hours together. He explained to me the organization of the local Soviets. He explained to me, further, the nature and the organization of the Russian retail industry, and many other things besides.

He had been head of a government Soviet in the Ukraine. He knew the economic psychology of the Ukraine like a leather pocket. Through him and through his pointing out the details to me, I began to realize why it was that the Poles were bound to lose the war.

In May, 1920, he was living in a dark room of the Metropol. He is a man with few wants. He is almost unbelievably modest. He is satisfied with everything. His room is so dark and scantily furnished that he is forced to work on a bench in the little garden in front of the Metropol.

One finds many Landas in Russia; Landas hidden away from the beaten path, overmodest but still fiery of soul. People who do not know themselves, with the strength to move mountains, but who sit in unfurnished rooms from sheer diffidence.

I do not know whether this fine man, this man of almost universal knowledge, is an administrative head. But at the time I was there he was in the wrong place. Such people have to be pushed, their eyes have to be turned inward. They do not know themselves, they have to be forced to self-study, so that their forces may be turned to advantage. There are many such Landas in the world. They are full-blooded violets, people who dissipate their strength here and there, timid and shrinking. They become beasts of burden when they should be leaders of the herd.

I know such a Landa in Germany. What became of him? Just now he is a Democrat. But he is not yet lost completely. Perhaps he will be shoved to the front some one of these days; when he looks around he will realize that his place has always been at the front.

#### *A Woman*

A woman wished to see me. A Jewess. In Landa's dark room in the Metropol. A solid woman, they told me, solid of mind, unyielding.

She talked with me about the German revolution, about the level of development of the German revolution, about the problem of leadership, and other important points.

I do not remember her name. She is considered somebody in the party, they told me. She must be, for she is a solid rock.

I struck out, I analyzed, I pulled, I tried to mould, it was of no use. She interrupted my flow of language only seldom, but she hurled heavy rocks, giant boulders when she spoke.

I had never met such a woman. Charming besides. Her dark head with the parting of hair gleaming down the center was slightly lowered toward me. There was no wrath, but a stony suffering, a rock patience, a smiling rock.

That was a woman in politics, a woman with a mind, and a woman at the same time. I never knew before that there were such women. Women in politics had been night-mares to me. I never

went to hear women politicians speak.

This woman, in the dark-room of Landa's in the Metropol, was a politician. A lovely rock, who spoke square boulders. I am still surprised that such women exist.

She was no Rahel, or a Frau von Stein, but an entirely different type. Her words were solid rocks and she was lovely at the same time. A marvel, a wonderful miracle.

#### *In the Office of the Supreme Council of National Economy*

Formerly there was much drunken revelry in this place. It was the Siberian Hotel. An immense box of a place. Here the champagne bottles crashed against the mirrors, the gipsy fiddle and the gipsy girls whirled on and on, and the traders piled up millions. Of course there were establishments in Moscow where the art of mirror crashing was a science all its own, and where drinking champagne was a sacred duty. I have already mentioned that one of the greatest of these revelry palaces is now being used as a prison for profiteers and speculators. A convent has also been turned into a prison. A beautiful convent. A guard is stationed in front, and barbed wire threatens the intruder. Here, too, they tell me, speculators are imprisoned.

The giant box is a primitive ark. Very sober and staid. Everywhere partition walls of rough boards. It is plain to be seen that it was built in a hurry. The small vestibules speak of better days. The sofas have toned down, the chairs do not curve so boldly. Here and there a larger hotel mirror remains.

It is like a beehive. A constant stream from the street to the upper story never stops. The chain is broken. For here the industrial forces of Russia meet, here the national economy is administered, this is the center of apportionment of the national income. This administration of national economy is the most important function in a country where national economy is so sorely tried. But the people who come for concessions and to submit claims are not the same as formerly. They are no longer pot-bellied dealers and traders, the thousand ruble note barons. They are for the most part Soviet workers or Soviet officials, wearing the simple cap with the Soviet emblem, which is worn by all Soviet employees.

Through a roughly-boarded partition one gets to the Central Office. Here is the office of the President of the Supreme Council of National Economy. At the time of my visit Milyutin was substitute chairman of the committee. Rykov, the chairman, was in Baku at the time. Baku is now a very important place, it is now the naphtha center of Russia, and naphtha is the principal food of Russian industry and of Russian locomotives. The naphtha reservoirs of the Prokhorov factory were empty. Most of the reservoirs in the vicinity of Moscow were empty. It was necessary, therefore, for an authority, like Rykov, to go to Baku. They told me that the naphtha supply reaches as far as Orel now. But that is not sufficient, Baku must send streams of naphtha through the whole

of Russia; Baku must relieve the transportation system, must fill the naphtha reservoirs. Baku is the great hope. (However, coal must not be forgotten.)

Milyutin is still a young man, with great black eyes and a small black mustache. A telephone exchange is in his office. It is used sometimes by him, and sometimes by his secretary, a man with sharp eyes, wearing a Russian blouse. It is a great corner-room with many windows. There is a constant stream of papers being deposited upon Milyutin's desk for his signature. There is an atmosphere of respect, of reverence. Just like the atmosphere in the office of a cabinet minister, or of the head of a great industrial plant. Perhaps a bit livelier, not so secluded.

Milyutin (possibly 40 years of age) did not begin as a national economist. There is a certain look of astonishment in his eyes. I had a vivid interview with him, with the help of an interpreter. We spoke of the emigration of German workmen to Russia, of my studies of the Russian economic system, of the impressions I had gathered in the light of these studies. Discipline, he supplemented, after I had enumerated for him the main basic factors. There was an air of great respect in this office, nor was there any breaking of threads, only orderly sequence.

In front of Milyutin's office there is a crowd of claimants, during the entire office day. Two girls with short hair flash back and forth: from the reception room to Milyutin's office, from Milyutin's office to the ante-room. Next to the ante-room is a small room, where the flitting girls rest, and where tea is made. For tea is still being served in Russian offices. Burning hot tea in burning hot weather. Boiling hot tea. A ghastly thing for a stomach from the tempered zone, which on red hot days is accustomed to imbibe cold water with syphon-like rapidity, or absorbs cooling seltzer or lemonade; that sips ices and longs for cold showers. In Moscow they drink boiling hot tea under a broiling sun. A ghastly affair. But they tell me that it is the best thing against the summer heat. Sasha laughed at me when I diluted the boiling tea with cold water.

There are long corridors with numbered doors, just as in European bureaus. But no arm-chairs in the offices. Only here and there a great chair with a comfortable back. For the rest simple wooden chairs before simple desks. It is no place for people from the war benefit societies, or for a moving-picture director. The finance department where I worked with a very intelligent man is a mere shack, from the standpoint of a war benefit society. If the seat of the government were located in Petrograd it would be more comfortable. Moscow is no city for government offices. There are no government buildings, no office buildings. The hotels of the city had to be used for the purpose, adapted, rearranged, reorganized. But even so, they will do, with the help of frequent shifting, with board partitions and a little good-will.

All the ante-rooms are constantly occupied. Oc-

cupied by people with all sorts of desires. Girls who act as office boys are stationed in all the ante-rooms, and often brew the official tea also. In every office there is a Russian calculating machine; it belongs to the Russian like his blouse. They are in every store, in every private house, everywhere. The little balls jiggle back and forth, they arrange themselves in a jiffy under the quick fingers. Revolution: excellent; mental arithmetic: poor, thought I.

A guard stands in the main entrance. A guard shouldering a rifle as in front of all government offices and all hotels. But this guard is milder, than for example, the guard in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, or perhaps the Kremlin guard. The Kremlin guard is the most severe of all the Moscow guards. The guard before the building of the Supreme Council of National Economy will not ask to see your *Propusk*. The stream passes, unhindered, divides in the various stories, flows into the corridors, and trickles into the offices. It does not whirl in confusion, there is no disorder. It is a giant stream, but everything runs smoothly. Already this stream runs back and forth more smoothly than the national economic system. Designs, statistics, drawings, and descriptions of the economic condition are hanging in every office. They are debit drawings, debit statements, . . . : credit drawings and credit statements are unfortunately still lacking. But they are in the making, and some day credit and debit will balance.

#### *In the Glav-Textile*

One day Plavnik asked me into his office, in order to show me the office administration. From here we made the rounds through the Central offices. It is an immense building, a former textile storehouse. It had belonged to one of the textile kings, one of the cotton kings of Russia.

First we go through the accounting center. It gives the impression of a bank. Here over two billion rubles are paid out or handled per month. Most of the payments are made by check on the government bank. A woman bookkeeper showed me the ledger, the check forms, the process of payment and accounting. Everything proceeds very businesslike, everything runs smoothly, quickly and promptly. I believe that the moneyless system works faster than the currency system in Germany. The German banks, the German savings-banks operate with maddening snail-like slowness. There is a clumsy form worship, a silly red tape timidity. No courage, no telephonic presence of mind, but a sticky rotation of bookkeeping gestures. The officials have no choice, they are chained to the system. Such a capitalist bank is about the most idiotic piece of machinery imaginable. A meaningless mechanical device, a magnetic power, which draws business without soliciting it, with a board of directors which scribbles signatures and draws profits. At the same time there is an atmosphere of pompous importance, auto-speeding and fat-necked indulgence, of marble stairs, overbearing manners and overstuffed armchairs, to fairly make it hum.



This kind of thing has been nationalized out of Russia. No more overbearing officiousness, or loling in overstuffed armchairs, exuding pomposity and absorbing profits. There is no more busy unproductive laziness, no more bluffing with bankers meetings and moral lies. One has to work now, has to fit in, one is a tiny wheel now rather than a democratic trumpet. It was a lightning change. In one day the lordly tones had vanished. No greater fraud, no more disgusting fraud has ever been practiced on the defenseless world than the fraud of the national banks, of the great savings banks, the banks sapping the life of the communities, and the pennies of the poor and making usurer's profits from them. Germany will only be able to breathe when these secret pocket-books have been closed. It is a glorious sight to see the empty bank buildings in Russia, the beautiful dust on plate glass windows in the buildings of the great banking institutions of Russia. They have already become chambers of horrors from the middle ages, chambers of torture for the tourists to visit. Germany will not be happy until the rude and overbearing pocket-book has been shut up. They will not be happy until they have eliminated this slinking fraud, this technically cunning fraud, this circulating fraud, this patented and government protected fraud.

However, this is merely by the way. I had to let off steam, I was at the boiling point.

There are many imbecilities, stupidities and perversities left in Russia, but there are no more national banks. Imagine a country without national banks, without the disgusting paper swindler and speculation tricks, without the usage-sanctioned pompous brokers' fraud. That alone is a glorious fact to contemplate.

I had to repeat myself, my blood boiled up once more.

Plavnik took me through all the offices. Through the office for the distribution of raw materials, through the department of statistics, where one of the most famous of Russia's statisticians has his office. (The Lord punish those statisticians!) Then through the office of the presidium, the office of the general presidium and of the sub-presidium. Through the textile exhibition, which is in the Central buildings, and is very diversified. He took me to the door of the technical training-school. There the most expert faculty on textiles is training textile workers, aspirants to managerial posts, men and women. Entire Russia is to be technically trained. Technical training-schools are everywhere. The Commissar of the Supreme Council of National Economy has charge of a technical scientific training department. It is a center from which exhibitions of new inventions, exhibitions showing the possibilities of production in Russia, new institutions and organizations for Moscow and the country at large are constantly being sent out like rays of light. This is only a beginning, like almost everything else in Soviet Russia, but it is a beginning at least. I saw Russian soil there, Russian acids, mineral products, substitute materials. Every-

thing merely a beginning, but one must begin sometime.

And then Plavnik took me through the offices of the industrial union. I had an interview with the leaders of the textile union. They explained to me the tariff system, especially the bonus wage system. There is a long table of bonuses. The various points of efficiency are being rewarded by measure, so to speak.

In the agricultural department of the textile union the cultivation of the factory ground is being regulated. In the Prokhorov factory I saw and heard an agricultural meeting. An expert gave a lecture to the men and women there, just before they went out to the grounds, on potato planting. The people had the implements already at hand. In a large shed the seed was piled up. Everything was ready to begin, but first there had to be expert instruction.

Plavnik led me further, through the editorial room of the trade union paper *The Textile Worker*, and from there into the department of working clothes distribution. The garments are furnished to such workers who are engaged in occupations damaging to their clothing.

There is order, exactness, a sense of proportion. A love of order, a love of regulated activity. There is no doubt of that.

#### *In the German Council*

In Moscow there is a Hungarian Council, an Austrian Council, a German Council, etc. They are concerned mainly with affairs of prisoners-of-war, and of travelers returning home.

The German Council has a neat office and a neat home. Telegrams, statistics, pictures are hanging in the vestibule of the office building. Above is a large office where the typists are busy, and adjoining it is a spacious administration office.

This office slaves until late at night. There is much to do. The returning travelers are constantly passing through Moscow now, come to the German Council, register there, and are taken care of in the hospital of the German Council.

It is very clean in the German Council. The meals are excellent. I still think with delight of a dish of lentils, a glorious dish of lentils, and with equal delight of a dish of mashed potatoes with brown gravy and roast beef.

#### *Home-Going Travelers*

Just before a departure of a shipload to Germany there is a festive meeting. There are speeches, music, and songs. The announcement is made in the *Rote Fahne*, the weekly paper of the German Council.

The chairman asked me to speak at one of the home transport meetings. I spoke to these comrades who wanted to hear about Germany; reliable live and interesting news. People who knew very little of Germany recently. Many of them had not seen their home for over six years, and still retained their old ideas of Germany. Others did not remember it clearly. They, too, could not quite

understand the present Germany. I told them of the German national economy of the present. They stood still, men and women, for women who had married their husbands in Russia were going to Germany. One and a half hours I spoke, until dusk fell. But they remained quiet, absorbing Germany of today, the new science. They stood transfixed, they were deeply shaken. It was no longer the old Germany, which they saw now. It was a different Germany, a difficult Germany, a convulsed, a deeply suffering Germany. I had to show them German conditions as I see them, and as they undoubtedly are. It is no good lying to these people drunk with the longing for home, giving them bright colors. They had to see the country as it is. It is no good telling untruths. There never was any good in that. Why should I lie to these poor people?

I passed through groups of people in the assembly garden at the German hospital. I passed through groups of many colored uniforms. All the various regiments of peace times were represented. There were hussar braidings, lancer's jackets, light-blue dragoon cloth, dark-blue infantry coats with red collars, medium-blue transport uniforms. Only a few in service gray. They were almost all soldiers who had been captured during the first months of the war. At last I began to realize the full meaning of the thing. Human beings are caught, put in cages, fenced in, guarded and spied on, treated like a herd of cattle. People are deprived of their freedom. So long as it is permitted to catch human beings, so long is the world in bondage. To capture human beings is to hunt them, to flog them, to imprison them. All that is an outrage to humanity. We still belong to the middle ages, to antiquity, to barbarism. We are not yet in the new era.

I spoke to a German soldier whom I met in a Moscow street. He was returning home from Tashkent. We spoke, not of hunger, not of lack of food. There are other hardships that beset a man, which are more horrible than the pangs of hunger.

One hears hundreds of diverging opinions as to the treatment of prisoners. Some of them had become contented colonizers in Siberia, others had been dragged from one prison to another, were starved. Many thousands died of epidemics, of undernourishment. Since the November Revolution the prisoners ceased to be prisoners. They were free. But even things were not always as they should have been. For the will of the Soviet Government did not yet influence every individual brain. There were still camp troubles and grounds for complaints. But since November, 1917, the prisoners were prisoners no longer. I spoke to no one who did not gratefully acknowledge this fact. Many worked hard and earned much money. In Moscow many German workers, who had been former prisoners of war, had made good money.

Wherever I could I spoke to the home-going prisoners. In Moscow on the streets, in the offices of the German Council, and on the return journey even, in the prison camp at Narva.

In the prison camp at Narva, a building surrounded by the thick walls of the German monastery, I talked with returning prisoners for hours. They represented all kinds of human beings: the good-humored and the quick-tempered, the melancholy, the modest and the self-important ones, all were represented. I got the impression: Russia is large, and since Russia is so large, since Russia is such a giant country with so many and varied conditions, and so many and varied types of human beings, no two people will have had the same experience or the same reactions. Some of them mourned their dead comrades, others told of the horrors of epidemics, especially the typhus epidemic with cold-blooded indifference. They told me of acts of unfairness, they scolded and grumbled, they recalled pleasant memories. They told me of their acclimatization, of how they adapted themselves to the new living conditions. They told me how they built their own houses, how they became peasants, tradesmen, speculators. They complained of the high prices, or praised the low prices of the district where they had lived.

But they were all longing for home, they thronged together with a glad feeling for home. Many had almost ceased to believe in the reality of it, and were inclined to take the ship which was to take them tomorrow away from Narva as a fairy tale. They wanted to stand with both feet on their home soil before they would believe that they were home again. Mothers awaited them, wives were waiting, children were waiting.

It was a depressing thing, a heartrending thing. It was hard for one who had just arrived from Germany to come before these poor people. There was grey hair, there was white hair among them. Bright soldier caps rested on a father's brow, soldier caps sat on white hair, and on bald heads. These last stragglers, who had been detained by "diplomatic negotiations" and suchlike stupidities, who really were not human because they were not allowed to leave as free men, these ragged ends remaining from the world war, were a sorry sight and a warning. This bestiality must not be repeated, never again shall the diplomatic heroes capture men and drive them to prison, never again shall these organized man-hunts be perpetrated. This beastly business will at last have to come to an end. This hullabaloo, this flag-waving madness, this trumpeting and manly bosom mania will have to stop.

To have been three years, four years, five years, six years in a country against one's will! Every man has the right to live where he wants to, and that mania for pigeon-holing is unspeakable presumption.

Say what you will about Soviet Russia, but it must be acknowledged that from the day of the revolution there were no more prisoners, only free men. Human freedom, freedom from bondage was proclaimed on that day. I know what you would say against that, I know that too was only a beginning. But the Russian revolution has begun. That remains to its undying credit.

How can you hold back, even for one day, people who do not want to remain in your country, who want to return to their home? How can you bear to force people to remain in a prison camp even for one day longer? Can you bear to breathe, eat and drink while men are still lying in prison camps?

We want the free man, the man whose home is the world. Wherever he goes there shall be his country, and should he desire to return to the place of his birth, he should not be held back for a moment. You have no right to shackle human beings. Only the gods have the right to shackle them. And there are no gods.

#### *Return Journey*

At the Nikolai depot officials from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs took leave of the members of the English delegation, Shaw and Turner. I believe they brought also a farewell note from Lenin. I believe it was not a very flattering letter. It was a curious farewell note, a Lenin farewell note, with some blunt unvarnished language. Perhaps the English told their people of this farewell note on their return home. It was not a polite note. But it is Lenin's conviction that in times of such impetuous world upheaval one cannot be polite, one must be truthful. To be truthful is to be simply as one is, is to say what one thinks. To be truthful, therefore, means not to be a diplomat, quite the contrary. Lenin is not without diplomatic ability, and yet he is no diplomat.

Again our journey passed by the wooded slopes, the green domes, a thousand villages hidden among the oaks, passed by the pine forests and the beech wood, by the green pastures, the miraculous pastures between Moscow and Petrograd. Again we drank milk at 125 rubles the pint, again we slept in the Soviet car, in the comfortable government car furnished with a bed and table, and without being in a constant driving hurry. Again we made about 20 to 25 kilometers per hour on the way toward Petrograd.

But now our tempo changed. For we were coupled to an express freight. A parlor car was added, and we sat, talked and drank tea with Russian railroad workers. One of them was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Railroad Workers' Union. He sent greetings to the German comrades. I hereby deliver these greetings from the Russian colleagues and comrades to the German railroad workers.

After a seven hour journey we reached Yamburg. There our troubles began, pass troubles, vise-troubles, officious troubles, political red tape troubles. Our passes were not in order, and the Esthonians would not admit us into their country. The local Soviet in Yamburg consoled us with a sumptuous dinner, and one of the railroad workers served us potato pancakes. But we wanted to go home, we stamped the ground, we were tired of the sleeping car. I wanted sea air, I wanted to begin work at home, I wanted to get away from the East.

I wanted to leave the East because I had indigestion. Not from the meat diet or the kasha diet,

but it was a mental indigestion. My nerves were overworked. I was too full of material, was ready to burst, I had to get out of the East. I wanted to be delivered, I wanted to bring forth book children. It was high time.

At last we got through. In the port of Reval our good ship was waiting for us. It had a new captain, Kolbe was his name, the name of the sailor through mines and dangerous cliffs. Mamsh is the name of the head steward; Mamsh is his name, but he isn't like that. He is a fanatic about cleaning silver, he is an expert in the art of balancing, he is an artist with the dishes, a magnificent provider. We sailed via Helsingfors to Stettin under Kolbe and Mamsh. The English sailed via Stockholm. They were in a hurry. They wanted, without loss of time, to submit their demands for Russia to a great congress of workers, they wanted to have a resolution passed, and to persuade the government to show its colors. But I sailed with Kolbe and Mamsh via Helsingfors to Stettin. Filled to the brim with knowledge of Russia, pressing for home, already in labor, pawed and sniffed over at Helsingfors. Again there are some curious ship companions and several adventurers, of whom I will write later.

We sailed through white nights.

We sailed through the white nights of the cliffs of Finland. Do you know the white nights of the cliffs of Finland?

They are not nights, they are miracles of gauze, they are eternal light, it is a milk light, a very delicate opaque window light. A gull, one single wide-winged gull is hovering over the foamy trail of our ship. The stillness becomes more still. You lose yourself, you cannot remember whether the ship is going forward or back. There is a murmuring ripple against the ship's sides as though the ship were standing still. All around, in the straits, beyond the straits, thickly huddled or strewn afar, now in the sea, now in the bays, in canals and in the by-streams, there are the miracles of stone, and pine, placed there by a long forgotten builder's art. With silent white stones, silent dwellings, and silent pilot flags.

But now the sun shoots up out of the cliffs. It does not rise, it shoots up like a giant glowing red finger. It is there, all at once, with a sudden jerk. It surprises you, suddenly the ship's trail has become a long trembling path of gold. And now the sun rises slowly, the red sun rises at last out of the crags of Finland.

Thus I sailed through two white nights of Finland, two glad nights, world-forgotten nights, delicate opaque nights, warm northern nights. Twice I saw the great glowing finger, the glittering golden path in our wake. Twice I saw the seagull, the wide-winged seagull, the slant-swaying seagull, the proud white seagull, saw the delicate white veil of the Finnish night edged with red as the sun flared up.

And then I had another vile case of denunciation to face, in Stettin, and then I wrote this book.

THE END

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*

RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU  
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**R**ED CROSS organizations seem to take sides rather vigorously as soon as they come into contact with Soviet Russia, in spite of the much-vaunted and long-observed political neutrality of such bodies. It will be remembered that Danish Red Cross officials had to be expelled from Soviet Russia because they had developed counter-revolutionary activities rivaling even those of the Danish Consulate General in that country, and that long after their expulsion from Soviet Russia they continued to act in a manner extremely hostile to citizens of that country who happened to fall into their clutches, which was particularly observable in their treatment of the unhappy Russian war-prisoners who had been entrusted to their care in Vienna. But not only do certain Red Cross organizations refrain from giving any assistance to citizens of Soviet Russia—while others, like the Danes, make life in Soviet Russia as miserable as possible by extending aid to counter-revolutionists—but no assistance is given to the Soviet Government to repatriate and thus ease the lot of the many former war-prisoners of the Russian Empire, citizens of countries once hostile to Russia. As the conditions among the prisoners in Siberia really need attention, and as the Soviet Government is being permitted to do nothing to aid them, we herewith bring the matter to the attention of our readers by printing in full an editorial that appeared on this subject in *The Japan Chronicle*, Kobe, Japan, October 14. The editorial runs as follows:

"It is now just upon a year since we published an account of the sufferings of 200,000 prisoners of war in Siberia. The facts were news to most people, and to those with any human feelings came as a shock. It is true, there were such cases as that of a lady of Allied nationality in Japan who wrote and said that it was very difficult to know what conditions really were in Siberia, and that anyhow she really could not feel particularly distressed about the condition of Huns and Turks. We believe that some of that sort of feeling has evaporated by this time, but although the matter has got as far as questions in Parliament, practically nothing is done. In our daily issue of the 7th instant\* we published a report written only in July last by a lady who has been working through Siberian horrors for the Swedish Red Cross. It is to be observed that she gives the same number—200,000—as the approxi-

\* But we are quoting from the Weekly Chronicle.—*Editor*, SOVIET RUSSIA.

mate total of the men still suffering destitution and exile. Probably our previous account gave an underestimate of the numbers, for some have been taken away since last year and many have died, yet there is still this appalling amount of unrelieved misery. The representative of the Swedish Red Cross describes in eloquent terms to which it would be idle for us to add anything, the terrible conditions of the forgotten prisoners. These conditions have been known to all the world for the past year. Yet what has the world been doing? It was months before the Powers allowed anything to be done and then there was talk of American ships, but the talk came to nothing. There was not even talk of British ships. It was hurriedly announced that Japan had no ships to spare. But we were told of camps taken charge of by the Japanese military authorities and of the great gratitude of the prisoners therein. At last Germany was permitted to do something, and the German Red Cross has managed to charter a few ships, at enormous expense, and do a little repatriating.

"It appears from the Swedish letter that the continuance of the present trouble is partly due to the confusion and destitution in Siberia. The Allied attacks on European Russia have left the Soviets with neither time nor resources to see to the welfare of prisoners in Siberia, though apparently in European Russia the prisoners are in a position to look after themselves. There are constant attacks on the Russians on the Siberian front, and intrigue for power occupies the exclusive attention of the military authorities of all parties to the exclusion of humanitarian considerations. Had Siberia never been invaded the troubles of the prisoners would have been long since alleviated, and the Allies who organized the invasion of Siberia are as directly responsible for the continuance of the sufferings of the prisoners as though they had deliberately inflicted them. Confusion is purposely maintained, so that it is impossible for the German Red Cross or any other body to negotiate for the removal of the prisoners. As for the Japanese Red Cross, with its boasted millions in membership and funds, it is a purely military body and has never thought about this need. Perhaps if it tried the Russians would refuse to negotiate with an auxiliary of the army that has invaded their country and inflicted such awful sufferings on it. Yet if any organized Western body, provided with funds, made a serious attempt to rescue the prisoners, there would be only easily surmountable difficulties in the way. The Swedish letter calls for ships, and ships, and more ships. But ships lie idle by dozens in Japanese harbors and nothing is done by way of using them for the benefit of the prisoners. There are ships to carry Sunday School delegates to Japanese picnics, but none to repatriate men who have been parted from their families and all that home means for six years. There is ample money to build halls and make bonfires for visiting foreigners whose goodwill may have some political value, but there is none to rescue the dying in Siberia's wastes. Yet another winter is coming on and nothing will be done. Men will die in filth and starvation and madness and despair for want of the money and ships and food and trouble expended on holiday-making."

From what is said above concerning the Japanese Red Cross it would appear that it is a belligerent organization, observing no neutrality between counter-revolutionists and partisans of the Soviet Government, in which respect it strongly resembles those other national Red Cross bodies that still receive and entertain representatives of the Czarist Red Cross, representing no country at all, and refuse to negotiate with officials of the Red Cross of Soviet Russia, now representing—since the capture of Crimea—the whole population of Russia, except the border-states, whose autonomy Soviet Russia recognizes. But then, the present government of Japan, and its various belligerent and propagandist organizations, can never be friendly or neutral toward Soviet Russia.

**H**OW refreshing it is to turn from pseudo-neutral organizations to frankly hostile ones! At least Mr. Elihu Root is not neutral. Mr. Root belongs to a society called the "American Central Committee for Russian Relief", which held an annual banquet at the Buckingham Hotel, New York, on November 11. This organization is not a neutral Red Cross Society; it is frankly an organized form of opposition to Soviet Russia, as Mr. Root, who was the presiding officer at the banquet, explained in his speech (quoted by the *N. Y. Times*):

"The original idea of the society," said Mr. Root, "was to give relief in non-Bolshevist Russia—that was the object named in the charter. The extension of power of the Bolsheviki soon became, however, so great that there was little field for relief in the territory of Russia. Sending supplies was attended by too great a probability that they would go to supply the Bolshevist Army. But as the Bolsheviki spread out, the people for whom the relief was originally intended were gradually pushed out of the country into the Baltic provinces, Poland, Serbia and Turkey, and all along the borders of Russia there came to be hundreds of thousands of these people, destitute. Undoubtedly many valuable lives have been saved and much terrible suffering has been alleviated by the work of this association.

"How important it is that there shall be saved the valuable lives of Russians who are waiting for the opportunity to return to the services of their country—that is what we are doing. We are saving the seed corn which will bring forth the future harvest of real freedom and security and peace and prosperity to Russia."

An "Assistant Red Cross Commissioner to Europe" (including Soviet Russia?) was also present, and so was Mr. W. W. Bouimistrow, "Russian Red Cross Commissioner." But the latter did not represent Soviet Russia.

For the information of those of our readers who may wish to know the latest guess as to the probable duration of the Soviet Government, we quote that of Mr. Root, made at this banquet:

"The end of Bolshevist rule in Russia is approaching. There is merely a question as to how much longer the Bolsheviki can continue. I think it is only a matter of a comparatively short time."

Mr. Root's prophecy is fortunately not too definite. And, geologically speaking, there are epochs by the side of which the lifetime of the Soviet Government will appear "comparatively short".

**A**MERICAN Red Cross workers were recently reported in the American press as having been killed by "Bolsheviki" in Southern Russia. As the later denials of these killings were hidden in most of the papers in spaces affording a singular contrast to the heavy headlines that had heralded the original fabrications, and as many persons have therefore seen the charges and not the denials, we reprint for their benefit the statement that appeared in the *N. Y. Globe* on November 12:

PARIS, Nov. 12.—Washington reports that Captain Emmet Kilpatrick, an American Red Cross worker in South Russia, was not killed by the Bolsheviki, but is being held a prisoner, were confirmed by a telegram received at the Paris branch of the American Red Cross from Sebastopol today. The telegram was filed in Sebastopol on Nov. 8.

**F**IRE accidentally destroyed the "highly valuable stores of the American Red Cross at Sebastopol" (*N. Y. Times*, November 16) when the Soviet troops were entering that city, while "a portion of the goods of the American Foreign Trade Corporation and other foreign firms was saved." This news will make the record of the American Red Cross in Soviet Russia more than complete. Had the fire not occurred, Soviet Russia might have been enabled, by the fortunes of war, to come into possession of at least some quantities of American Red Cross supplies,—supplies which the American Red Cross was using to alleviate the lot of counter-revolutionary refugees from Soviet Russia, and of counter-revolutionary armies attacking Soviet Russia. But the fire occurred, and even accident prevents the American Red Cross from giving involuntary aid to Soviet Russia.

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**W**RANGEL is more than disposed of. The former procedure with counter-revolution in the South was to drive it so far back that it had only a small foothold, and to devote the military energies thus released to the resistance against intervention in other parts of European Russia or Siberia. But this plan was pursued less because it was a plan than because it was a necessity. Had the complete elimination of all outside counter-revolutionary forces from Ukraine been possible under then prevailing circumstances in Russia, there is no doubt this elimination would have been carried out. But the fact now is—and it is a serious cause for congratulation—that such elimination is entirely possible, and Wrangel has accordingly been not only defeated, but driven completely off the map. The situation of Russia implied in this accomplishment is therefore immensely better than it has ever been before. For the first time in the history of intervention, Soviet troops have been engaged on one front only, and have been able to pursue their hard-won victories without apprehension as to the fate of other fronts. For on every other front, intervention is now quiescent to such an extent that no blows of any kind can be expected for some time. The Polish front, until recently a grave danger, because of the apparent determination of Allied statesmen to push Polish troops far into Russian territory, has ceased to be a front for the present. No doubt Allied influences will again attempt to throw Poland, as they are now working to throw Lithuania, into the unequal conflict with Soviet Russia. But increasing misery and decreasing production will be rendering the Polish population less and less exploitable in aggressive warfare, while Soviet Russia will enjoy peace—not enjoy it in the sense that her population will be consuming great plenty, but in the sense that the undisturbed work of reconstruction will make it possible to prepare means for producing more foodstuffs and munitions when the next clash with intervention is forced upon us.

## Japanese Intrigues and Propaganda

by MAX M. ZIPPIN

ON OCTOBER 13 there appeared a Washington correspondence in the *Public Ledger*, signed by Mr. William Wile, raising a cry against the Chinese local authorities in Manchuria for their "playing into the Bolsheviks' hands in a manner that may shortly call for international protests." It goes on to tell that "reports current for some time, to the effect that Russian officials and officers, who had taken refuge on Chinese soil from Bolshevik terrorism and persecution, were being delivered up to the Reds, have just received confirmation in one important and specific case"; the important and specific case being that of a "distinguished" Russian naval officer, Captain Besoir, and that of the Russian Consul at Kirin, who were allegedly smuggled out of Kirin, "in the dead of night," and sent toward Blagovieshchensk, that is into the very hands of the Reds. The correspondence adds that Mr. Roland S. Morris, American Ambassador to Japan, who is still at Washington "cooperating with Secretary of State Colby," has cabled instructions to officials in Manchuria to cooperate with their foreign colleagues in the matter.

On the same day all the newspapers carried an *Associated Press* dispatch from Tokio, announcing that "the Japanese Government had proposed to the powers joint action to check the rise of Bolshevism on the Asiatic continent" because of the repeated raids of numberless bands of bandits and "Red" bodies in Manchuria, as well as because "there is an apparent tendency for public sentiment in the north of China to become infected with Bolshevism." Also because "moreover, Eastern Siberia has been completely converted to Bolshevism, and the presence of a Japanese army there is useless."

Now let me state at the outset, on the strength of the Siberian press, that this "playing into the hands of the Bolsheviks by the Chinese Government that may call for international protests," which is merely an allegation, and the bandit raids to overcome which the Japanese Government is asking the powers for concerted action, which is a gruesome fact, are two parts of the same Japanese conspiracy, a conspiracy to despoil both China and Russia. Because at the hands of the Chinese Government, and likewise that of the Vladivostok Government—the most timid, amiable, and anaemic little government on earth, which is actually eating out of the hand of the Allied governments from under the hills fortified by Japanese militarism—there has been accumulated an enormous mass of evidence of this conspiracy.

First, as to the specific case of the "distinguished" Russian officer and the Russian consul at Kirin. On September 7, the Siberian press carried two telegrams from the Japanese Kokusa agency, dated Peking and Mukden, where the story is related in an altogether different light. The notorious bandit chief Kalmikov, after being defeated by the Russian partisans, sought refuge on Chinese territory, where

he continued his activities, committing, with his bands, a number of robberies and murders in China, whereupon he was arrested by the Chinese authorities and confined in the Kirin prison to await trial.

On the night of September 4, a band of Russian officers organized a jail delivery, freed Kalmikov and hurried him to the office of the Russian consul at Kirin for "diplomatic" safety, but the Chinese authorities surrounded the office, and rearrested Kalmikov, who, while being led to the railway station to be transferred to a Peking prison, wounded two of his guards and was killed by a third. The governor of Kirin then telegraphed to the Peking government for instructions and received orders to deport the Russian "diplomat" together with the Russian officers who had taken part in the jail delivery. The names of the officers are not given in the dispatches, but it stands to reason that the "distinguished" Besoir was one of them.

The whole specific proof that the Chinese authorities play into Bolshevik hands simply reduces itself thus to a case of deporting, and not smuggling out, a band of jail deliverers and bandit conspirators. Concerted action by powers and international protests in such cases is a thing not uncommon in international "policy" in the Far East. International opium smugglers and white slavers are thus always enabled to continue their illicit traffics. But the United States has always kept aloof from this contemptible business, and one can only throw up his hands when he reads that Ambassador Morris has instructed the American officials at Manchuria to cooperate with their colleagues in this matter.

As to the "robber bands" and the "rise of Bolshevism on the Asiatic continent," against which the Japanese Government is seeking joint action by the powers: For the last few months the Siberian press of all political shades has been overfilled with this "story", which turns out to be a plain Japanese conspiracy to grab all of Manchuria, together with the Chinese Eastern Railway, for the protection of which President Wilson had once sent something like ten thousand American soldiers and officers. And the "robber bands" are the substratum of this conspirative plan, since by them the Japanese militarists proposed to show that the Chinese Government was too weak to stop the "tide". Furthermore, the Russian officers and officials that "take refuge from Bolshevik terrorism and persecution on Chinese soil" are brought into Manchuria by the Japanese militarists to organize these bands, and to "organize" themselves into such "bands".

The story of this conspiracy is being printed not only in the Russian press of the Far East, but also in such reliable Chinese newspapers in the English, French, and Chinese languages, as *Journal de Peking*, *Peking and Tientsin Times*, *Peking Daily*

*News, Go-Di-Boo*, and many others. Certifications as to truthfulness are given by Mr. Simpson, an adviser to the Chinese Government, the Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Governor of Kirin, members of the Vladivostok Government, and many other prominent Chinese and Russian officials, as well as American observers. Among the documents published to prove the conspiracy and intended to be secret, are the following:

1. A telegram in code sent by the Japanese Commander at Vladivostok, General Takenake, to the head of the Japanese military staff at Harbin, and dated May 20, where the whole plan of seizing the Chinese Eastern Railway for Japan, with the help of the Russian "nationalists", through an organized system of raids by robber bands, is "laid bare". "In accordance with the instructions of Commander Modji," reads one passage, "we herewith advise you that the designated plan can be executed successfully." After saying that Khunkhuz bands have been already organized at Dairen and other places in Southern Manchuria, and that they are being scattered all along the Chinese Eastern Railway, the telegram states: "You will have to inform yourself on the activities of these bands and call the attention of the Chinese officials to them. On our side we shall flood Peking with protests against the unsafe state of the road until we shall be admitted to the administration of the road."

2. A telegram received by the Chinese Government from its officials in Manchuria, stating that a considerable number of Semionov officers have been sent to Harbin, on direct orders from Japan, for the purpose of arresting all the members of the conference of labor and democratic organizations there, but the local Chinese authorities in proper time prevented the accomplishment of this plan.

3. A telegram sent by a well-known Japanese general to Semionov, which reads: "The Japanese Government will, in the interests of humanity, continue to pursue its policy without taking note of the opinions of other governments. The Japanese Government will never suffer the establishment of an independent government in the Far East, will never recognize the Vladivostok Government, but will always support your 'staff'. And with your help, our Chief Commander, Suzuki, will be able to continue the war against the Bolsheviks for the purpose of guarding the borders of Mongolia and Manchuria."

4. A telegram sent by the Japanese War Ministry to the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, Suzuki, ordering him to advise Semionov that the latter's proposition to organize newly formed volunteer corps for Manchuria has met with the approval of the ministry. The new volunteer corps, the telegram states, must be organized secretly and held at certain strategic points, ready to invade Manchuria at a moment's notice, while the following significant advice is given by the Japanese War Ministry to Semionov, "We entreat him to take all necessary precautions and to admit to these corps only ex-

perienced and trustworthy officers and soldiers."

5. A document proving that under the direct tutelage of Japanese officials, a Russian "nationalistic" headquarters was established at Harbin for the purpose of organizing the "volunteer corps" as well as the Khunkhuz robber bands. Twenty-four Russian brigadier generals and fifty staff officers were sent out to various stations of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and from eight to nine hundred officers, in civil clothing, were assigned likewise to enter diverse services in the stations, mostly as agents, but frequently as plain watchmen.

6. The plan, which is, in short, thus: The Khunkhuz bands, together with the Semionov "volunteer" bands, are to start their activities at the very moment the Japanese Government begins to evacuate its forces from Transbaikalia. These forces are to take passage on the Chinese Eastern Railway, and the bandit bands must put all kinds of obstructions in the way of their movements, by attacking the military echelons, by invading the stations, by assaulting and robbing the population near stations, and, lastly, by blowing up railway bridges and beds, and derailing the trains. Some of the Semionov officers are to allow themselves to be caught and arrested and to "confess to being Reds," since a "perfect case" against the Reds is to be established. The Japanese military echelons thus being detained, the Japanese Government is to demand of the Chinese Government the right to repair the roads (the plan calling for the slowest possible progress of the repair work) with its own men, and also, that the policing of the road be given over to the Russian volunteer corps, since the Chinese are "unable" to give proper protection. Having accomplished the removal of the Chinese guards and officers from the whole of the Chinese Eastern Railway territory, the robber bands are to continue their "assaults" for a short while, in order to "compel" the Japanese Government to take the territory and the road under its protection, "in the interest of humanity, etc., until the Bolshevik tide will be stopped."

7. A telegram from War Minister Tanaka to the Commander-in-Chief at Vladivostok, dated July 14, instructing the latter to place a sufficient number of Japanese military telegraphists on the Chinese Eastern Railway for the purpose of taking possession of the telegraph stations at a moment's notice.

8. Another telegram from the same source, dated July 19, instructing the Japanese authorities at Harbin to send in daily telegraphic reports of the movements of Chinese military forces in the given territory together with their exact number.

9. A telegram from the Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway to his Government at Peking, stating that he had received an ultimative demand from the Commander of the Japanese armies; (a) that he allow the enlargement of Japanese forces in the territory; (b) that he permit the placing of Japanese gendarmerie on the stations; and, (c) that the war against the Khunkhuz bands

be made a joint affair. And an answer by the Chinese Government that it rejects all these demands.

The Japanese Government had decided upon the evacuation of its forces from Transbaikalia, as the official explanation goes, because the Czecho-Slovaks have left Siberia and there was no longer a need of protecting them. But the real reason for this will be found in a saying that has become very popular now in Siberia. "Siberia is too large, the summer too short, and the population too democratic." Which, in actual figures, gathered and disclosed by American and other Allied representatives, amounts to this: Out of a Japanese expeditionary force of about forty thousand, there were killed on battlefields six thousand, while seven thousand died of wounds and sickness, with an unrevealed number of wounded, likewise of "lost", that is those Japanese soldiers that took to the Russian hills. The Red Army stopped at the west shore of Lake Baikal, by orders from Moscow, and has never as yet met the Japanese in open warfare, but the local Russian partizans were there with the above-mentioned results. No wonder the Japanese Government finds now that "Eastern Siberia has been completely converted to Bolshevism, and the presence of a Japanese army there is useless."

As far as the success of the "plan" goes, it will be sufficient to state that at several stations such as Imanpo, Manchuria and others, there are regular "regiments" of Chinese Khunkhuz robber bands, consisting of from 2,000 to 3,000 men, officered by Russian "nationalistic" officers, tutored by Japanese officers, and full armed, even with machine guns, armored cars, and a number of big guns, all of Japanese make. And so far the only ones to suffer from the hands of these pseudo "Reds" were the Russians. Russian stores and houses are looted, Russian businessmen are being kidnapped and made to pay millions of rubles in "contributions"; Russian passengers are assaulted and robbed of all their belongings, and Russian officials are brutally murdered.

Just a few instances out of a great number on hand, by way of illustration:

The peace delegation of the Vladivostok Government, consisting of Utkin, Grazhevski, and Kagoda, is held up on the way back from Vierkhnieudinsk, at the station Iman, by three members of the "bandit bands", all Russian officers, robbed, stripped naked, and then brutally murdered in burning daylight. Robbed and murdered in the car belonging to the Commander of the 14th Division, General Sirooda, under whose protection they traveled. A similar fate was met by the Vladivostok Government representatives, also traveling under the protection of the Japanese military authorities, Andreyev and Kustavinov.

The editor of the labor newspaper *Vperiod* of Harbin, a young student by name A. Chernyavsky, is murdered in "international" quarters of that city on a crowded street at noon.

A service train with Russian workingmen is derailed near the station Silinche and fifteen murdered.

The Chairman of the Railroad Union of Czit-zikar, Trofimov, is taken off a train, killed and his body thrown under a speeding train.

Eighty-seven Russian railroad workers are arrested by the Japanese authorities at Nikolsk and sent as prisoners to a camp near Vladivostok. Near the camp the train is held up by "robber bands", all eighty-seven men stripped naked, then stood up against a wall, and shot.

The Chinese Government—the Chinese Government and not the local Chinese authorities in Manchuria, as Mr. Wile would have it—are doing their best to overcome this newly created allied "difficulty", and to undo the Japanese-Semionov conspiracy. All the Semionov officers "evacuating" in the tail of the Japanese forces from Transbaikalia, are disarmed as soon as they cross the border, and those of them that are caught in the act of robbery, spoiling the road, blowing up bridges, etc., are deported, but only to be befriended across the border by the Japanese, again armed and equipped, and sent back to help in the successful attainment of the "big plan".

The Japanese Government is organizing the brigand bands in Manchuria, and by all logic should propose to the powers joint action against . . . the Japanese Government.

In all his official declarations on the Siberian policy in the Diet, the Japanese foreign minister has assured the members of that body that all the actions of the Japanese Government in Siberia are in strict accordance with the united policy of the Allied governments. The most proper thing for the Japanese Government to do would then be: to propose to the powers joint action . . . against the powers.

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# The Food Policy of the Soviet Government

By A. SVIDERSKY

(Continued from SOVIET RUSSIA, October 30, 1920)

The chief attention of the People's Food Commissariat and its organs is the collection and concentration of food and other products. Of the products which the organs of the Commissariat are endeavoring to obtain, the most important is, of course, grain, which is obtained on the principle of state monopoly.

The state monopoly has evoked sharper criticism than any other economic measure of our revolutionary epoch. That is, of course, quite obvious. The bread monopoly shakes the economic basis of bourgeois society, and affects strongly those social groups which build their welfare upon speculation at the expense of the starving population.

The bread campaign of 1918-1919 began under most unfavorable circumstances. On the one hand starvation in the capitals and in the large industrial centers had reached its height, and to appease the starving population it became necessary to permit the free purchase of sixty pounds of flour, which was carried out by the system of each man making his own purchase; this of course was ruinous to the whole activity of the food organs; on the other hand the 1918 harvest began just at the time when the Red Army suffered a series of defeats on the various fronts with the result that many fertile gubernias were lost to the Soviet Republic. The comparatively small territory over which the rule of the Workers' and Peasants' Government extended was expressed in the modest figure of 667,807,000 poods of grain collected whilst the annual needs of the population even for the supply at a hunger ration was not less than 706,661,000 poods; an obvious shortage of 40,000,000 poods of grain.

At the outset the storing of grain gave rather insignificant results: August gave just a little over one million poods, September a little over 6,000,000 poods. Further, in October, as a result of the military position changing in our favor and the consequent consolidation of the Soviet Government in the localities, the grain storing rose to 24,000,000 poods; it maintained the same level in November and only in the subsequent months, which are generally months of poorer supply, the storing of bread began to decline giving only 14,000,000 poods in December, and ten and a half million poods in January, 1919. An improvement was justifiably expected in February, but was not realized, as a result of our defeats on the eastern front; during the following period from February to August the decline was perceptible. For all that, in accordance with incomplete data in the possession of the People's Food Commissariat the fertile gubernias alone of the Soviet Republic realized a grain-storing amounting to 110,000,000 poods.

If all the grain which had been stored on various

occasions in the war areas of the Urals and the gubernias of Ufa and Orenburg is to be excluded, it will appear that in the twelve gubernias in which the supply is chiefly being carried on, namely in the gubernias of Voronezh, Viatka, Kazan, Kursk, Orel, Penza, Riazan, Samara, Saratov, Simbirsk, Tambov, and Tula, altogether there was stored 99,980,000 poods, of which 69,514,000 is grain proper, the remaining 30,466,000 forage. The following table indicates the manner in which the plan drawn up for the storing of the different kinds of grain has been carried out by the People's Food Commissariat.

| Name of cereal             | To be stored<br>by levy<br>(in thous. of poods) | Obtained | Per cent<br>Obtained |
|----------------------------|---|----------|----------------------|
| Grain and flour.....       | 154,000   | 61,885   | 40.0                 |
| Groats and pulse.....      | 8,700   | 7,629    | 87.7                 |
| Forage.....                | 96,600  | 30,466   | 31.5                 |
| Food grain total.....      | 163,500   | 69,514   | 42.5                 |
| Food grain and forage..... | 260,100   | 99,930   | 38.4                 |

Thus in 1918-1919 the food organs succeeded in obtaining more than one-third of the grain surplus, both for provision and for forage, as regards groats and pulse the full amount was obtained.

The following table represents the percentage of the food obtained in the individual gubernias:

| Gubernia      | Per cent<br>grain levy | Per cent<br>forage levy | Per cent<br>obtained |
|---------------|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Voronezh..... | 21.1                   | 50.2                    | 31.4                 |
| Viatka.....   | 29.4                   | 19.9                    | 24.7                 |
| Kazan.....    | 74.0                   | 47.2                    | 61.1                 |
| Kursk.....    | 22.1                   | 33.0                    | 25.3                 |
| Orel.....     | 158.4                  | 41.5                    | 54.8                 |
| Penza.....    | 102.9                  | 5.5                     | 28.1                 |
| Riazan.....   | —                      | —                       | 61.5                 |
| Samara.....   | 37.4                   | —                       | 38.3                 |
| Saratov.....  | 41.8                   | 15.5                    | 44.3                 |
| Simbirsk..... | 57.9                   | 20.2                    | 39.1                 |
| Tambov.....   | 49.9                   | 29.2                    | 39.5                 |
| Tula.....     | 84.1                   | 31.5                    | 38.3                 |

The People's Food Commissariat is not in possession of exhaustive figures relating to the food campaign for 1917-1918. According to the incomplete data it succeeded during the ten months of 1917-1918 in obtaining only 30,000,000 poods of various kinds of grain. Considering the above-mentioned figures relating to the 1918-1919 food campaign the conclusion may be drawn that during its second year of existence the food organs of the Soviet Government were much more successful, although they have by far not fulfilled all that was expected; this in its turn proves that under the present conditions the Soviet food policy is the only rational one, and that the extremely complex apparatus which has been established for the storing of bread has justified itself. If we draw our attention to the data characterizing the current food campaign (the unfinished campaign of 1919-1920), we shall be forced to the conclusion that the improvement of the Soviet apparatus is fully confirmed. Out of the plan for the year for the storing of 296 million poods, 160 million poods, that is to say, more than a half, has already been obtained. During the remaining months before the realization of the new harvest it is likely that

not less than 20 to 25 million poods more will be obtained, so that it is presumable that the whole quantity will amount to 180 to 185 million poods or 60 to 61 per cent of the whole amount required for the year.

As to the conditions which facilitated a more successful development of the grain campaign for the current year it is particularly necessary to point out the method of storing adopted in 1919-1920, namely, the method of raising by levy the exact amount established by the organ of the Food Commissariat of the grain to be transferred by the village population who are possessed of a surplus, into the hands of the state. This method of extracting the grain surplus has proved most acceptable to the peasant population which is considering it in the light of loaning grain to the state to supply the hungry workers of the town population, which loan will be repaid by the state with manufactured goods as soon as the workers' government, having withstood and defeated its various enemies, will be in a position to devote itself entirely to work upon the economic front.

The difficult conditions under which the food organs had to carry on their past campaign was unfavorably reflected also upon the output of other agricultural products. The food organs succeeded in obtaining for the whole year 20 million poods of vegetables and greens, or approximately one fifth of the amount needed by the population. The small amount of potatoes and vegetables obtained is, apart from the general conditions, due to the weakness of the food organs, and it became necessary to permit various organizations to procure these products in accordance with the decree of the 21st of January, 1919, concerning the supply of non-controlled products.

The comparative success of the grain levy suggested to the Soviet Government the application of the same method to other products impossible to purchase for ready cash owing to the extreme devaluation of money. A recently issued decree has established a levy on potatoes, meat, eggs and dairy produce. In order to make delivery of these products not oppressive to the rural population, the food organs have established a standard of levy which is far less than the amount of food exported in the pre-war period. It may be stated with confidence that henceforth the supply of products will be more successful, thanks to the measures adopted, and that therefore the population will be assured of provisions as far as possible under the circumstances.

The result of the supply of meat and fats was also far from being satisfactory. The food organs have supplied only the following quantities of meat: October, 1918, 35 per cent; November, 26 per cent; December, 25 per cent; January, 1919, 16 per cent; February, 13 per cent; March, 22 per cent; April, 15 per cent; May, 11 per cent. The results of the butter and oil supplies are still poorer. It is obvious that under the conditions there can be no question of a regular supply to the population of meat and fats. The amount ob-

tained hardly sufficed for the needs of the hospitals and the Red Army.

More favorable results were obtained from the 1918-1919 fish campaign, although the fish industry of last season showed a decline in comparison with the preceding season. Unfortunately even the stock of fish which was at the disposal of the food organs could not be utilized owing to the transport difficulties in consequence of which it was equally impossible to supply the population with fish regularly. One of the reasons which hindered the supply of the population with fish is, of course, the disorganization of transport which was the result of the absence of fuel, so that, finally a quantity of fish amounting to over five million poods accumulated in Astrakhan, whence it could not be removed.

It is essential to note especially the supply of the population with articles for general use. In this regard the following are the tasks with which the state is confronted: (1) the realization of goods exchange, (2) the supply of the population with both monopolized and uncontrolled goods. The goods reserve which is at the disposal of the state organs consists of goods manufactured and produced by the nationalized enterprises, as well as of goods which the food organs purchase either independently or through the cooperative organizations.

The principal goods at the disposal of the state in 1919 were textile manufactures. In drawing up the plan for 1919 the People's Food Commissariat took into consideration the stock of manufactured textile goods and the 800,000,000 yards of cloth which were to be manufactured during the current year, and the population of Soviet Russia numbering 80 million persons. This gives us a standard of ten yards per person which quantity is to be increased for the workers (sufficient for a worker's suit) and decreased to some extent for the agricultural population in view of the latter possessing homespun goods. According to this plan the whole textile reserve was to be exhausted by the end of 1919.

In reality, however, the People's Food Commissariat had not expended the whole of this reserve. This was due to various reasons: in the first place, to the inadequacy of the distributing apparatus and the disorganization of transport; secondly, to the fact that in some districts, occupied or threatened by the enemy, textile goods were not dispatched, and finally because the actual reserve of textile manufactures was greater than was generally calculated. It does not, however, follow that the state has at its disposal any considerable reserve of textile goods; figuratively speaking, Soviet Russia is wearing out its last textiles.

As regards other goods, the state reserve of these was still smaller. In accordance with the stock at hand the ration of matches was one and a half boxes per head for the civilian population with five boxes per head for the army, a quarter of a pound tobacco per month or 240 cigarettes for every

smoker; and twenty pounds of salt per person per annum. All these rations were constantly decreased during the last year.

We had at our state depots seven million poods of sugar at the beginning of the year; out of these four million poods were distributed prior to the autumn season; the remaining three million were left for the sugar season.

The supply of the population with foot-wear and leather was in a bad state. There was an abundance of soft leather, but the reserve of hard sole leather and India rubber soles was exhausted. Therefore, although it was proposed to supply the population during the year with four million pairs of boots, in reality it was only possible to deliver two hundred pairs monthly. The greater part of the foot-wear manufactured went for the needs of the army.

The distribution of galoshes was to be in the ratio of one pair to every three men of the town population and one pair for eight men of the agricultural districts. Actually here also the supply was far more modest as, due to the lack of fuel, the output of the factories was inconsiderable.

There was also a shortage of agricultural implements. Only one-third of the requirements could be satisfied by the goods in stock.

The stock of glass at the disposal of the state is rather small. Recently it became necessary to decrease greatly the supply of glass to the population in view of the great demand for glass by the military authorities. As regards glassware the stock was in a most satisfactory state, though the supply was impeded by the transport difficulties.

In a more critical state during the last year was the supply of the population with lighting materials. In 1919-1920 owing to the complete lack of paraffin and petroleum, the supply of lighting materials to the population had to be suspended entirely.

To sum up, the supply of the population with goods during the preceding and the current year was obviously unsatisfactory. The chief reason for this was not so much the shortcomings of the distributive apparatus as the lack of goods reserves at the disposal of the state. The general perspective of the supply graphically is as follows: until the present time we lived exclusively on the old stock and to some extent on that of the future, and it is only now when our forces are no longer expended on the needs of the war forced upon us, that we are beginning once again to create material values.

As regards the second important task with which the People's Food Commissariat is confronted, viz., the exchange of goods with the fertile gubernias, unfortunately, the People's Food Commissariat does not possess all the material needed for dealing exhaustively with this question. In addition to the above-stated decrees and acts defining the system of exchange of goods, the following may be added: altogether during 1918-1919 goods to the amount of a little over one milliard rubles were sent to the fertile gubernias for the agricultural

population; that is to say that during 1918-1919 about 55 to 60 per cent of grain which was received for the starving population through the state organs of supply, was paid for by an exchange of goods. Altogether during the existence of the Soviet Government goods amounting to not less than four to four and a half milliards of rubles have been dispatched to the agricultural districts.

The question now in conclusion is: did the People's Food Commissariat and its organs prove equal to the task with which they were confronted? From the foregoing it is apparent that the task of supplying the population with food products and articles of prime necessity remains unsolved. The state organs of supply have proved so far incapable of giving to the population even a minimum of what it requires and without which a more or less normal existence is unthinkable.

In considering the activity of the Food Commissariat and its organs the fact should not be overlooked that on the whole the food problem depends upon a number of questions without the actual solution of which the proper organization of the supply for the population is an absolute impossibility. The four years' world war and the proletarian revolution of 1918 had shaken the basis of the former economic relations; and so long as a new social edifice is not built up on the ruins of the old capitalist world, there can be no question of the full supply of all the needs of the population.

Unfortunately this aspect of the question is intentionally overlooked by the enemies of the Soviet Government and often also by the adherents of the proletarian revolution. The fact is overlooked that the problem of supplying the population is being dealt with by the People's Food Commissariat and its organs at an acute moment of blockade, at the moment when Soviet Russia represents a besieged fortress, cut off from the sources of grain and of fats, under conditions of tormenting travail, of social beginnings in production, under the natural decline of production of labor in all branches of production and under conditions of extreme disorganization of transport.

The activity of the state food organs is in some way explained by the data regarding the organs of supplying the public feeding which were given by Comrade Popov in the article entitled "The Consumption of the Town Population of Soviet Russia", published in the second supplement of the *Economicheskaya Zhizn* (Economic Life) for 1919. On the basis of a whole number of budget forms from Petrograd and Moscow and of almost all the gubernia towns and some of the uyezd towns Comrade Popov comes to the following conclusions: For nine producing gubernias at an average consumption there was 1.44 pounds of bread per person or what is the same 1.30 pounds of bread per adult. The People's Food Commissariat and its organs provided 52.4 per cent of the rationed bread. In the consuming gubernias in which it became necessary to bring bread from other districts the supply of the Commissariat was

much weaker. In 75 towns and settlements and in 20 consuming gubernias on an average there was 1.02 pounds of bread per person (fluctuating from 0.75 pounds per day for the gubernia of Cherepovetz to 1.28 pounds for the gubernia of Nizhni-Novgorod); in other words one and a third pounds of bread for every adult per day. The Food Commissariat and its distributive organs supplied the population on an average of 40 per cent, reaching to 71.74 per cent for the Cherepovetz gubernia and 95 per cent for that of Olonetz. In Moscow the supply of the People's Food Commissariat reaches the above mentioned figure of 38 per cent; it may be mentioned that the industrial workers and the railwaymen received 41 to 42 per cent while employes and others including bourgeois elements received 36 per cent.

The figures quoted speak for themselves. They prove that if the Commissariat does not supply the full ration of bread in its organization of public feeding under the existing difficult conditions it supplies at least a formidable quantity. The 40 to 50 per cent of the whole quantity of bread consumed which is supplied by the Food Commissariat would never have fallen into the hands of the workers and the poor had the population been driven to buy it at the existing exorbitant prices in the open market.

It is therefore not possible to look upon the activity of the Food Commissariat as unimportant. It is equally impossible to regard the Soviet food policy as incorrect and not answering the interests of the working masses. In the present transition period the main tasks of the state organs of supply is to give the workers and the poor at the expense of the rich the little that the state has at its disposal. From the above, apparently means of solving this question have been found; but they would not have been found had the government food policy been abandoned.

It is essential to mention a few measures in the sphere of food supply undertaken by the government. Being fully aware of the insufficiency of the goods supplied to the population, the state organs of supply assist the population in other ways. Thus, for instance, the decree dated March 17, 1919, establishes the principle of free feeding for children; this measure has so far been introduced in Moscow, Petrograd and 14 gubernia towns; by virtue of this decree the products supplied by the food organs are free to all children who have not reached the age of sixteen. In addition to this, in August, 1919, the decree followed, establishing an additional ration for those families of Red Army soldiers receiving pensions. Finally the state is taking energetic measures for the organization of public feeding, which are to improve public feeding at the account of economy effected in the products and materials expended.

The practical significance of the measures mentioned may be gathered from the data concerning the organization of free child feeding and of public feeding. Towards the end of 1919 Moscow children's dining rooms catered to 300,000 children

and Petrograd to 260,000 children; the half-yearly estimate for the second half of 1919 for child feeding amounts almost to three milliards of rubles. Moscow had public kitchens to serve 320,000 persons, Petrograd 822,464 persons; in other words Petrograd was in a position to feed the entire population in public kitchens.

During the present year the principle of free feeding generally, and of children in particular, has widened extensively. According to the state estimate for 1920 the annual expenditure of the labor government for the organization of free feeding of children, infants as well as of all homeless children, amounted to 51,306,100,000 rubles. In addition to this in the month of March the organization of free public feeding for all workers and other persons of Petrograd and Moscow was begun.

The increase of the food resources at the disposal of the food organs is to be explained by the successes of the Red Army, by the improvements of the state supply apparatus as well as the general consolidation of the Soviet Government; all this made it possible to put forward a number of important questions in the sphere of public supply. In the first place the questions have arisen of the improvement of the food position of mental workers and secondly of increased rations for workers employed in the more important state enterprises. The latter measures which are necessarily only taken gradually are already giving results, which take the form of an undoubted increase of the productivity of labor—both physical and mental.

Starvation has not yet been overcome in Soviet Russia. To defeat starvation it is necessary to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to build up the political and economic life of the country on new communist lines. The approaching victory over starvation depends upon the extent to which in spite of all the difficulties, Soviet Russia is achieving her aims.

With regard to the present difficult period which is continuing to demand, though less than formerly, ever fresh victims, it is permissible to put the following questions: What other government, with the exception of the Soviet Government, which has realized the dictatorship of the workers and the peasants, could possibly give to the workers and the poor that which the supply organs of the Soviet Government have given them? Would not any other kind of government have deprived the toilers of the little that they receive in order to enrich at the expense of these people all the parasitic elements and the bourgeoisie?

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## Wireless and Other News

### NEW LIES DENIED

Repeatedly it is necessary for periodicals desiring to restore some sort of truthful balance, in view of the flood of lies circulating about Soviet Russia, to print contradictions of individual misrepresentations. *Social-Demokraten*, of Christiania, Norway, prints in its issue of October 11 an item that is of interest in this connection:

Bourgeois papers today again print "sensational" telegrams concerning the "collapse of the Soviet Army" and a "serious conflict between the army and the Executive Committee." It was from the correspondent of *Dagens Nyheter* in Reval that these revelations came.

We have this day received the following official denial of these lies:

"RIGA, October 10.—Deny all absurd communications concerning mutiny in Red Fleet and other places. Likewise all reports of Soviet peace offer to Wrangel. This counter-revolutionary rebel shall share the fate of Kolchak and other traitors of the people." (Signed) Krichevsky.

### SOVIET RUSSIA AND ARMENIA

Moscow, October 26, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Information about alleged menacing ultimatum of Russia to Armenia is erroneous. Soviet Russia is pursuing a policy of peace and is using its influence in the Near East for the purpose of establishing peace. Russia is not connected with any movements or eventualities of a military character. The Turkish advance on Armenian boundaries was in no connection with the Soviet Government's policy as the latter has no control over the Turkish Government. The Soviet Government is in full sympathy with the Turks' fight for independence against imperialism, but is not responsible for every movement of the Turkish troops. The latter's advance upon the Armenian border was an independent act of the Turkish national government. The Russian Government can do no more than propose mediation, but in this case it can expect from Armenia commercial facilities and the cessation of its participation in the aggressive anti-Russian policy of the Entente. Soviet Russia nurtures the most friendly feelings for the Armenian people, and is sincerely desirous of helping it towards a better future and toward establishing peace in the Near East.

### BIG RUSSIAN PRINTING ENTERPRISE

STOCKHOLM, October 14.—A Russian publication house has been opened in Stockholm under the literary supervision of Professor Lundell of the University of Uppsala, and Professor Lyatskin, who is one of Russia's most prominent literary historians. A long time ago the first books resulting from the activities of the publishing house came

out, and in the last few days an additional series of books were furnished by the Stockholm company. In one year great preparations have been made in Sweden to provide Russia, as well as the numerous emigrants who are scattered all over Sweden and the rest of Europe, with Russian books in the Russian language. The books that have thus far appeared are a volume of stories by Chekhov and a few primers, and in the last few days there came out a large work of literary criticism by Professor Liatskin on Gontcharov, also a collection of old Russian popular epics, and a volume of Russian folk legends, etc.

### MURDER OF RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN CRIMEA

Authentic news from Bulgaria has come to hand that 40 Russian prisoners, fully authorized by the French representative, left Varna for Odessa on the motorboat "Christo Botief" on June 22, but instead were brought to the Crimea and delivered to Wrangel. Thirty-two were shot, eight are still in prison in Sebastopol. This barbarous act of the most reactionary of governments, the French usurpers' government, deserves pillory.

### TESSEM AND KNUDSEN

Some time ago SOVIET RUSSIA printed a short message from the Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the Norwegian Foreign Department, announcing that information had been received at Moscow of the death of Tessem and Knudsen, two sailors who had been left by Amundsen's ship, *The Maude*, at a point in northern Siberia, and who seemed to have perished at some subsequent date.

*Social Demokraten* of Christiania, Norway, September 11, 1920, now prints an account which seems to indicate that the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has information tending to disprove its former communication. The item follows:

The Foreign Department (the Norwegian Foreign Department), as would be recalled, some time ago wired to the Russian Government for information concerning the report of the death of Tessem and Knudsen, as there was a possibility that this report might be the result of a confusion of these two names with two members of the Mili-kizky Expedition.

The Foreign Department has just received a telegraphic communication to the effect that the Russian Government has taken the necessary steps to obtain information on this subject. The Russian local authorities have furthermore received orders to grant all possible facilities to the Norwegian relief expedition.

## Books Reviewed

THE BOLSHEVIK ADVENTURE. By John Pollock. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

INTIMATE LETTERS FROM PETROGRAD. By Pauline S. Crossley. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

Anti-Bolshevik books pass out of style very rapidly. The fictions of 1918 will not pass muster in 1919; the lurid tales seem pale and empty in 1920. It is easy to imagine how silly the *New York Times* weekly budget of propaganda, gravely marked "special dispatch from Washington", will seem in 1921. So Mr. Pollock's publishers have done him a very doubtful service in bringing out an American edition of his work, which was written and published in England in 1919.

Mr. Pollock is an Englishman, who spent some time in Russia during 1917 and 1918, ostensibly engaged in looking after a children's home in Petrograd. For some reason, not clearly explained by the author, his alleged charitable activities brought him into disfavor with the Soviet authorities, and he lived for some time under various disguises and false identities, finally leaving Russia surreptitiously by slipping across the Finnish border. His book is a truly extraordinary collection of wild and fanciful falsehoods about the Russian Revolution. He asserts that the Bolsheviks were German agents; that the nationalization of women was an accomplished fact in Soviet Russia; that people in Petrograd died at the rate of a hundred thousand a month (by this computation the city would have long ago passed out of existence); that the Soviet Government was maintained entirely by Germans, Letts and "Chinese mercenaries"; and that the aforesaid "Chinese mercenaries" did a thriving business in the sale of human flesh for food.

In fact, speaking with proper reserve, and taking full account of the fierce competition in the field, one is driven to the conclusion that Mr. Pollock's work contains more lies about Soviet Russia than any publication which has yet made its appearance in this country. In the very beginning we are given this definition of "Bolshevik":

"The word means a man who wants the big share, who will not be satisfied, one might say, with less than all the lot."

This rather extraordinary translation presumably indicates Mr. Pollock's degree of familiarity with the Russian language.

From the start to finish the book is filled with confident prophecies of the impending downfall of the Soviet Government, together with frantic pleadings for Allied intervention. The author sets down every reactionary canard with absolute credulity. He gravely asserts that the peasants desired nothing so much as the return of Czarism. Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel have testified, to their cost, the accuracy of this theory. According to Mr. Pollock, all classes of the Russian people yearned for the arrival of British troops "to restore order." The humane, altruistic, beneficent government of

Lloyd George, Curzon and Co. in Ireland and India is certainly calculated to inspire the workers and peasants of free Russia with an ardent desire to become subjects of the British Empire. This question has also been put to a very practical test—the Archangel and Yudenich fronts. By this time even Mr. Pollock must be convinced that British troops in Russia will be received not with flowers and speeches of welcome, but with the bayonets and machine-guns of the Red Army.

The author cannot be denied credit for distinct originality. He suggests that "the greatest blow against the Bolsheviks would be to send an aeroplane to bomb the mint at Petrograd." Apparently he does not realize that, whatever may be the case in capitalist countries, the center of power and prestige in the Russian workers' republic does not lie in the mint, nor in a stock exchange, nor in any similar institution.

Like many reactionary critics of Soviet Russia, Mr. Pollock is a violent anti-Semite. Like the amiable General Sakharov, aide to the late Supreme Ruler Kolchak, he complacently anticipates a great pogrom as the first step in the "liberation" of Russia from Soviet rule. Unfortunately for the predictions of Mr. Pollock and General Sakharov, the Russian people show no desire to overthrow the only government in eastern Europe which has kept itself quite free from the stain of racial and religious persecution.

Mr. Pollock's work is so full of gross misinformation and prophecies which have been definitely and completely disproved by the subsequent course of events that it is rather difficult to understand why the publishers should have decided to present it to American readers. Perhaps they wished to impart a vivid object lesson in the unreliable nature of anti-Soviet propaganda; and, upon this hypothesis, they are entitled to high praise.

The case of Mrs. Crossley is both simple and pathetic. The wife of an American naval attaché, she set out for Petrograd in 1917 in high hopes of enjoying the brilliant society life of the Russian capital. Her journey was marred by the constant intrusion of uncouth soldiers who boarded the train in large numbers and occasionally spat sunflower seeds on the floor. But she experienced her supreme tragedy upon arriving in Petrograd. Let her tell her woeful tale in her own words:

"Think of a country, a capital, in which it is unwise to appear on the street well-dressed. I suppose the war has made a difference in most countries, but it is a fact I have not seen a man wearing a silk hat in this large capital of a large country."

Of course something was radically wrong with a government whose officials did not make a practice of attending diplomatic functions garbed in immaculate silk hats and evening dress. Mrs. Crossley soon discovered other damaging facts about the Soviet regime. Soldiers no longer showed ser-

vile respect to their officers. A sailor and a workman actually participated in a reception to her distinguished husband at Sebastopol. The country was being ruled by plain workers and peasants, by men with no blue blood in their veins. When she cannot think of any more concrete accusations she imitates the exquisite wit of her Russian aristocratic friends by calling the members of the Soviets "Dogs' Deputies".\*

Mrs. Crossley recounts a great many second-hand atrocity stories; but she is compelled to admit that she was never subjected to any personal molestation during the winter of 1917-1918, although her house seems to have been a sort of unofficial headquarters for counter-revolutionists.

In view of the hopes which were so cruelly dashed by the absence of silk hats on the Nevsky, one may readily forgive Mrs. Crossley her harsh words and her numerous misrepresentations, especially as the latter may be partially ascribed to her abysmal ignorance of Russian life. One can only feel pity for this fragile flower of capitalistic civilization, so unkindly exposed to the rude blasts of a proletarian revolution.

Механическое Черчение и Детали Машин, составил Преподаватель Технической Школы Российских Механиков, Инженер С. Кантор, при сотрудничестве И. Лошака и Инженера Ж. Лаукса. Mechanical Drawing and Machine Details, by S. Kantor, M.E., New York; published by the Technical School of Russian Mechanics, 1920.

It is gratifying to observe how much enthusiasm is being shown by persons and organizations sympathizing with the people of Soviet Russia in the work of reconstructing their country. Not only have we had occasion recently to note with pleasure the fact that many persons are actively working to gather funds to be spent in the purchase of medical supplies and surgical instruments, but also that large groups of Russian workers are devoting all their spare time to perfecting themselves in their various trades so that, when an opportunity is afforded to return to Soviet Russia, they may be able to be of real and efficient assistance to the people of that country, and to its government, in the great work of rebuilding that will require the application of so much skill and energy in the years to come.

The present little volume is issued by such an organization of workers who are preparing themselves for the new work that will be theirs after their return home. It is a series of instructions in Mechanical Drawing, accompanied by excellent illustrations and a clearly formulated text, together with useful tables to be used in the conversion of weights and measures from one system to another. No space has been wasted by inserting tables of too difficult a character for the use of common draughtsmen and workers, and some of the tables are particularly good for their simple and direct usefulness, such as the tables converting millimeters to inches, and *vice versa*. The illustrations that are intended to convey an idea of the concep-

tions of geometry, perspective, and projections that underlie the practice of Mechanical Drawing are calculated with great pedagogic skill and taste, and executed with neatness and due subordination of minor details. Altogether, this is a book that every Russian mechanic should possess, whether he intends ultimately to go to Russia or not.

## The "Red East" Train

The propaganda train "Red East" began in August its second tour to Turkestan. The following appears in *Izvestia* on its first tour:

"In January the first propaganda train was sent to Turkestan, which only in July, that is half a year later, returned to Moscow. The area of Turkestan is four times that of France, but it is very thinly populated, four persons to each square verst. For this reason, our efficiency has had to be increased as well as methods of work better developed. Sixty-eight lectures with 7,453 attendants; 334 meetings with 106,080 Russian and 124,605 Mohammedan participants were held; 173 cinema productions were given, the number of those present being 153,330. Members of the political divisions conducted four conferences and took part in 14 party and trade meetings and conferences. The train visited 49 districts and 95 villages. In the internal parts of the country, work of instruction was carried on in five districts, 14 counties and 12 smaller localities. In the Board of Complaints, 938 cases were examined and sentence passed in 433 cases. Out of the book stock 3,073 libraries were provided with 186,431 volumes, 58,171 leaflets, 37,390 newspapers and 5,598 posters. 125,000 leaflets and 9,000 newspapers were distributed free. The "Rosta-Division", attached to the train, carried with it 24,500 copies of the publication *The Red East*, in the Russian language, 12,900 in the Tartar, Kirghiz and Sart languages; besides, 76,000 leaflets in Russian and 111,350 in Mohammedan dialects; 7,000 pamphlets in Russian; 4,600 appeals and placards in Russian and 4,300 for Mohammedans. There was also provided in the train a sanitary exhibition, which was visited by 34,767 persons.

These are only figures. The chief task of the train was to lay the foundation for a great and effective activity and to afford the working people a practical support in their struggle for their national independence and their right to self-determination. Thus far the Soviet organizations in Turkestan have reached only the preparatory stage, for as yet there is an absence of a unified plan and of a clear view of the tasks that should be performed in a country that was for decades a colony of Czarist Russia. For a year and a half or longer, a colonization policy has been pursued here, according to a Socialist plan, under the protection of the Soviet power. The Russian population was considered to be the sole support of the Soviet power, while the poorer classes of the Kirghiz, Usbek, and Turkestan population are suffering considerably from the deprivations inflicted by the

\* Собачье депутаты, instead of рабоче депутаты.

most varied classes of adventurers, under the guise of requisitions and confiscations. We can speak to the population in their own language. Wherever there are no railroad lines the political section of the train sends its members into the remotest villages, often situated from 10 to 100 versts from the railroad line. Thousands of persons assemble who are eager to learn something about the real nature of the Soviet; in mosques, workshops, market places, and out on the steppes meetings were held; everywhere where the working people could be reached. *The Red East* has carried out not only a great labor of agitation and construction but also has gathered a large amount of technical material on Turkestan, as well as undertaken the inspection of thousands of Soviet institutions. This material and other labors carried out by the personnel of the train will later doubtless become a basis for estimating the Soviets and the work of education carried on by the Communist Party in Turkestan.

#### NORWAY FISHERMEN SELL TO RUSSIA

Yesterday negotiations which had been in progress between Litvinov and Manager Lorentzon of the North Norway Fishermen's Union, were terminated. Litvinov bought the fish now in the union's warehouses—200,000 kilograms at a price of 55 ore for dried fish and 45 ore for frozen fish. The minimum price of the Norwegian state are

45 and 37 ore respectively. Simultaneously Litvinov promised to purchase fish which the unions may be able to supply later in the winter for delivery in May, 1921. These negotiations concern 800,000 kilograms. These fish also will be paid for at the rate of 55 and 45 ore, but Litvinov has consented to raise this rate of compensation if the price of petroleum should rise during the winter.

Finally, both the parties have agreed on negotiating a series of fresh fish deliveries from Eastern Finnmarken to Archangel during the summer season of 1921.

The fish to be delivered will be paid for in cash as soon as commercial relations between Norway and Russia have been established.—From *Social Demokraten*, September 4.

#### INSPECTION

Moscow, October 8, 1920 (*Rosta*).—In number 113 of Burtzev's *Obshtsheye Dielo* Colonel Poradelov makes the allegation that Trotsky had been in Eastern Prussia in military consultation with Prussian officers. In answer to inquiries Trotsky makes the following statement: "There is not a word of truth in it. I was not in Eastern Prussia or in any other place. But I must say that, at any time, I am ready to hold conversations with any sensible and honest German officer who would offer his services for the fight against French imperialism which robs and oppresses Germany."

### THE NEXT ISSUE

of

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. THE WORK OF THE COMMISSARIAT OF EDUCATION, by A. Lunacharsky, People's Commissar for Education.
2. THREE RUSSIAN NOTES TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. Notes addressed by Krassin to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, protesting England's acts of hostility against the Soviet Government.
3. THE THIRD SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Reports by Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Brukhanov, Assistant People's Commissar for Provisions, and Lunacharsky, People's Commissar for Education.
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## The Work of the Commissariat of Education

By A. LUNACHARSKY

(Report to the Central Executive Committee by A. Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education.)

THE work of popular education, from the very moment when it was called into being by the November Revolution, was immediately confronted with great difficulties, which can be classified into three most important groups. In the first place, a radical transformation of the old school was an imperative necessity. For the old school was a political school, definitely dominated by the cultural and political spirit of the bourgeoisie and gentry, of czarism and the clergy. This was the first difficulty, since there are very few works on the Socialist school in world literature. As far as theory is concerned, we had to deal in this case with an almost unexplored field. What source of light did we have to guide us on the untrodden paths? A page and a half written by Marx in his youth for the Geneva Congress, and a few scattered phrases! Instruction in the old school had, of course, something in common with education, but the school was founded on principles which aimed to give this education with a mixture of pseudo-education, with subjects harmful in so far as they were useless but consumed a great deal of time, or with clear corrupt subjects, such as religious instruction. While in the secondary and higher schools the minds of the students were poisoned with distorted science, the teachers in the elementary schools were torn between two incompatible tasks—to teach literacy and yet to leave the pupils in complete ignorance. We undertook to eradicate these vices, and we put forth the idea of the general school.

We instituted the single labor school which was to lead everyone, irrespective of origin, through all the school grades. And we made the schools popular, within reach of all. This meant not only free tuition, but also breakfast and lunches at the

school, free school supplies, etc. We had to go even further, to furnishing shoes and clothing. We wanted the people to know what the Soviet power was bringing. For we have a reply to all superficial attacks, that we "promised this or that, but did not fulfill it." We reply: we would have accomplished it if we were not diverted by the attempts to strangle us. Formally, the school net of Russia is growing rapidly. The old school buildings are in horrible condition, are badly in need of repairs. Many school buildings in the cities have been taken over for hospitals or military institutions. As soon as we have a sufficient number of schools we will immediately make school attendance obligatory.

The single school does not mean a uniform school. The single school is one which gives equal entrance rights to all, and equal rights after graduation. But we proposed at the same time, that the schools, particularly the secondary schools, should be of different kinds. We deemed it possible, and even recommended that the higher classes of the secondary schools should have two or three divisions, so that the pupils could choose one or another specialty according to their inclinations. Owing to the categorical demand of our economic commissariats we were compelled to allow pupils over 14 years of age to transfer from a general school to a trade or technical school. We have these trade and technical schools, in addition to the schools of general education. Along with this we improved the schools by eliminating the useless subjects, such as ancient languages and religious instruction, by doing away with separate schools for boys and girls, and, lastly, by abolishing the old school discipline.

But the newest feature, which even some of our

cultured comrades do not yet fully comprehend, is the principle of the so-called school of labor. This term was in many cases completely misunderstood. It was taken to mean that theoretical instruction and books should be completely excluded from the school, and that they should be replaced by productive toil in form. In reality we did not at all intend such a transformation of the schools. Essentially, the principle of the labor school includes two main ideas. The first contends that knowledge should come through toil, that the children should through their own activity discover and reproduce what they learned from books. Using at first the play instinct, the games should be made more and more serious, and, finally, the pupils should be familiarized with the subjects of their studies through excursions, observations, and so forth.

In this way may be learned the whole history of human toil. In connection with this, the technical side, say, of the organization of a factory, may also be taken up, starting with the delivery of fuel, of raw materials, of the basic types of motors, etc. It would also be possible in this way to introduce the principles of labor discipline. We can thus ignore the nature of the erstwhile capitalist system and turn directly to the present system. We have never given up this idea, for the school of labor of the industrial type is the only communist school.

And now for the elementary schools. Most of the elementary schools are situated in the villages, and productive toil in these must be of a somewhat different character from that in the secondary schools. There should be moderate self-service in these, for instance, keeping the school in order. With regard to these schools I feel that we must welcome them, and in the villages we must also see to the development of their agricultural aspect. With respect to this we have already taken energetic steps, and have tried to come to some understanding with the Commissariat of Agriculture in regard to the mobilization of agricultural experts, of whom we have but a small number, to provide instruction in agriculture for the village school teachers, the majority of whom have no such knowledge.

Our village school teachers have absolutely no knowledge of agriculture. At present steps have already been taken to improve this condition. Every fall and spring, new schools and lecture-courses for teachers are opened to instruct them in the principles of toil in elementary schools. In this respect the Commissariat of Education has already some achievements to its credit. We have data showing that the mass of our teachers, with very few exceptions, have become adherents of the Soviet power, have renounced sabotage and are working with the Soviets. At all the congresses of school teachers you will find just as much enthusiasm as in our factories and workshops. They are eagerly following the instructions and directions coming from the center.

I will quote to you some figures which illustrate

the school situation in a general way. In 1911, the last year for which complete statistical data are available, there were 55,846 elementary schools. In 1919 we had 73,859 such schools, that is, we increased their number almost 50 per cent. And for the present year their number has increased to about 88,000. These schools take care of about 60 to 65 per cent of the total number of children in Russia. The actual school attendance was not high, owing to the terrible conditions last winter, but on the whole it extended to 5,000,000. The number of pupils increased very rapidly. The schools under the czar could only take care of three and a half million children, while our schools take care of five and a half million.

The number of second grade schools increased very little, because we cannot open new schools. The total number is 3,600. We have about half a million pupils in second grade schools, which is only seven to eight per cent of the total number of children of this age. In this respect the situation is extremely bad. Even if we would exclude all the children of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, even then, the vast majority of the children of the workmen and peasants would be left outside of these schools. It is disgraceful, and we must candidly admit it; we are forced to open two-year schools for children to give them at least some education, so that this generation may not be condemned to utter ignorance.

The figures on the training of a teaching-staff are very eloquent. Immense energy was displayed, but it must be remembered that we can not rapidly increase the number of teachers, even though we have drawn into this work a large number of persons who were excluded from this profession under the czar. There were 21 higher pedagogical schools under the czar, while we have 55. The total number of schools increased considerably, and the number of students rose from 4,000 to 34,000. I can tell you that of these 34,000—under present terrible conditions when people are condemned to starvation, and when such studies can be undertaken only by those who have not been coddled and have not been drawn into service in some other Soviet institution—we have 10,305 persons who are so completely and diligently devoting themselves to school-work that they have proven themselves deserving of social insurance (scholarship), which is given under the strictest control, and cannot be obtained by those who do not merit it. We have thus achieved a certain degree of success in this respect. But we must accomplish a great deal more than this. We need an enormous army of teachers. We have 400,000 educational workers, and we need more than a million.

Besides we also have kindergartens. Colossal efforts have been made in this direction, and we are inclined to be proud of this. It should, however, be mentioned that under the czar nothing had existed in the field of pre-school endeavor. I do not speak here of the few kindergartens, model homes for children, of a certain number of charity institutions which were established in large cities

by rich merchants, and several schools of the Froebel type for children of the rich.

In 1919 we had 3,623 kindergartens and about 1,000 kindergartens are being added every year.

I shall now turn to the higher schools. These present an even more difficult task than the secondary schools. For some time the professors were with our enemies. The students took part in insurrections against us, and the professors participated in all kinds of plots. Every time that the Whites appeared at Samara or Saratov the professors were their main support. They sent statements abroad villifying us. And when we came to them they hid in a shell. But the professors are indispensable, and we are confronted in this respect by a problem similar to that presented by the military department. Comrade Trotsky was right when he said that no army was ever betrayed as much as the Red Army. But the Red Army was nevertheless successful. This is also the case in the higher schools. A change is already taking place, and not solely through the appointment of new men. I could mention a large number of distinguished men—I do not speak here of our splendid friend, the deceased Timiriazev, whose clear views and perspicacity were amazing—I could mention a score of scientists who have really become Soviet adherents. In Petrograd the effect was soon visible. The scientific life of Petrograd has risen. The same effect occurred among the students. Petrograd sets the pace. The first students conference was held there, and after listening to a brilliant report by Zinoviev, a definitely "red" resolution was adopted by an enormous majority.

And now for the labor colleges! At present we manage them in such a way that they are open only to workers who are recommended by labor organizations. We take them into the school, and to a certain extent we subject them to rigid discipline. The students of a labor college have no right to miss any lecture without serious causes, and they must pass examinations to prove efficiency in their studies.

At present the standard of the labor colleges is quite high, and they are already very promising. But our experience with labor colleges taught also a great deal with regard to the universities in general. Under pressure from the economic commissariats the department of technical and trade education proposed raising the educational level of the workers. With this end in view, a large number of night courses for workmen were opened. Simultaneously, we took the question of the necessity of increasing the number of middle and higher engineers. We inquired about the number of engineers necessary, and the Council of National Economy made very serious demands upon us. According to its calculations the schools must give 3,600 new engineers each year. To satisfy this need of the country, the Department of Technical Education decided, first of all, to obtain the right to free engineering students of the last two years from all outside work, to provide them with rations, and

to feed their professors, but at the same time to place them under military discipline and punish them as deserters if they did not attend to their work. These measures are of course extraordinary, but they are dictated by present conditions, and thanks to them we graduated over 3,000 engineers this year. We know that we need physicians as well as other specialists, and we have therefore also decided to assure food to all the collaborators in the medical colleges, with the result that the number of students has increased threefold.

The czarist government looked upon the universities as explosive centers, but we have nothing to fear from them, and we go on opening new universities. Thus we have already 21 universities instead of 15. Of the new universities, three or four may be considered to be functioning normally. The Turkestan and Ural universities, which are still in the process of organization, will, in the near future, be in a position to do effective work. We have, just as before the Revolution, four medical universities and three archeological universities. Of veterinary institutes we have six instead of two. The number of professors has increased to 1,644, because we have promoted all the lecture-instructors to the rank of professors.

I will now speak of the work outside of the schools, which is of vast importance. All of you know that we can not at present do much in the publishing field. In library work we make use of old books, enriching the school libraries and the general libraries from the stock that we have obtained from the book-stores and from the liquidation of the landlords' libraries, which were practically useless. The number of libraries in Russia has greatly increased, and they grow with incredible rapidity. In the Tver Province, for instance, there are over 3,000 libraries. Some provinces have over 1,000 libraries. The total number of libraries in 30 provinces was 13,500 in 1919, and in these same provinces we now have about 27,000 libraries, not including reading rooms. The increase in the number of libraries is astounding, and I might add that the library attendance, considering present conditions, is no less astounding. However, in the matter of supplying the libraries in the future we are up against great difficulties.

One of the greatest of the Soviet decrees is the decree on the liquidation of illiteracy. In the province of Cherepovetz 58,000 persons have already passed through the schools for illiterates, in Ivanovo-Voznessensk, 50,000 persons. In the city of Novozybkov there are no more illiterates above the age of 40. In Petrograd also there will soon be no illiterates. We have not enough reading primers. However, at present 6½ million primers have already been printed or are on the press.

A special resolution which I proposed two years ago at the Eighth Congress, and which was then adopted, stated that the People's Commissariat of Education should, under the present conditions, be an organ of Communist education, and that the Commissariat of Education and the Party should

be closely connected, since this Commissariat is an organ of education and since education must mean Communist education. And to the extent to which the Party carries on propaganda and agitation it should make full use of the apparatus of the People's Commissariat of Education. But we made very slow progress in this direction, and the Commissariat of Education suffered thereby. Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin) has many times pointed out the plain duty of the party to attract the teachers, as they come nearer to us, to educational and political work; and to compel those teachers who do not come nearer to us to read the decrees and to spread our literature. A good start was then made by the extra-mural division. The extra-mural division was instructed to organize, conjointly with the provincial party committees, courses on the struggle with Poland. This was an absolutely new thing, because the extra-mural teachers had to undertake work of a new type in cooperation with the Party and under the direction of party members, to present the history of Poland, the present social order of Poland, the causes of the war with Poland, etc. In this respect we had considerable success which proves that when the Party supports us we can accomplish a great deal of work, considerably more work than without such support. Indeed, in this work we made a discovery. In 29 provinces, in each of which we opened a school, we passed 2,381 agitators in one month, specialists on the Polish question, and all these agitators were assigned by the Party to the front or for work in the interior. As a further illustration of my thought, I will point out how energetically the sub-divisions of the Commissariat of Education work when they have the support of the Party. Thus, for instance, when it was decided to open new educational institutions in honor of the Third Internationale, when this slogan was issued with Comrade Kalinin's and my own signature, the results exceeded all our expectations. We were able to achieve unprecedented results in the sense of opening new educational institutions. We had demanded that these institutions be situated in equipped buildings and that they be provided with school supplies. And we now have 23 schools, 164 homes for children, 20 kindergartens, etc. In short, 316 educational institutions sprang up like mushrooms. They all bear the name of the Third Internationale, and this has immense propaganda value.

I shall mention another important step. In the first place, we have just now been entrusted with the food campaign. We ourselves offered to carry on this campaign by means of placards, theatrical performances, literature, and agitation of a scientific character. We threw our extra-mural and school forces into the mass of the peasantry, and have thus helped the Commissariat of Food in its struggle for the grain quotas. We have achieved a number of concrete results in this respect. But one of the most pleasant results is the fact that we now have textbooks which will be a great help in the work of training agitators. With the aid of the Central Committee of the Party a book of 200

pages was written, set in type, put on the press and printed—all in eight days. This shows what we can do if we but will it.

One of the brightest aspects of the activity of the Commissariat of Education was manifested in the care of art monuments and museums. In particular, amazing work has been done in the field of repairing antique buildings. There has been a large increase in the number of museums. At present there are 119 provincial museums, as against 31 of the old regime. Even the museum experts declare that they are amazed and fascinated by the eagerness to collect and to preserve antiques which is shown by the mass of the people of Soviet Russia and by all the organs of the Soviet power. The Ermitage has been enlarged to one and a half times its previous size.

Then comes the division of music. The number of schools has remained the same, but the schools were reorganized, and the number of students has increased. About 9,000 persons above the age of 16 are now studying music.

In the theatrical field we have accomplished great work, but to breathe in new life means to get a new repertoire. The new theatre will be created by new dramatists. In this respect the only thing to do is to write new plays. For the present we have removed from the theatres the objectionable elements.

I once asked Comrade Guilbeaux how many peasant theaters there are in France. In all of France there are only 113 peasant theaters, while in the province of Kostrorna alone we have 400 peasant theaters and throughout Russia there are 3,000 peasant theaters.

The entire People's Commissariat of Education, with its teachers and educators, is at present inspired by a strong desire to work, and is on the right path for this work. Therefore, if the Commissariat is given support great activity will be shown, and I am sure that the work will not be worse than in any other department. I hope that this report will mark a turning point. If we prove that under such difficult conditions the Communists, the Soviet power, does not overlook the work of education, and that we can even effect important achievements, I assure you that this will mean a colossal victory against our enemies and among our friends. In the field of education we must therefore display the maximum effort, and I hope that you will not reject my proposals.—*Izvestia*, October 5, 1920.

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## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

WE ARE so poorly informed of the fate of those officers of the old regime who joined the Red Army that it would be interesting to make some mention of this matter, especially since I have just received from Moscow an interesting pamphlet by Comrade Zinoviev, containing a lecture delivered by him to an assembly of military specialists, numbering 3,000 officers.

Dealing with the army and the people in general, Comrade Zinoviev, openly and frankly, expresses his view to the officers of the late Czarist army concerning their position as the commanding element in a proletarian army of the workers and peasants.

With extraordinary sincerity he touches upon the most delicate question—the morality of those who, once enemies of the workers, suddenly became not only their comrades, but even, in many cases, their commanders, namely, leaders at the most critical moment of their existence.

Can the army be kept out of politics? asks Zinoviev, and he gives a positive answer, “no”, to this question. “Many members of the army, many cultured and well-informed men among the commanding officers, are to this day profoundly convinced that the army should stand outside of politics. The idea has permeated their very flesh and blood. Nevertheless, there never was a greater mistake than this. Never for one instant has any army stood outside of politics; ever since the existence of armies founded on the principle of universal military service, they have been used to serve a definite political aim; possibly they have not always been conscious of the fact.” As an example, Comrade Zinoviev calls the attention of his audience to the years 1848-49, when the army was sent to Hungary with a purely political aim, to defeat the Hungarian Revolution, and the soldier serfs in those days certainly did not understand the crime they were committing in killing their brother serfs who were fighting for their freedom. Did the Russian soldier understand, during the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905, that the war grew out of a political conflict, and that the Czar and bourgeoisie deliberately brought about this war? Did even the officers know the real cause of that war?

“In short,” says Zinoviev, “our army in the Russo-Japanese War carried out a well-defined political task; it did not stand outside of politics. And the moment you turn to our internal conflicts, it will of course become all the more clear to you—vividly clear—that our army never for an instant stands or has stood outside of politics.” In order to confirm this fact the lecturer recalls the punitive military expeditions which were so well-known throughout the country. “How then?” asks Zinoviev, “was not this, too, politics? Was the army then standing outside of politics?”

\* *Army and the People: The Soviet Government and the Military Officers*, by G. Zinoviev, Petrograd, 1920.

Touching upon the position of non-partisans in the Red Army, Comrade Zinoviev says: “It is possible that in our army, both in the rank and file and in command, there may be many men who do not approve of our policy, and would wish to follow another; nevertheless, we do not hide in the bushes. Although, from the standpoint of our immediate interests, it might be of advantage to say that the army stands outside of politics, this is just where our government differs from others, in that it is not guided by momentary interests. Its policy is dictated entirely in the interests of right and truth. And were we to say that our army stands outside of politics, it would be profound hypocrisy on our part, and humiliating to the Soviet power.”

“The bourgeoisie never for one second admitted this honestly,” continued Comrade Zinoviev, “but administered a pill to the ignorant people in order better to deceive them, as the workers are fooled by the Non-Partisans. The Non-Partisans do not say to the worker: ‘Go join a bourgeois party’, because they know that no worker will do it. But they do say to him ‘Be of no party’, and with that hook they angle for the people. Just so with the army.”

Recalling the first revolutionary outbreak in Russia in favor of the republic against monarchy, the lecturer outlined that movement arising from the officer class. “I refer to the December rising of ninety-five years ago. We have never forgotten, nor will ever forget, that side by side with the reactionary crimes which the officer class has committed against its own people in the past, and is committing at present in the White Guard ranks, stand the names of those great men, who, a hundred years ago, headed the December insurrection. “Scores of officers perished at the time, many families were ruined, but such names as Pestel, Ryleyev, Muraviov, Kakhovsky, etc., shine as stars in a dark sky. Our people must know that, out of the ranks of the privileged classes, the wealthy aristocrats of a hundred years ago, rose a whole constellation of champions, officers, depending on the Petersburg regiments, who attempted to overthrow Czarism, and intended to establish a republic. This attempt failed, the people were too ignorant.” Comrade Zinoviev gives very interesting information concerning the division of the officer corps at the time of the November Revolution. During the war with Germany, he estimates, the total number of officers in the Russian Army was half a million. About one hundred thousand of these officers are now numbered in the ranks of the Red Army, “and of these an immense majority are serving in the Red Army, not from fear, but from conscientious motives.” He believes that about two hundred thousand scattered all over Russia, both Soviet Russia and the portion held by the White Guards, “are neither one thing nor the other, and are trying

in every way to escape the civil war, or remain outside of it all." About two hundred thousand are serving with the enemies of the Soviets. Comrade Zinoviev distributes the officers of the old regime in several strata. "There are," he states, "*officer landlords, and plain officers.* The *officer-landlord* defends his privileges; he wants, at any cost, his thousand dessiatins of land (about 3,000 acres); he wants to preserve his orchard, his noble family, home-nest; the other former officers received under the Czar a salary of not quite 100 rubles a month, lived poorly, came from the sphere of government officials, and, in reality, their interests were more closely connected with those of the working population than with those of the land-owning class."

Comrade Zinoviev does not consider the officers of the old army as one compact, homogeneous, black reactionary mass. "There are officers and officers," declares Zinoviev. The White Finn, Mannerheim, for instance, a former Russian officer, or such as Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenich . . . On the other hand, "the names of many officers who came from the people, and who have served the people, shine forth with great brilliancy; it is enough to mention Lieutenant Schmidt, or General Nikolayev, who perished in Yamburg, hanged by the White Guards. With the rope around his neck, he cried: 'Long live the Red Army! I declare that to my last breath I have served the workers and peasants.' There are, indeed, there are such individual examples, such heroes in the ranks of the Red Army Command. Glory to them!"

Analyzing the psychology of the officers during the first stage of the Revolution, Comrade Zinoviev finds that the officer-class played, on the whole, a rather innocuous part. "Its attitude was distrustful, cool, it stood aside," It was the soldiers who acted in those days, not the officers. This was because the officer did not believe in revolution, he waited for events to develop.

The November Revolution was met by the officers in a more hostile spirit. The November Revolution raised the question: to whom should the land belong, to the gentry or to the peasants? Here begins the division of the officers into different strata, and when those who were standing at the cross-roads fully realized what the present revolution means, that it is not a big plundering job, but a great popular movement, not a string of watchwords, produced from nowhere by some chance party, but a truly great revolution, then a great majority joined the workers and peasants. Touching upon a very important question—the relation between the officer class and the Soviet rule, Comrade Zinoviev describes how fiercely the officers and cadets fought against the revolution in November, 1917, both in Petrograd and Moscow. "Still," he says, "on the morrow of our victory, our Government did not take vengeance, did not have recourse to repression, but on the contrary, immediately offered all these elements an honorable peace—nay more than that, offered them definite work, a chance to utilize their faculties."

Comrade Zinoviev points out as an example Krasnov, one of the most conspicuous of reactionary generals, who fought the Reds near Petrograd, was taken prisoner and brought to Smolny, the headquarters of the Bolsheviks. "I saw him with my own eyes," says Zinoviev. "Well, not a hair fell from his head, nor was any insult offered him; he left Smolny a free man, after pledging his honor not to fight us any more . . ." and did Krasnov keep his word of honor? He certainly did not.

The Moscow workers did not even take vengeance on the cadets who fought against them, but let them go free, even returning their arms.

From the first moment of the formation of a Red Army the Soviet Government addressed the officers in frank and friendly terms, saying to them: "There is room and an honorable position for anyone who is willing to support the Workers' and Peasants' regime."

At that time there was no bitterness among the peasants and workers against the specialists in general and against the officers in particular, and if such bitterness exists now, it is due to the deplorable events of the civil war, which brought reprisals among the families of these specialists.

"This may not always be just, but officers should understand the reason for it," declares Zinoviev. "In truth, while there are such men as Yudenich, the organizer of a league of assassins like Balakhovich, who after gaining the confidence of the Red Army, went over to the Whites and sold districts of the province of Pskov to the Estonian bourgeoisie, men like Kolchak who flogged the peasants in all the townships and districts, in all the provinces occupied by him, until their groans reached Petrograd and Moscow; and as long as there are such figures as Nekliudov, such an attitude is inevitable. I made Nekliudov's acquaintance when I was at Krasnaya Gorka, when he was commandant. When I met him I could easily account for his being in the Red Army. He was still a young man, from a fine old family which had had several liberal members under Alexander II and Alexander III; he had taken part in the building of the fort, and it seemed to me that he loved every stone in it. Under the Czar he was of very little account, kept down by the old officials, who were generally distrustful of the ability of young men, while the Soviet Government placed him in full control of the fort; he could give full play to his capacities. It was said that he was a great specialist, a learned artilleryman, very fond of his work: one would think he had been given a sufficiently wide field of action; he was placed, like the majority of officers, under comparatively tolerable material conditions. How could we expect treason from him? Yet you know what that man did! He sold the key of our city! And to whom? To the Finnish bourgeoisie, which is sitting on a mound of corpses of Finnish workers, which about two years ago shot a hundred Russian officers, not because they were Communists, but simply because they were Russians."

"Now, although we were the first to recognize their independence, the Finns throw bombs into Kronstadt, fire on our frontier, mock their own people. And yet a Russian officer, entrusted with the key of that important place, at a decisive moment presents it to that same Finnish bourgeoisie. Nekliudov sent a radio to Bjorko, to the Finnish authorities and English there, saying to them: 'Krasnaya Gorka is at your disposal. Come and take possession!'"

"Is this not a great ignominy? Is it not the blackest page in the history of the Russian officer-class? Why, comrades, had our people even thrice erred, had they committed the greatest follies, they would still be our people, our worker and peasant masses. To go against them with French speculators, Roumanian landlords, Finnish White Guards, with Wilhelm, the Japanese and anybody at all, is that not the greatest crime? And yet this crime is continually being committed."

Comrade Zinoviev, dealing with the position of the commissars in the army, suggests that gentle measures are best, and recommends to the commissars a respect for the dignity of the man "who, though issued from another sphere of life, of different breeding and education, yet comes to work with us with a stone in his bosom, and assists with his knowledge not a party, but the people, Russia—that Russia which, just now destitute, starving, crucified, is still our very own, beloved Russia."

\* \* \*

I have before me some very curious documents issued recently by Colonel Nikolaiev, the military attache of the "Russian Embassy" in the United States of America.

In connection with the complete collapse of Baron Wrangel's adventure these documents may be of considerable interest to the public.

All Russian officers of the Czarist army residing in the United States received in October, 1920, an invitation letter signed by Colonel Nikolaiev, the military attache of the "Russian Embassy" in the United States, to join the Crimean forces of the Crimean Baron. These letters were accompanied by a copy of instructions received from Paris and issued by the chief plenipotentiary (главноуполномоченный) of the Commander-in-Chief of all Armed Forces of South Russia, military as well as naval, dated October 2, 1920, No. 1209, and signed by Lieutenant-General Miller, the same officer who succeeded in escaping from the North Russian front when Archangel was taken by the Red Army in the beginning of 1920. According to these instructions the generals are invited by personal call. Lieutenant-Colonels and Colonels—only those not more than 50 years of age. The officers of lower rank not more than 43 years of age, and the men of not more than 38. All persons who wished to join the Crimean Army were allowed to take their families with them.

It was stated that those officers and men fit for military service who refused to go to the Crimea

would be dismissed, and a special order of the day would announce that they had been retired(?) Retired from what?

The most amusing part of these instructions is item 4, in which Lieutenant-General Miller informs all Russian officers and men that "in case of the misconduct of officers he is authorized to degrade them, even Colonels, to the rank of private, according to the decision of a "court of honor" which would be appointed by General Miller for the purpose. Colonel Nikolaiev is also instructed to submit to his chief a list of those officers who might refuse to go to the Crimea.

In his explanation attached to the letter, Colonel Nikolaiev informs the Russian officers that they will be allowed a sum of money, equal to third-class fare when traveling by rail, and to second-class fare by steamer, as well as 30 French francs per day on land and 15 francs on the sea. The terminal points indicated are: Constantinople or Belgrade (Serbia), where Generals Lukomsky\* and Artamonov are instructed to look after these volunteers until their departure for the Crimea.

Such mobilization of a military force is being conducted openly in the United States by the officials of a "government" without a country, and possibly at the expense of good American money, though it would seem, enough was spent for the latest adventures of both the old and semi-old Russian regimes.

We cannot pass by in silence the fact that during the period of the Kolchak-Denikin-Yudenich invasion of Russia the same Colonel Nikolaiev issued a series of orders to the Russian officers residing in this country in which he threatened them with court-martial and other punishment. In general the Russian officers of the late regime in political education are in a state of absolute infancy, and being oppressed economically and morally by representatives of the so-called "Russian Government", many of them, against their will, were forced to join one or another of the Russian adventurers, finally either to perish or to be taken prisoner. Now Colonel Nikolaiev is trying to mobilize the reactionary forces of Russia.

Wrangel has gone from Russia, but his third "army", represented by Balakhovich, Avalov-Bermond and others, is still alive, and is cooperating with the White Ukrainian bands of Petlura; and this army also needs officers and men.

But in spite of all the efforts of these traitors to the Russian people, their plans are falling to pieces one after the other. According to an official statement of November 15 from Moscow via London, the Red Army is "successfully advancing in the Minsk region", which means that Balakhovich's advance was checked and the Reds have gained the initiative. The same official communique informs us that "in the Proskurov direction, fierce fighting is proceeding along both sides of the railway on a front of 33 miles, with the balance in our favor", while in the Kamenetz-Podolsk direction, "during

\* General Lukomsky, as we are informed, was dismissed by Wrangel and Admiral Bubnov was appointed in his place.

the capture of Novo-Uzhitsa on November 14, our troops reached the River Uzhitsa." This means that the White Ukrainian bands of Petlura have been met by the Red Army, and the rumor which was recently spread about the capture of the town of Kamenetz-Podolsk may be a *fait accompli*.

In my former article I foresaw that the liquidation of the Crimean front would not bring peace to Soviet Russia, and I was right. Just at the moment of the greatest victory of the Red Army over Wrangel, the military operation on the western front has begun to develop. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the Polish imperialistic government is being forced by France to back the Russian and Ukrainian bandits, and this is confirmed by one of the most important of Wrangel's captains.

I have just received a copy of *Poslednyie Novosti* (of October 30), a reactionary newspaper issued in Paris, in which General-Makhrov, former General Quartermaster of General Brussilov's staff during the Great War, and later Denikin's and Wrangel's assistant, published his point of view on the Polish situation.

Now General Makhrov, appointed by Wrangel as Commander-in-Chief of all Russian forces in Poland, after his meeting with Pilsudski in Warsaw, returned to Paris for a short time. This general, in very definite terms, states that the Polish Government is absolutely ready to cooperate with Wrangel; that the armies of Balakhovich and General Peremykin (again a new one!) are well-equipped and fed and Savinkov has been appointed to organize their rear (where, in Poland?)\*

According to General Makhrov the Poles do not believe in peace with Soviet Russia, and Pilsudski, General Makhrov says, had personally assured him that "the Poles are expecting the establishment of a democratic Russia with which alone Poland may be on real friendly terms." This was said when all Europe believed in Wrangel's victory with the coming of spring. In the same issue of the *Poslednia Novosti*, the "world famous" military expert, Colonel K. Shumsky, supporting his British and French colleagues, definitely considered that the Red Army had lost its Crimean campaign. "Five armies of the Soviets," he says, "concentrated against Wrangel are in a deplorable situation." "The 13th Red Army is completely defeated . . . the new 6th and 2nd armies lost in their fight along the left bank of the Dnieper about 13,000 prisoners . . ." and so on . . . According to Colonel Shumsky's strategical combinations Baron Wrangel's set-back is a skilful manoeuvre to annihilate his enemy entirely! . . . "The situation remains favorable for Wrangel," continues this military authority. "The Reds certainly will collect their forces in great number, but history having annulled the formula of Clausewitz,\* has brought forth, especially during the latest period of war, a new formula of another strategist (?) who is an

\* The latest news tells us that three armies of the bandit Petlura were routed, and the Red Army is successfully advancing in the Minsk direction, namely against Balakhovich. This may turn the Polish imperialists to reason.

enemy of the theory of number. "This strategist" (I presume that it is Colonel Shumsky himself) "supposes, and not without reason, that any sound-minded man would believe that ten sheep are inferior to one lion."

Who are the sheep and who the lion in the mind of Colonel Shumsky, it is not difficult to understand, but that he is wrong is proved by the fact that the "lion" instead of being in Moscow is now in Constantinople. I hope that Colonel Shumsky will at least agree to this.

## Interview with Yoffe

[During the Russian-Polish peace negotiations at Riga, a well-known Jewish journalist of Warsaw, Mr. N. Shvalbe, interviewed the chairman of the Russian-Ukrainian Delegation, Comrade Adolph Yoffe. The interview was in the form of written questions, to which Comrade Yoffe gave written replies, and was published in the Jewish daily, "The Day".]

*Question:* In view of the fact that the Third Internationale is based on a program of world social revolution, but that, on the other hand, the peace between Russia and the border nations will insure a state of non-interference in the internal affairs of these nations and will reinforce the barrier between Russia and Germany,—the question arises: how will the Soviet Government, after the conclusion of peace with Poland, be able to pursue a policy that will be in accord with the revolutionary program of the Third Internationale?

*Answer:* The functions of the Soviet Government should not be confused with the functions of the Third Internationale. The Soviet Government is a state organization and not an executive organ of the Third Internationale, which directs the Communist movement and the agitation in the individual countries. The Soviet Government has no intention and does not need to plant or spread Communism in other countries. Communism arises and spreads in those countries spontaneously, because like causes lead everywhere to like effects. The causes are these: the ruin entailed by the war, the organic incapacity of capitalism to establish a real peace, the high cost of living, etc. And no barrier will be of any use in this regard. Peace with Poland will not halt this process.

*Question:* As far as we know the majority of the Polish Communists expressed firm opposition against an advance of the Russian army into the boundaries of Polish territory. How then should be interpreted the actions of the Red command, which had not confined itself to purely strategical operations, but attempted to force a Soviet system

\* Rightly it should be the formula of Napoleon—the signifi-  
cance of larger forces.



upon Poland, in contradiction with the principle of national self-determination?

*Answer:* The Polish Communists, both in Russia and in Poland, hold that the emancipation of the Polish workers from their capitalist yoke must come through those workers themselves. In accord with this, Comrade Marchlewski offered a corresponding resolution at the last all-Russian congress.

The strategy of the struggle for peace and the necessity to put an end to the military aggression of bourgeois Poland demanded that the Soviet army invade the territory of Poland. The Red Army was welcomed by the working masses of Poland as a liberator. The Soviet Government was defending itself against the Polish attack, and to make a repetition of the attack impossible it had to strive not only to repulse the enemy but also to shatter his forces, if need be on the territory of Poland. The organization of the revolutionary rule in Poland was of a provisional character. There can be no question about forcing a Soviet system upon the working masses of Poland, since in the regions which had been occupied by the Soviet troops, workers' councils of villages and cities and organs of Soviet power sprang up spontaneously. Workers' councils are not new in Poland. They already have their traditions. The Soviet army would anyhow have retreated from Poland after the conclusion of peace. She did not go into Poland with aggressive designs, as was the case with the Polish military. The Soviet power has not for one moment betrayed the principle of national self-determination.

## The Ukrainian Peasants

The peasantry is the weak spot of Soviet Ukraine. In all the periods of Soviet power in that country, the greatest difficulties were found among the Ukrainian peasants, who were largely under the influence of the rich peasants and the Makhnovists.\* Class differentiation did not appear at all in the Ukrainian villages, in spite of the large number of poor peasants.

To obtain a firm foothold among the Ukrainian peasants, the Soviet power had, first of all, to win over the village inhabitants, freeing them from the influence of the rich peasant elements. It was absolutely necessary to destroy the mainstay of banditism and Makhnoism in the Ukrainian villages.

It was hard to accomplish anything in this direction by force of arms. At any rate, the methods of armed struggle alone were insufficient. There was only one choice left: to carry out in the Ukrainian villages the experiment with the committees of the poor peasants, which had produced good results in its day in Central Russia.

A recapitulation of the progress in the organization of Committees of Poor Peasants in eight

\* Partisans of the Ukrainian leader Makhno who, according to recent reports from Moscow, has declared his allegiance to the Soviet Government.

Ukrainian provinces for the period July 1—September 10, which we have before us, gives eloquent testimony to the fact that class alignment has commenced in the Ukrainian villages, and has already produced visible results, leading to the entrenchment of the Soviet power in the very midst of the Ukrainian peasantry.

The following figures show the number of Committees of the Poor (on September 10): in the province of Kharkov, 945 committees; in the Donetz province, 1,139; in the Poltava province, 1,280; in the province of Yekaterinoslav, over 200; in the province of Chernigov, 237; in the province of Kiev, 869; in the province of Odessa, 442; in the province of Nikolaiev, 1,000. The total number of Committees of the Poor in Ukraine is 6,510.

These data are far from complete, but they are enough to show the growth of class consciousness among the poorest Ukrainian peasants. Not only have committees been formed, but, in many cases, they carry on active work to strengthen the Soviet power. Thus, the above-mentioned report mentions, for instance, that in the Kupiansk county two conferences of the Committees of the Poor have already been held, accompanied by splendid revolutionary enthusiasm; the second congress declared itself mobilized as a body for the Wrangel front. In the Izum county the delivery of grain for the quota increased under the influence of the Committees of the Poor. The Committees of the Poor in the Bogodukhov county give aid to the families of the Red soldiers, and take part in the confiscation of the property of the rich peasants. A large number of congresses of the Committees of the Poor adopted resolutions showing wholehearted support of the Soviet power and determination to fight the rich peasants. In the Priluki county the Committees of the Poor are taking the lands of the rich peasants and are distributing them among the poor peasants. In the Bogdanov volost (township) of the Pavlograd county, the Committees of the Poor divide all the goods that are received from the city among the poorest peasants. And so on.

Of course, in many localities, these Committees of the Poor have to deal with the hostility of the rich peasants; in some places the extensive brigandage hinders the organization of Committees of the Poor. There are also cases where the poor peasants have been terrorized by the rich peasants and are afraid to form committees. But on the whole the Committees of the Poor will play an important part in the work for a class alignment in the Ukrainian villages, and will create a firm foundation for Soviet construction in Ukraine.—*Izvestia*, October 2.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

110 W. 40th St. Room 304 New York, N. Y.

## Russia's Executive Body in Session

[The following is an account of the Third Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the highest executive body in Soviet Russia which holds four sessions yearly.]

On the 23rd of September, the Third Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee opened in Moscow.

Comrade Chicherin read a report on the international position of the Soviet Republic. Dealing in detail with the course of negotiations with England and Poland, Comrade Chicherin pointed out that on the whole, for the last three months, the attitude of the European empires toward the Soviet Republic was one which indicated that the latter looked upon Soviet Russia as a first rate power.

Comrade Chicherin's report gave rise to lively discussions as a result of which the All-Russian Central Executive Committee passed with a majority of votes the resolution regarding the proposal of peace conditions to Poland.

### Second Sitting

Comrade Brukhanov, the Assistant People's Commissar for Provisions, read a report regarding the food situation in Soviet Russia.

Comrade Brukhanov pointed out that the People's Commissariat for Food will be under the necessity of surmounting great difficulties this year, in view of the bad harvest in the central provinces. With regard to the work of the People's Commissariat for Food, Comrade Brukhanov quotes the following figures:

From October, 1917, to the 1st of August, 1918, the People's Commissariat for Food prepared 30 million poods of grain. In the period of 1918 to 1919, 110 million poods of grain were obtained. In 1919 to 1920 the intended levy of grain was published to amount to 327 million poods. The actual quantity of the grain obtained amounts to 220 and a half million poods. These figures are evidence as to the correctness of the road taken by the People's Commissariat for Food upon the second year of its activity. For the present year the People's Commissariat for Food intends a levy of grain for the entire territory of the Republic to amount to 454 million poods.

In view of the fact that the provinces of Central Russia suffered a bad harvest the main task of the People's Commissariat for Food at the present time is the collection of as great a quantity of grain as possible in Siberia where for the last five years great reserves of grain have been accumulated. A mobilization of harvesting detachments, numbering 20,000 men, has been declared for the purpose of having this grain ground and despatched to the center.

At the present time full information regarding the collection of grain for the month of August has not yet come to hand for all the provinces. As regards individual provinces for which information is at hand 16,200,000 poods of grain have been collected for the month of August, while in 1919,

in the same month, 4,000,000 poods only were collected. It must be mentioned by the way that for the ten days of September, 500,000 poods of grain have been collected only in the consuming provinces, and the prospects for the future collection of grain are improving.

In regard to the exchange of goods between town and country Comrade Brukhanov points out that, for the last year, we have supplied the country (the agricultural districts) with 1,000,000 poods of paraffin, etc., and that for the present year, as the result of the success of the Red Army, we supplied the said districts with 7,200,000 poods of such material. Instead of the 3,000,000 poods of salt with which the agricultural districts have been supplied for the last year, we shall be able to give from four and a half to five million poods of salt. This indicates that the least improvement of our resources of goods is utilized by the People's Commissariat for Food in the first place in the interests of the agricultural districts.

In regard to the distribution of food products we have abandoned the former principle of equal distribution of products amongst the entire working population in favor of the complete supply in the first place of the group of workers whose activity is of the utmost importance in connection with our general plan of production. This has been carried out in complete contact with the trade union organizations. One of the first groups in question is our Red Army and the military and transport workers. The second group is represented by a number of other factories of serious State import, the third group is represented by other factories and works that are also supplied with a guaranteed ration. The first pioneer group was supplied fully 100 per cent, the second group up to 80 per cent, and the third group up to 50 to 60 per cent.

In conclusion, Comrade Brukhanov once more dwells on the difficulties with which the work of the Commissariat for the present year is faced. He says that thanks to the method of collection, and under the tension of all forces, the Commissariat for Food expects to be able to cope with its questions and to attain better results than last year.

### Third Sitting

The Third Sitting of the Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee was devoted to the question of public education.

Comrade Lunacharsky described the work of the People's Commissariat for Education in a long and detailed report.\*

After lengthy discussions the All-Russian Central Executive Committee passed the resolution proposed by Comrade Lunacharsky.

\* We print this report in full in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

## Mrs. Snowden in Russia

Upon the immense and wide river, between verdant islands, long files of barges charged with wood and cereals, tankboats carrying precious oil, our boat the *Belinsky* sails smoothly and lightly. The freshness of the water tempers the unbearable heat. From time to time we can see on the bank the humped back of a slow and clumsy camel.

On the deck, full of ecstasy and langor, there is the figure of a woman in a tight-fitting blouse of green. The lips painted violent red and the face disguised under a heavy layer of powder. When, now and then, the active energetic Comrade Sverdlov, the acting Commissar of Means of Communication, appears above, she affects smiles and twitches, and loses herself in pathetic and monosyllabic eulogies. When the heat grows heavier and the ices are served at the instance of Comrade Sverdlov, who, in spite of the formidable task imposed upon him by his high position and his important mission, does not forget for an instant to minister to the slightest needs of his British guests, Mrs. Snowden, calling him by name, falls into something like a fit, crying languidly, "Oh, thank you Mr. Sverdlov." When she deems insufficient for the stomach of an idealist the copious repasts served her, she asks for eggs and for fish, and her wishes are realized immediately. When she complains of the mosquitos importuning her fine countenance, the windows are immediately shut and a white muslin of close texture is spread over the window of her cabin so as to protect efficaciously the representative of the British proletariat against the invasion of insects. When the boat draws up alongside some landing-stage Mrs. Snowden, fatigued by her long and tiresome voyage, graciously permits herself to be driven in a carriage or motor-car uttering fussy and interminable thanks.

However, when remaining alone with her colleagues of the Trade Union Delegation, she expresses freely and without any moderation her opinions: Russia is a "dirty" country and the Russians are a "dirty" people. And she never goes to bed before having prayed to the God of her fathers to save her from all dirt and inflictions heaped upon revolutionary Russia.

Thus Mrs. Snowden, who so admirably represented during the war five o'clock pacifism, adheres now to five o'clock Socialism. She came to Russia to bring the greeting and the encouragement of the British workers, and to study the new creations of Soviet Russia. She had come to Russia with the mind of a middle-class woman who condescends to pity the masses of workers and peasants; with the soul of an insular puritan convinced in advance that Russia is inhabited by a people of barbarians; with manners of a sea-side lady who has only one quality strongly ingrained in her, namely hypocrisy.

Oh, gentle lady and pacifist, you are at liberty to express any opinion you like upon Russia, upon the Revolution, upon the Soviets, upon Communists, but do take off your mask,—I do not mean the

paints and the powders of which you make ample use, but your hypocrisy. I very much doubt that the English workers will have, later on, that patience and benevolent indulgence, which you have shown during your sojourn in Russia to the representatives of a great people, who whatever you may do, think or speak, will rid the world of the parasitic elements which insinuate themselves into the labor movement in order to corrupt it.

HENRY GUILBEAUX.

*Russian Press Review*, October 15, 1920.

## BUYING GERMAN LOCOMOTIVES

BERLIN, October 22.—As is reported in the *Chemnitz Allgemeine Zeitung* from Essen, the conclusion of a big contract between Soviet Russia and the German Government—a contract that will be very important for the development of German economy—is rapidly approaching. The object of the contract is the ordering of Russian locomotives in Germany, which was mentioned in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in the beginning of the month. The result of the negotiations is expected to be a contract for the purchase of 1,000,000 marks worth of locomotives, however, modified by the provision that it is not actually to be considered as final until the Russo-Polish conflict has been disposed of.

The contracts have been prepared in all details and are now only awaiting signature. The Russian moneys have already been deposited in two foreign banks, which will open an account for the German Government for purchase of locomotives and raw materials.

The execution of this order of the Russian order will be carried out by a number of German industrial firms, consisting of the following concerns: Richard Hartmann (Kassel), Henschel (Kassel), Maffei (Munich), and Henschel (Kassel).

The preparation for the placing of Russian orders with the German locomotive industry were undertaken at the beginning of this year. They were initiated by the Russian Government, which approached the German Locomotive Society in Berlin. The latter, on its part, made an attempt to interest the German concerns engaged in the manufacture of locomotives. As the difficulty of finding orders was increasing—and these difficulties have been particularly felt in the locomotive industry since many outside factories have taken up the manufacture of locomotives—these great concerns seemed about to come from Russia and had taken considerable interest. The negotiations which had been begun in Berlin, were continued in Stockholm, and we learned from one of the participants in the negotiations that the signature of the delivery contracts is probably a matter of the next immediate future.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

**B**OURGEOIS critics may speak with disdain of the "brutal" doctrine of Marxism in matters of revolution or class struggle, they may deny the proletarian philosophy that underlies the Soviet Russian Government as a teaching that is based on brute force and has an eye only to "the main chance", but they will have to look very carefully through the acts of the proletarian state, either in Russia or in the past experiments elsewhere, before they find anything to parallel the sordid snatchings at momentary alterations in the international situation that are displayed even by such powerful and firmly established capitalist governments as that of Great Britain. It will be remembered that last July the Soviet Government's representatives in London were waiting to sign an agreement with the Government of Great Britain on the subject of the opening of foreign trade between the two countries. But it will also be recalled that the rout of the Polish troops before the advancing Red Army was halted by military aid suddenly thrust in, in the form of French colored colonial troops who had been withdrawn from their kindly offices in Germany, and that the British Government, which had been moved by the breakdown of the Polish buffer-state to begin to consider very favorably the peace offers of the Russian Soviet Government, thereupon immediately took a more haughty stand and the negotiations accordingly came to a stop. Threats again began to be heard to "deport" from England the representatives of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and things really did begin to look as if once more the great gulf separating the Russian and British peoples had widened, to the great disadvantage of both sides.

Now again the situation of counter-revolution is poor. Wrangel has been driven into the sea, Bala-khovich and Petlura are moving off the map, and the sending of League of Nations troops into Lithuania to supervise the Vilna plebiscite cannot immediately threaten to result in the formation of a new anti-Soviet front, in spite of the fact that this may be the intention of the sending of the troops. And the alteration in the attitude of Great Britain is not slow to follow the changed situation; if the Soviet Government is going to be victorious, why not make sure that the negotiations will at least move fast enough to anticipate any other similar

transactions of the Soviet Government with other powers? The *New York Times* of November 18 is accordingly constrained to print the following news item:

LONDON, November 18.—Premier Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons today that the Cabinet had decided that a draft of an agreement to carry out the July arrangements for trade with Russia should be prepared for submission to the Russian Government in a few days.

The Premier said the agreement would not be entered into until Great Britain was satisfied that the undertaking by the Soviet Government regarding the release of British prisoners was being carried out.

An authorized statement has been issued denying that the British Government contemplates evacuating General Wrangel's forces or stores. The statement says the British ships have been engaged solely in removing British subjects from the Crimea and a small party of Russian children from a hospital at Sebastopol.

It is also denied that Great Britain had any intention of seizing Batum or other ports on the Black Sea.

Now that the Soviet Government is about to control the Black Sea, of course the innocent British Government disclaims every intention of every kind of aggression in those regions. Meanwhile, however, it would be unfortunate if Great Britain should allow Italy to open trade with Soviet Russia, and accordingly an occasional Italian ship, laden with goods for that country, is seized by British cruisers in the Black Sea, and held until Great Britain's own ships may succeed in getting some sort of priority in this trade. And when an American succeeds in making a serious commercial arrangement with the Soviet Government, there is at least one government in the world—namely, that of Downing Street—which is eager to find out what he has really done and to communicate the information to its great merchant class. As Mr. Washington D. Vanderlip, who has a contract with the Soviet Government in his pocket, is now in London, why shouldn't the American Embassy be notified that "he will be closely questioned by the Intelligence Department of Scotland Yard if the present plans of the police are carried out?"

"The interrogation will not necessarily be made with the view of taking action against Mr. Vanderlip's presence in England, it was stated, but with the intention of ascertaining exactly what his activities had been in Russia in view of the many conflicting reports published in London. Such interrogation, it was pointed out, would be in conformity with the recently adopted attitude of the British Government of discouraging travel between Russia and England.

"W. D. Vanderlip was in Stockholm up to a few days ago. He recently returned from Moscow and gave out a statement, asserting that he had secured a concession for 400,000 square miles of land in Siberia, including Kamchatka, for a syndicate of Americans."—*New York Times*, November 19, 1920.

It is not the first time that the British Government has violated the principle of the secrecy of business privilege, which is one of the rocks on which the capitalist system is founded.

**W**HO was it that wanted Wrangel to Win? Every counter-revolutionist in the world, of course. But, more specifically, a corporation which Mr. Walter Duranty calls (Special Cable, *New York Times*, No. 16) "The Russo-French Society of Exploitation of South Russia and Crimea", while

Mr. Jerome Landfield, of the "Russian-American Chamber of Commerce" (letter to *New York Times*, issue of Nov. 17), calls it "The Russo-French Society for Commerce, Industry and Transportation." The name doesn't matter. The object does, and Mr. Duranty says this about the object:

"Now that Wrangel's effort has failed, it will do no harm to tell the real genesis of the Crimean movement. Wrangel was not a supporter of the old regime nor, at the outset any way, did he intend unlimited action against the Bolsheviki. He was associated with a powerful business organization with headquarters in Paris, in palatial offices in the Avenue Marceau.

This company, called the Russo-French Society of Exploitation of South Russia and Crimea, was formed at the beginning of the year with a capital of 12,000,000 francs by a group of Franco-Russian financiers and industrialists, of whom Mr. Kamenka of the Banque du Nord was the most prominent. They included the principal shareholders of the iron mines of Krivoirog, southwest of Yekaterinograd and of Russia's most valuable collieries in the Donetz Basin and southeast of Kharkev.

The company bought in France very large stocks of wheat and other grains for Wrangel's army, intending to sell them in the Crimea for the sale of grain and other commodities. Later, they hoped to continue their operations in the sale of iron and coal. They actually had several large steamshiploads to Marseilles, which they intended to ship to the Crimea.

They called the tune and insisted that the Russian Government be established in the area of the Donetz Basin. In accordance with their policy, his army moved toward Yekaterinoslav and further toward the Donetz Basin. Unfortunately, the Russian Government succeeded in controlling the reactionaries from Constantinople by their general's successes."

The above is uninteresting, and the influence of the French corporation on democratic Russia is even delightful.

H. G. WELLS is writing a series of articles on present conditions in Russia, which are appearing in the Sunday issues of the *New York Times*. On the whole Mr. Wells, in the first two articles—we have not read the third article, dealing with Communism proper—is fair, sensible, and in places even flattering in speaking of the accomplishments of the Soviet Government. It is gratifying to behold the sensitive Mr. Wells—who only two years ago wrote a very scurrilous note (with pen and ink illustration) to Mr. Upton Sinclair on the subject of Nikolai Lenin (and Mr. Sinclair reprinted the note in facsimile in *Sinclair's Magazine*)—now admitting that while there is much discomfort and even misery in Russia, it was brought about not by the Soviet regime, but by the Czarist order which preceded the November Revolution. From the Wells who wrote the sensational short stories on popular science topics in the 80's and 90's, and the romantic and semi-social novels of the first decade of the new century, and the wild war-culture-and-reconciliation stuff of the second decade, we had hardly expected the relatively objective and sober statements he now writes about Russia. But Mr. Wells, whose eye is splendidly trained for seeing everything that is on the surface, could not help observing that after all, in spite of all the denunciation that he has read against the Bolsheviki and the Soviet Government, there is

nevertheless a "group of salvage establishments", for the nursing of those scholarly persons that were once shining lights in Russian science and letters, and that one of these "salvage establishments" is the "House of Science in St. Petersburg, in the ancient Palace of the Archduchess Marie Pavlova", while "parallel with the House of Science is the House of Literature and Art", which is a refuge for literary men and other artists, whom the Soviet State desires to keep alive and healthy. Particularly decent is Mr. Wells' comment on the activity of some of the writers in the House of Literature and Art in connection with the new project of publishing a complete *Weltliteratur* for the masses in the Russian language:

"Writing of new books, except for some poetry, and painting of pictures have ceased in Russia, but the bulk of the writers and artists have found employment upon the grandiose scheme for the publication of a sort of Russian encyclopedia of literature of the world.

"In this strange Russia of conflict, cold, famine and pitiful privations, there is actually going on now a literary task that would be inconceivable in the rich England and the rich America of today. In England and America the production of good literature at popular prices has practically ceased now. Because of the price of paper the mental food of the English and American masses dwindles and deteriorates, and nobody in authority cares a rap. The Bolshevik Government is at least a shade above that level. In starving Russia hundreds of people are working upon translations, and the books they translate are being set up and printed—work which may presently give the new Russia such a knowledge of world thought as no other people will possess. I have seen some of the books. Of the work going on I may write with no certainty, because, like everything else in the ruined country, this creative work is essentially improvised and fragmentary."

So much we must quote from Mr. Wells, to show how fair and reasonable he can be when you bring him face to face with an actual institution, an actual accomplishment. A "House of Science", or a "House of Literature and Art"; or a "Library of World Literature"—these are tangible things, things Mr. Wells can understand; has he not himself been for years outlining just such projects as these in his *Modern Utopia*, his *In the Days of the Comet*, his *Mankind in the Making*, his *Research Magnificent*, his *New Worlds for Old*?

But Mr. Wells is not unaware that while it was suffering and hardship that forced the Russian people to accept the leadership of the Bolsheviki and the establishment of the Soviet Government, those being inevitable steps in rescuing them from such suffering and hardship—they are still accepting suffering and hardship, cold, hunger and hostile bullets for other reasons than in order to establish institutions so admirably adapted to preserving the lives of noted scientists and artists that they draw acclaiming voices from all who visit Russia! The Russian people, and their most class-conscious leaders, the Russian proletariat, accept all this misery because they are building a future society, because they know that out of their present terrible condition there will grow a system that will far outshine all past systems in the accomplishments of peace, intellect, and good will. It is here that Mr. Wells fails to understand—it is here that he most lamentably falls down. Let us quote him again:

"In regard to the intellectual life of the community, one discovers that Marxist communism is without plans and without ideas. Marxist communism has always been a theory of revolution, a theory not merely lacking creative and constructive ideas, but hostile to creative and constructive ideas. Every Communist orator has been trained to condemn utopianism; that is to say, has been trained to condemn intelligent planning. Not even the British business man of the older type is quite such a believer in things fighting themselves and in muddling through as these Marxists. The Russian Communist Government now finds itself face to face, among a multiplicity of other constructive problems, with the problem of sustaining scientific life, of sustaining thought and discussion, of promoting artistic creation. Marx, the prophet, and his sacred book supply it with no lead at all in the matter. Bolshevism, having no schemes, must improvise, therefore, clumsily, and is reduced to these pathetic attempts to salvage the wreckage of the intellectual life of the old order, and that life is very sick and unhappy and seems likely to die on its hands."

We have already suggested the reason for Mr. Wells' mistake: he is essentially an artist for the idle and superficial—we admit that we have enjoyed much of his past work—and hates the burden of hard study that must be borne by one who would really understand the Russian Communist, the Soviet Government, and their Marxian postulates. In a quick trip through Russia, his swift and eager eyes pass searchingly over all his physical surroundings: he registers rather faithfully his impressions of a great and varied panorama, much as he described the American surface in *The Future in America* (1906). But his view of history is still a vulgar and childish one; he writes *An Outline of History* (1920) not as Marx or Mehring would have written it, but in a series of fascinating and personal, but detached and unconvincing sketches, much in the manner of August Strindberg's *Historical Miniatures*. Like Strindberg, he is still a slave of the "great man" and "great epoch" theory of history.

How can Mr. Wells therefore know anything about the real nature of the preparations in progress toward a Communist society in Russia? He really thinks it true that "Marxist Communism has always been a theory of revolution, a theory not merely lacking in creative and constructive ideas, but hostile to creative and constructive ideas." Marx is not well described, nor would his disciples Lenin, Trotsky, Lozovsky, Radek, be well described by this characterization. There are many persons who have read enough of Marx to know what an inclusive and exhaustive system of philosophy he devised, and how perfectly he drew not only the picture of bourgeois society, but of the forces that would bring about a change. And those persons also know what prodigies of energy Marx was accustomed to expend in planning the political organization and the political acts that would be necessary to accomplish the transformation. Lenin also cannot be said to be exactly a planless or thoughtless person. In fact, the very uppermost impression in our reading of every new article that appears from the pens of persons who have really studied Russian conditions is that planning and

building for the future have become the absorbing occupation of every official and unofficial body in Russia. Let the reader turn back over the pages of his file of SOVIET RUSSIA, let us say through the eight instalments of Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt's *Moscow in 1920*, and let him there note what Dr. Goldschmidt has to say on Krzyzanowski, on Stunkel, on Landa, and on other prominent organizers in Soviet Russia. These are men who *live* in the future. Their present privations and miseries are such that only their firm intellectual faith in the future of their country and of the world could keep them up in the face of constant imperfection and disappointment.

And—leaving the leaders for the present—the Russian people themselves, who have accepted a program more sanely idealistic than any ever followed before by so great a number: are they planning and working for the future, or are they merely living in the present? Who built the waterways that linked the Caspian Sea with the Black Sea and the Baltic? Who outlined, discussed and promulgated the great "Code of Labor Laws" that lays the basis for a society of working men and women? Who, willingly accept starvation and want for the adult workers, in order that the children may be fed and a generation of real men and women may be made possible? Who willingly, nay enthusiastically, devote extra days and hours of toil to the tasks of sanitary and industrial reconstruction? Who is it that, after his day of toil is over, imparts instruction in reading and writing to two persons not possessing this ability? This is the duty of every literate worker in Soviet Russia. And let us not ask who it is that flocks to join the proletarian hosts that are crushing the counter-revolution, with in and without, so that the future may live and not die. Mr. Wells sees some things, but it takes bigger to men to see others. One of the distinguishing marks of real genius is the power of seeing forces rather than phenomena.

HEDDA GABLER loved a warm nook and took a safe and sane provider, but her recognition and affection for real genius proved her undoing in spite of her. Dear old George Tesman was a ticketed and certificated scholar, who was quite an authority on the domestic industries of Brabant in the Middle Ages; and he was able to support a wife. His interest in life was in its past. But while Ejlert Lovborg was a scamp and profligate, he was interested both in the past and in the future. Only one of the two volumes of Ejlert's "History of Civilization" dealt with the past; Volume Two was to be the History of Civilization in the Future. No wonder Hedda was interested. The men who made the Russian Revolution, and their great predecessors who outlined its theory before it came, are contributors to the Second Volume. Mr. Wells belongs to Volume One, no matter how bulky his *Outline of History* may be. And yet Mr. Wells was once an assiduous recorder of much of the merely physical environment in which the men and women of the future seemed destined to live!

## Four Notes to the British Government

*The Russian Trade Delegation has issued the text of four notes sent by Krassin to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, protesting against British acts of hostility toward the Russian Soviet Government. The text of the notes is as follows:*

### I

128 New Bond Street, London, W.I.  
October 19, 1920.

Mr. Krassin presents his compliments to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, and begs to inform him that he is instructed by his Government to acknowledge receipt in Moscow, of the British Notes No. 256, of the 26th of September, and No. 266, of the 2nd of October.

The Russian Government can only express its deep regret and surprise at hearing that orders have been issued to British warships to attack at sight, and without warning, submarines of the Russian Soviet Republic in the Black Sea and the Baltic.

In the first place, it is not quite clear what are the legal grounds upon which the British Government thinks to justify such an extreme measure. The reference in the note of the 26th of September to the declaration alleged to have been made by prominent Soviet representatives to the effect that the Russian Government considers Russia to be at war with Great Britain, is evidently based upon some misunderstanding. The Russian Government has never declared war on Great Britain, and it is unaware of any declarations made by responsible representatives to the effect that Russia is at present at war with Great Britain. On the contrary, the Russian Government persistently continues to make offers to Great Britain for the conclusion of a stable and lasting peace, and stringent orders have been given to all warships of the Russian Republic, including submarines, in no circumstances to take any hostile action towards ships flying the British Flag. Such orders as those issued to the British Fleet cannot, therefore, be justified on the ground that a state of war exists between Russia and Great Britain.

The Russian Republic has the right enjoyed by every sovereign state to employ for the defence of its frontiers and shores all available means introduced by the development of the technique of modern warfare. It was not the government of the workers and peasants of Russia who introduced the submarine into the navies of the world. Submarines, like all other weapons of mutual destruction of mankind, are indispensable instruments of a capitalistic state of society. Only by the aggressive policy of capitalist governments has the Russian Soviet Government been forced to resort to employ all the weapons at its disposal, in order to protect its independence against foreign attacks. But if the British Government were to take the initiative towards securing a general agreement of all the capitalist governments, not to use such inhuman weapons of warfare as submarines,

aeroplanes, poison gases, etc., the Russian Soviet Government would support such an initiative. If such an undertaking were reached, the Russian Government would join the other governments in prohibiting the use of such weapons of warfare in its armies and in its navy.

The threats to attack at sight and without warning the submarines of the Russian Government are in contradiction to the peaceful declarations repeatedly made by the British Government, and are evidently not conducive to bringing about the general peace so ardently longed for by the whole of Europe. They may lead to grave misunderstanding and to untoward events, as in the open sea it is not very easy to discern the nationality of a submarine. No doubt the British Government would be very much concerned if a sudden attack by British warships were to result in the sinking of submarines belonging to General Wrangel, to France, or to some neutral power having submarines, for instance, in the Baltic.

In view of the peace which has now been concluded by the Russian Government with all the border states and with Finland, and of the armistice signed with Poland, the war operations of the Russian submarines will be limited in the Black Sea only against the ships of General Wrangel and against any ships of his allies which may participate directly in any hostile action against Soviet Russia.

No doubt the British Government is aware that in the Black Sea the armies and ships of General Wrangel, openly supported by France, are attacking Soviet Russia. The Russian Government would esteem it a great favor if the British Government would inform it whether the British Navy received orders also to attack without warning all submarines sighted in the Black Sea, which General Wrangel or France sent against the ships of the Russian Government or against ports and inhabited places along the Black and Azov Seas.

In the Baltic, Russian submarines constitute no menace whatever and put to sea, not for operations of war, but for the ordinary instruction and other peacetime work which every navy carries on.

The Russian Government considers that the best means of preventing any naval conflicts whatever in the Black Sea and in the Baltic would be the removal from those seas of warships of all nations who have no possessions along the respective shores.

The Russian Government expects, therefore, that the British Government will withdraw its orders given to the British Navy, to attack Russian Government submarines.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston,

10 Downing Street, S.W.I.

## II

October 28, 1920.

Mr. Krassin presents his compliments to Lord Curzon of Kedleston and begs to place before him the following matter.

Information has been received by the Russian Government that the Italian merchantman *Ancona*, bound for the Russian port of Novorossiysk with merchandise, was stopped at sea by British warships, and taken to Batum.

On October 21 the *Ancona* left Batum, but was overtaken by British warships, fired upon, and compelled to return to Batum, where she now lies under the guard of British destroyers.

Mr. Krassin feels that it is scarcely necessary to point out to Lord Curzon that, if this information is correct, the commanders of the warships concerned have been guilty of an illegal and high-handed act, directed both against the Russian Republic and against the Kingdom of Italy.

The Russian Soviet Republic has never declared war on Great Britain; no blockade of the Russian Black Sea ports has been proclaimed; indeed, responsible British ministers have explicitly and publicly stated that no blockade exists.

There can, therefore, be no justification whatever for any interference by British warships with a merchant vessel of a friendly nation bound upon lawful occasion to a Russian port.

Mr. Krassin therefore requests Lord Curzon to institute immediate inquiry into the circumstances, and to communicate to him as soon as possible the British Government's version and the explanation of the facts.

Mr. Krassin feels sure that, if the information given to the Russian Government is confirmed, the British Government will at once order the release of the *Ancona*, will express its regret for the action of its subordinates, and will give to the commanders of its warships instructions that will prevent any such incident occurring in the future.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston,  
10 Downing Street, S.W.I.

## III

October 28, 1920.

Mr. Krassin presents his compliments to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, and begs to draw his attention to the conditions now obtaining on the western frontiers of the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics.

Treaties of peace have been signed with the Republics of Finland, Esthonia, and Lithuania. An armistice, preparatory to peace, has been signed with the Republic of Poland. The Governments of the Russian and Ukrainian Republics had hoped, by the signature of these treaties and of this armistice, to bring to an end the war that has devastated their borders for over six years, and to secure peace for all the peoples of these countries.

Unhappily that hope has not been realized. War has ceased between the established governments, but a state of war still prevails. In White Russia and in Western Ukraine, armed marauding forces, subject to no government, are still engaged in hos-

tile actions against the citizens of the two Soviet Republics. These forces, commanded by Balakhovich and Petlura, are equipped and munitioned with supplies provided by the Entente Powers through Poland; and those Powers are, therefore, to no small extent, responsible for the prolongation of suffering and bloodshed caused by their operations.

The Governments of the Russian and Ukrainian Republics will take all necessary measures to free their countries from these disturbers of the peace, and to put an end finally to their lawless depredations.

The Russian Government, therefore, trusts that in this task of restoring peace and of defending its citizens and territories against lawless aggression, it will be subjected to no interference, direct or indirect, by the British Government or its allies.

It would be glad to receive assurances that the British Government will in no way give aid or countenance, material or moral, to the acts of Petlura or Balakhovich, of their associate Savinkov, or of any others who may cooperate with them. Only by the destruction, disbandment or surrender of the forces of these marauders can peace be restored; and the Russian Government asks assurance that the British Government will in no way intervene to relieve them from the consequences they have deliberately challenged, or to hinder the completion of the establishment of peace and order.

## IV

October 30.—In the course of negotiations with the British Government regarding the release of prisoners at Baku, the Soviet Government always called the attention of the British Government to the fact that Azerbaijan is an independent State whose actions cannot be determined by the Russian Soviet Government.

Your Note of October 28 still fails to recognize this fact. However, the Soviet Government earnestly urged the Government of Azerbaijan to meet the wishes of the British Government in regard to Baku prisoners, and now again in view of your complaint of delay, is renewing its representations at Baku trusting to reach a favorable result.

Your allegation of our non-compliance with the agreement is rather misplaced, in view of the fact that, regardless of altogether unnecessary delay on the part of the British Government in the matter of the repatriation of Babushkin and his party, the British Siberian Mission, Britishers sentenced to prison for grave offences, and many British civilians are being delivered today to representatives of the British Mission in Finland at the Finnish border. Other Britishers will be rapidly brought to the same border.

Steps have been taken to meet transport announced by you as bringing Russian prisoners from Egypt and Constantinople to Odessa, and the Azerbaijan Government has been informed of our urgent wish to have the release of the British prisoners in Baku and their delivery to the British representative to synchronise with the arrival outside Odessa of the British transport.



## “Nationalization of Women”

By LEON TROTSKY

[The tale of the nationalization of women has now been circulating in newspapers hostile to Soviet Russia for several years. It is difficult to see how any intelligent person can believe such absurd lies, yet it is interesting to look into their origin. The matter becomes still more interesting when we recall that vile misrepresentations are received by Kautsky with enthusiasm and that he gives them space in his “theoretical” works on Soviet Russia. In his book “Against Kautsky”, Trotsky, Commissar for War in the Soviet Republic, has the following interesting exposure of the falsehood of the nationalization story.]

**I**N ORDER to give the men and women who are his pious adherents a proper conception of the moral level of the Russian proletariat, Kautsky quotes the following order on page 116 of his book\* which is allegedly issued by the Workers’ Soviet of Murtsilovka:

“The Soviet herewith gives Comrade Gregory Sarayev the power, according to his own orders, to commandeer for the use of the artillery division garrisoned at Murtsilovka, district of Briansk, 60 women and girls of the class of the bourgeoisie and speculators, and to assign them to the barracks. September 16, 1918.” (Originally published by Dr. Nathaniel Wintch-Maleyev, “What Are the Bolsheviki Doing”, Lausanne, 1919, page 10.)

Although I have not the slightest doubt that this document was a forged one, and that the whole story was a lie from start to finish, I nevertheless had an investigation made of every phase of this matter, in order to learn what facts and episodes were at the bottom of this invention. A carefully conducted investigation gives the following results:

1. In the district of Briansk there is no place named Murtsilovka. Nor is there any such place in the neighboring districts. The name most similar to it is that of the village of Muravievka, in the district of Briansk. But there never was an artillery division in that place, nor did anything happen there that could be connected in any way with the “document” quoted above.

2. I also tried to trace this matter by following up the various artillery divisions. We have not succeeded in finding anywhere even an indirect indication of any event that has the slightest similarity to that indicated by Kautsky, from the source which inspired him.

3. Finally, my investigation also went into the question as to whether there might not be rumors of such an event circulating in Muravievka. Absolutely no information could be obtained of any such rumors. And this should not surprise us. The whole contents of the forgery are in gross contradiction with the morals and the public opinion of the leading workers and peasants, who control the Soviets, even in the most backward regions.

This proves that the document is a forgery of the basest sort, capable of being circulated only by the most malicious sycophants of the yellowest journals.

At the time when the investigation referred to was going on, Comrade Zinoviev sent me an issue of a Swedish newspaper (*Svenska Dagbladet*) dated November 9, 1919, in which the facsimile of an order was reproduced, which ran as follows:

### ORDER

“The bearer, Comrade Karasseyev, is granted the right to socialize . . . (number effaced) girls, aged 16 to 36, in the city of Yekaterinod . . . (obliterated), to be designated by Comrade Karasseyev. Signed—Commander-in-Chief Ivashchev.”

This document is even more stupid and insolent than that quoted by Kautsky. The city of Yekaterinodar (in the center of the Kuban region) was in the hands of the Soviet troops for only a short time.\* The author of the forgery, who is absolutely not at all versed in revolutionary chronology, took the pains to efface the date of his document, so that it might not unexpectedly transpire that the “Commander-in-Chief Ivashchev” had socialized the women of Yekaterinodar at a time when that city was in the hands of the Denikin soldiery. It should not surprise us that this document might deceive a stupid Swedish bourgeois, but to the Russian reader it is absolutely clear that the document is not only forged, but *forged by a foreigner working with the aid of a dictionary*. It is very interesting that the names of both these socializers of women—Gregory Sarayev and Comrade Karasseyev do not sound Russian at all. The ending -eyev occurs very rarely in Russian family names, and then only in certain definite combinations. But the name of the unmasker of the Bolsheviki himself, the author of this English pamphlet quoted by Kautsky, just happens to end in -eyev (*Wintch-Maleyev*). It is quite clear that this English-Bulgarian police creature, living in Lausanne, creates socializers of women literally after his own image.

### THE WEEK OF THE CHILD

Petrograd *Izvestia* reports the following: The working and peasant women of Petrograd and the Petrograd province have decided to introduce a “Week of the Child”, the aim of which is first, propaganda for Socialist education, secondly, the attracting of wide masses of working and peasant women to the work of education. Automobiles with propagandists and physicians are to deliver popular lectures in the villages on child hygiene. A campaign will be instituted under the slogan: “The working woman for the peasant woman—the peasant woman for the working woman,” during which the women in the city will collect toys and books for the peasant children, while the peasant women will collect foodstuffs for the proletarian children.

\* This article must have been written early this year; Yekaterinodar has been in the hands of the Soviets since the overthrow of Denikin.

\* *Terrorismus und Kommunismus*, Berlin, 1919.

## Economic Reports from Soviet Russia

### VANGUARD FACTORIES

At a sitting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Comrade Rykov gave the following data regarding the activity of the Transport Factories.

Out of the complete number of 4,600 locomotives, the repair of which is to be fully completed towards the beginning of 1921, the Metal Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy is responsible for 600 locomotives of which 100 are new, 250 requiring general repair and 250 minor repair. The Metal Section is also responsible for the entire production of metal, as well as of reserve parts required both for the locomotives issued by the Metal Section factories, as well as for the repairing depots of the People's Commissariat for Ways and Communications. In addition to this, the Metal Section intends to issue 620 new locomotives and 6,600 repairs.

This program has been distributed over about 70 works. Twenty-one of these factories have been organized into a special group known as the vanguard. Measures have been taken to supply all vanguard factories with provisions, labor power, fuel, and all other requisites. The vanguard factories have been selected with a view to distributing among them the greater bulk of the most important part of the work. The strongest factories have been selected for this purpose, or such as are particularly adapted for the manufacture of special locomotive parts or appliances.

Of the twenty-one factories in question, fourteen are in the central district, the remaining seven being situated in the Ukraine.

The vanguard factories turn out 60 per cent of all new locomotives, whilst 40 per cent is allotted to the remaining factories. The finer reserve parts, such as forms, axles, pipes, brakes, levers, etc., with a few exceptions, are entirely distributed over the vanguard factories. In regard to the reserve parts for carriages, as well as the supply of certain sorts of material, these are manufactured to the extent of 50 to 70 per cent at the other factories.

The general activity of the factories may be characterized as follows:

The factories began work only in July, according to the orders given, and in view of the fact that a majority of them were either completely at a standstill or working only part time, the factories could not possibly develop their full output during the first month. A certain period is required until the factories are able to work at full speed. During July the output of the factories amounted to only 50 per cent both of the repairs as well as of the manufacture of reserve parts which were to be produced for the month. In regard to August, detailed information is to be had in connection with the factories of Central Russia. Here in the work of the factories, great improvements are to be observed; these are to be observed in individual spheres of production, where, for instance, in the case of locomotive repairs and of reserve parts an

increase of 25 per cent was effected over the month of July. It must be stated that certain articles, such as a number of brass parts and other parts, began to be manufactured only in August.

The increase of productivity is still more considerable if the individual factories are taken into consideration. It is interesting to mention the Kulebak factory; here productivity of bands and rollers has, for the month of August, almost reached the usual pre-war output.

The increase of production would have been much more noticeable had it not been for certain external reasons; of such may be mentioned the fact that in July there was a shortage in supply of fuel, and there were occasions when the factories of the Omsk District stopped entirely for lack of fuel. At the present time the supply of fuel is fully organized and regular: there are no interruptions in view. In connection with the food question, the position is as follows. During the first month of the work in question, the supply was rather irregular and only in the month of August did the factories receive, with a few exceptions, the full amount of provisions.

On the whole it may be said that the factories of the vanguard group of the Central District are at the present time engaged in wholesome productive work, which is constantly on the increase, and they strive to carry out the entire 100 per cent of their task and to secure the revival of transport, being fully conscious of the duty which has been laid upon them by the Soviet Republic.

### RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION

Writing in the Moscow *Pravda*, Comrade Larin gives interesting figures regarding railway construction in Soviet Russia.

Since the days of the revival of railway construction during the Witte period, namely in the nineties of the last century, the number of versts of wide gauge railway constructed in Russia never exceeded that of the present time. For the three years ranging from 1918 to 1920, about 5,700 versts have been constructed and at the present time about 2,000 versts are about to be laid down. The rails and other accessories for these are in stock and the whole work is expected to be concluded by 1921. It is interesting to note that during these years in question the territory of Soviet Russia was smaller than that of pre-war days.

One trait of Soviet railway construction worthy of note is the domination of the productive principle, in other words, that all construction of railways is carried on in connection with immediate problems of production.

A considerable part of the newly-built and about to be concluded railways open now wide areas for production. This will be the basis for the future growth of the timber industry, a basis which was hitherto lacking.

In the number of such lines is included that of Nizhni-Novgorod-Kotelnicchi. This line is 353 versts long, of which 300 versts have already been laid down. The line will make a new and shortest cut between Moscow-Viatka and the city of Perm. Another line is that of Mga-Ovinischey, altogether 405 versts almost completed. The line extends from the suburbs of Petrograd to the borders of the Gubernia of Yaroslav, entirely through forests. And finally there is the Orsha-Ounecha, altogether 240 versts, more than half of which has already been laid down. This line cuts through the famous stretch of hundreds of versts of the "black forest".

The second group consists of a number of lines and branches which connect various industrial centers in a railway network. The first among these is that of Sarapul—Yekaterinburg. This line exceeds 400 versts in length, all of which have been laid; and that of the end of the line of Sarapul-Kazan and Shikhrany-Arzamas about 700 versts long. This line constitutes a new and shortest route between Moscow and Siberia, through the very heart of the Urals. It is now transporting Siberian grain to the center. There are two great lines of industrial importance. These are not finished yet. One of these lines extends from Turkestan to Semirechinsk, and will serve to increase the supply of bread to Turkestan which will in its turn help to reestablish cotton-growing on a large scale. For the present only 285 versts of this line have been constructed, in addition to this there is a supply of rails for 150 versts, bringing the line close to the bread district. It is now possible to consider the desert separating Semirechinsk from Turkestan as eliminated. The other line is that from Krasny Kut near Saratov to the Emba petroleum district on the northern shore of the Caspian Sea. Over 160 versts of this line have so far been laid. In addition to this there is a stock of rails for another 250 versts to extend as far as the Urals. From the Urals to Emba there is a temporary petroleum duct of 200 versts, for which over 50 versts of pipes have already been delivered. The Emba as well as the Semirechinsk lines will be completed in the first half of the coming year.

It is also necessary to note the great development of short industrial branches connecting some of the largest industrial enterprises in a railway network. In places these lines cut through a deeply populated industrial district which sees a locomotive for the first time. An instance may be given in the branch counting over 50 versts from Nizhni to Bogorodskoye, and Vorsma which is a well-known leather center, and as well as Pavlovo, famous for its metal industry.

#### SWITZERLAND FOR TRADE WITH RUSSIA

BERLIN, October 31, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—Under the firm "Aruwag Aktien Gesellschaft" (Stock Company) there has been founded in Zurich a stock company with a capital of 80,000 francs to begin with, which has already been paid in, in full, and this entirely by men of big industry in

Switzerland. According to information coming from Zurich, the aim of the new undertaking is to bring about the resumption of trade relations with Soviet Russia and to carry on export into that country, as well as to import from Russia on a large scale.

#### RESUMPTION OF TRADE NEGOTIATIONS WITH FINLAND

PETROGRAD, October 31, 1920.—In consequence of the conclusion of peace and the resumption of trade relations between Soviet Russia and Finland, the customs stations at Byelooostrov has been opened again.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF FUEL LINES

For the purpose of a speedier and timely delivery of fuel to the railway station the Supreme Council of National Economy is constructing 298 special fuel lines of an intended total length of 3,648 versts. The results achieved by August 1 amount to the following figures: 107 versts of ordinary and narrow gauge grounding have been constructed, and 825 versts of rails have been laid.

#### MOSCOW DISTRICT COAL OUTPUT

The numerous strata of coal in the Moscow District Basin, their proximity to the consuming areas, and the fact that they are situated outside the sphere of civil war has compelled the Soviet Government to pay special attention to this source. A great amount of work has been carried on for the last two years, the result of which is most far-reaching.

The output of coal for the last few years is expressed in the following figures. The figures represent the annual output in millions of poods.

|                        |      |
|------------------------|------|
| 1914 .....             | 18.9 |
| 1915 .....             | 28.2 |
| 1916 .....             | 41.1 |
| 1917 .....             | 43.1 |
| 1918 .....             | 24.4 |
| 1919 .....             | 24.9 |
| 1920 for 9 months only | 24.9 |

These figures show a sharp increase, in comparison with the preceding years. From the figures given for the past eight and a half months, it is reasonable to expect an output of 34,000,000 poods for the present year.

Judging by the state of the preliminary work, the number of workers, and all other technical details, the output for 1921 will approximate 60,000,000 poods.

It is the opinion of specialists that if the general speed of work is maintained the output of coal for 1924 will amount to 200,000,000 poods. This is a figure which was not even dreamed of in former years.

#### PETROLEUM TRANSPORT

According to the information received from the Chief Administration of the Ways of Communication the total quantity of petroleum products delivered to Astrakhan from the beginning of the navigation season to September 17, amounts to 103,364,000 poods.

### PROVISION PROSPECTS

Moscow, October 19.—In spite of all bourgeois misrepresentations, the foodstuffs questions in Soviet Russia is much more favorable than last year. While in the first year of the dictatorship 30,000,000 poods of grain were gathered, and 110,000,000 in the second and 300,000,000 in the third, the harvest this year will be 400,000,000 poods. The best provisioning will of course be that of the Red Army and the cities. The Central Russian harvests have been afflicted by somewhat of a drought, but the extraordinarily prolific yields of the Caucasus and Siberia will more than make up for the effects of this drought.

### TEXTILE INDUSTRY

For the first half year of 1920 there were on an average 21 factories with 406,285 spindle looms at work.

The following figures give the amount (in poods) of the yarn manufactured:

|                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| In January ..... | 42,520  |
| " February ..... | 52,175  |
| " March .....    | 55,622  |
| " April .....    | 21,635  |
| " May .....      | 17,474  |
| " June .....     | 18,266  |
| Total .....      | 207,688 |

The amount of cotton at all the factories amounted to 492,830 poods, including 340,852 poods in stock at the group of pioneer factories. In January, 1920, there were altogether 229,158 poods of cotton. Thus it may be seen that the supply of cotton has improved, but is as yet far from being satisfactory.

For the six months 44,352,537 arshins of coarse fabric have been manufactured.

Various trimmings have been manufactured to the extent of 1,238,181 arshins.

### DECREE ON THE KUSTAR (HOME) INDUSTRY

The All-Russian Central Executive has investigated and confirmed the decree regarding the Kustars. The decree divides the entire petty industry into two groups: that which does not make use of hired labor and the industry which exploits such labor. The first is called by the decree "Kustar Industry", and is endowed with a number of privileges; the second, on the other hand, is limited in its rights and is placed under the strict control of the Soviet institutions.

The decree introduces important changes in the sphere of administration of the Kustar and petty industry. Until the present time the Kustar industry was under the administration of a number of government organs. Under such conditions a proper regulation of the Kustar industry was impossible. The decree liquidates this abnormal situation and the entire administration of the Kustar

and petty industry is concentrated by this decree in one organ, that of the Chief Administration of the Kustar Industry. This administration is charged with the registration and distribution of orders as well as of raw material. It also deals with the regulation of the question of awards for the craftsmen employed in this industry, their registration and control.

With the introduction of this decree the Kustar and petty industry will be brought in line with the Soviet policy.

### THE SLATE INDUSTRY

The slate season has ended quite successfully. The output intended for 1920 for the entire territory of the Soviet Republic amounted to the general figure of 77,956,112 poods. The actual amount obtained was 82,990,167 poods, i. e., 5,034,055 poods over and above the program and 15,951,197 poods over and above the 1919 output.

In the mining of slate in 1920 1,308 carts of 60 persons each and 887 machines were engaged.

### RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

*Economic Life* writes: The imports through Esthonia from April 18 to September 8 of this year amounted to 1,704,785 poods, as follows: Food and similar necessaries, 913,281 poods; animal product manufactures, 74,284 poods; timber products, 41,227 poods; chemicals, 87,339 poods; metals and products thereof, 340,542 poods; writing materials, 229,076 poods; miscellaneous, 18,381 poods. Among the metal products are included: agricultural machines, locomobiles, telephone and telegraph apparatus, tools,—things Russia has been greatly in need of. Among "chemicals" are medicines and raw materials for the leather industry and chemical industries. Writing materials comprise chiefly print paper, a great demand for which has long existed in Russia. Although the volume of imports was slight, foreign trade has begun to develop and to assume the character of regularity. Before June, imports were rather sporadic. Necessaries imported in July exceeded those of a year ago by 54 per cent; leather goods, 1,098 per cent; chemical products, 36 per cent; writing materials, 90 per cent. The imports in August reached 117,808 poods: 22,602 poods of animal products, 7,443 poods of chemicals, 41,557 poods of metals, 30,714 poods of writing materials. New objects of imports for the month of August included telegraph, telephone and laboratory apparatus, paraffin and footgear. In the first week of September must be mentioned, above all, agricultural machinery (28,664 poods),—harvesters, mowers and rakes. Exports are just beginning. In the first place there must be mentioned veneers, flax and santolin. (*Economic Life* observes that foreign trade is affected by the war more than any other branch of commerce.)

# Wireless and Other News

## CULTURE PROSPECTS

The People's Commissar for Education, Comrade Lunacharsky, recently read a report in the "Press House", in Moscow, on the "Problems and Prospects of the Coming Winter."

Pointing out the difficult political and economic position of Soviet Russia, Comrade Lunacharsky expressed the opinion that during the next year a closer contact would be brought about between the vanguard of the proletariat, i. e., the Russian Communist Party and the vanguard of the intelligentsia, i. e., all those who are engaged in educational and cultural spheres. This contact will produce a most wholesome influence on the two camps.

The extreme shortage of paper resulted in a wide development of clubs, lectures, discussions, readings, and all kinds of conversations.

In the theatrical sphere, the process of revolution in regard to the repertory of the theatre, as well as the growth both in quality and quantity of the theatre is very marked.

The serious interest of the working masses in music and art is undoubted.

As regards education generally, the forthcoming winter is expected to afford a more systematic and careful realization of the principle of the Single Labor School than it did previously.

Generally speaking it is the opinion of Comrade Lunacharsky that the present cultural term will make a healthy impression upon the whole of Soviet Russia, and upon Moscow in particular. It should be kept in mind that Western Europe has suffered a great spiritual impoverishment, and according to the opinion of western authorities the spiritual center of the world has been transferred to hungry, freezing Moscow.

In conclusion, Comrade Lunacharsky spoke of the growth of the interest and sympathy with Communism of extensive masses of the intelligentsia as well as of the great work in the sphere of culture that is going on not only in the capitals, but also in the provinces, and even in outlying districts.

## LIBRARIES IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The libraries of Soviet Russia are in charge of the Extra-Scholastic Section of the People's Commissariat for Education. At the present time this section is working under most unfavorable conditions. The impoverishment of the book market which was the result of the six years' war and of the three years' blockade, as well as the absence of an experienced staff in this branch, of course had a great influence on the state of our libraries. Yet, in spite of these unfavorable conditions the results which were achieved in this direction are quite considerable, and are an indication of the continual growth of the network of libraries in Soviet Russia.

The total number of libraries for 42 gubernias

amounts to 32,166. These do not include the libraries belonging to cooperatives, trade unions, and so on.

In 1919, 32 gubernias had 13,506 libraries; the same gubernias in 1920 counted 26,278, that is the number had doubled.

The number of libraries is especially large in the following gubernias:

|            |         |       |           |      |       |         |       |       |
|------------|---------|-------|-----------|------|-------|---------|-------|-------|
| 1 Tver     | .....   | 879   | libraries | plus | 2,150 | reading | rooms | 3,029 |
| 2 Viatka   | .....   |       |           |      |       |         |       | 3,029 |
| 3 Perm     | .....   | 1,887 | "         | "    | 211   | "       | "     | 2,008 |
| 4 Yaroslav | ...     |       |           |      |       |         |       | 1,828 |
| 5 Saratov  | ....    | 835   | "         | "    | 930   | "       | "     | 1,765 |
| 6 Smolenak | ..      |       |           |      |       |         |       | 1,625 |
| 7 Samara   | ....    | 478   | "         | "    | 702   | "       | "     | 1,180 |
| 8 Kostroma | ..1,171 |       | "         | "    | 936   | "       | "     | 2,107 |
| 9 Kaluga   | ....    |       |           |      |       |         |       | 1,008 |

## PUBLIC EDUCATION IN PETROGRAD

STOCKHOLM, October 5, 1920.—*Izvestia* reports as follows on the work of public education that has been accomplished heretofore: The attacks by the White Army have somewhat retarded the complete success of the work, but nevertheless the results achieved are considerable. First of all, statistics were compiled showing the number of adult elementary students in the provinces. Great care is taken in the preparation of teachers. So far five pedagogical institutes have been started. But unfortunately there is a scarcity of teachers. The regular work begins in the fall, when four schools in all will be opened in the province, for adult elementary students. Besides this there are ten courses in progress. There are five clubs for adolescents, 25 for adults, and 175 reading clubs. There are 72 stationary and many itinerant libraries; six public schools were founded in the province, where 180 lectures have been held and 128 outings and excursions arranged for. At the present time there are 1,886 schools, 102 homes for children and 96 kindergartens in the Petrograd province. 404,362 children attend the schools of this province, and 3,794 teachers are active in these schools. 12,000 children were taken in by the children's homes, and 7,580 children by the children's clubs. Very gratifying results are reported from pupils of continuation school age: the attendance in 43 such schools is 5,544 students, and 88 such clubs have a membership of 53,503.

## DENMARK FOR TRADE WITH RUSSIA

Danish business organizations have written to Krassin expressing their willingness to resume business with Russia. They propose to send business attaches to Moscow and Petrograd, and ask that Russia in return send representatives of the cooperatives to Copenhagen. The director of the Danish-Russian clearing-house in Copenhagen left for London to confer with Krassin.

### TREATY WITH AZERBEIJAN

A treaty has been concluded in Moscow between the Soviet Republic and the Azerbaijan Socialist Soviet Republic, a military economic alliance being formed. The governments of the two respective republics undertake to effect the following alliances in the shortest possible period: (1) of military organization and command, (2) of the organs in charge of Production and of Foreign Trade, (3) of the organs of Supply, (4) of Railway Transport and Post and Telegraph Administrations, (5) of Finances.

This treaty comes into force at the moment that it is endorsed by both governments. No special ratification is required. — *Russian Press Review*, October 15.

### MAKHNO AGAINST BARON WRANGEL

The following communication was published by the Revolutionary War Council:

Recently a crisis was observed among the Makhno troops who showed irresoluteness in their attacks against the Red Army. It became evident that the rank and file of the Makhno troops were greatly dissatisfied at being sent to fight the Soviets and the Peasant Governments, and thus to strengthen and consolidate the power of the landlord Baron.

With Baron Wrangel's progress into the heart of Ukraine the consciousness of the rank and file soldiers of Makhno grew to the effect that their interests are common with those of the peasants and workers of Ukraine and of Russia who are fighting against the Baron.

Finally under pressure of the fermentation among his troops and their urgent demands Makhno submitted a proposal to our South Front Command to stop all military operations against him and to allow him to fight along with the Red Army against Wrangel.

Makhno promised to give definite guarantees to the effect that he would carry out his promises faithfully and would not betray his peasant soldiers, that he recognized the Soviet Government and would fully submit to the Command of the Red Army.

Makhno's proposal was accepted by our South Front Command and he was entrusted with a military task against Wrangel. Three representatives were despatched from the Makhno groups to our military authorities. All sick and wounded in the Makhno troops were taken in charge by our sanitary department.

It is needless to exaggerate Makhno's forces as that has been done by the European imperialist press, which stated that Makhno took town after town. The fact, however, of Makhno's submission to the Soviet Government is very symptomatic. It bears witness to the fact that even the upper stratum of the peasantry has sobered under the influence of the successes of the Wrangel bands and has now turned its weapons against the counter-revolutionary Baron.

### CHINESE MISSION IN MOSCOW

A Chinese Military-Diplomatic Mission, headed by General Tchkhyan-Sy-Lin, has recently arrived in Moscow.

The aim of the mission is to form an acquaintance with Soviet Russia, and to establish friendly political and trade relations between Russia and China.

In order to discuss these questions a few sittings of the mission had taken place in conjunction with the Collegiate of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Comrades Chicherin and Karakhan.

On October 2, the president of the Mission, General Tchkhyan-Sy Lin, was given, for delivery to the Chinese Government, a memorandum containing the basic principles for a political agreement between the Chinese Republic and the Soviet Republic.

On October 6, a conference took place between the Chinese Mission and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, Comrade Lezhava, at which the principles for the renewal of trade relations between the two republics was established. — *Russian Press Review*, Oct. 15.

### ARRESTS IN EASTERN GALICIA

LEMBERG, October 4, 1920.—*Vpered* reports that after retaking districts in Eastern Galicia, the Polish authorities proceeded to arrest great masses of Ukrainians. Thus great masses of peasants were taken prisoner in Radziyekhow and in the district of Dolina. All these prisoners will be tried by court-martial and condemned to death.

### COMMUNICATION BETWEEN POLAND AND WRANGEL

WARSAW, October 4, 1920.—According to the *Kuryer Warszawski*, a special delegation was despatched to General Wrangel a few days ago by the Polish Government.

### CONFERENCE OF TRADE UNIONS IN SIBERIA

Moscow, October 13, 1920.—At the conference of Trade Unions which opened at Krasnoyarsk 107 delegates, with a representation of 15,000 trade union members, took part. The greatest feeling of confidence was manifested in the dictatorship of the proletariat at the meeting, where the remarkable development of the trade union movement in Siberia was brought out.

### SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND EXPLORATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

We take the following from a Moscow report of October 13, 1920: An expedition, headed by the Engineer Nalivayka, has just returned from an exploration of the district up to Indinga Bay and to the mouth of the Pesha River. During a period of fourteen weeks the party collected much valuable material in the fields of geography, ethnography, and economics. The district is very rich in fish and other useful marine life.

### WRANGEL SELLS FLEET

The Russian Steamship Company, founded in Paris, is systematically withdrawing steamships from Russian waters and selling them to foreign countries. This has produced dissatisfaction and unrest in the Crimea. The White Guard Crimean paper *Krymsky Vestnik* reports interesting details concerning the transactions of the Russian Steamship Company.

"This company," says the paper, "has cleared four steamers, *Vampo*, *Vityaz*, *Cherwomov*, and *Ruslam*, with the object of withdrawing them from Russian waters. Where these steamers now are we do not know, but it is assumed that they are in a French port.—*Rosta*.

### LIGHT ON THE RECENT POLISH OFFENSIVE

LONDON, October 17, 1920.—The Warsaw correspondent of the *Times* states: The forces of General Balakhovich, which are acting independently of the Poles, see their efforts crowned with success. At the conclusion of the armistice, all Russian anti-Bolshevist elements were required to evacuate Polish soil on October 19. These forces would not unite with Wrangel, but would cross the line of demarcation and establish a base in White Russia whose independence, with Minsk as its capital, would shortly be proclaimed. The joint Russian forces on this front number about 50,000 and operate under Generals Petlura and Balakhovich. The former will submit to General Wrangel, and his detachment will form a part of Wrangel's army. It is hoped that Permikin will cooperate with the Ukrainians, with whom Wrangel will frequently affect a junction. General Balakhovich will take orders from the Russian political committee that is now leaving Warsaw, and will independently push northwest in the direction of Minsk and Vitebsk.

### AN ENGLISH MILITARY LEADER IN WRANGEL'S ARMY

LONDON, October 18, 1920.—*The Daily Telegraph* announces that the English General Townshend is in the Crimea and will join Wrangel's forces opposing the Bolsheviks. Townshend was the English commander-in-chief in Mesopotamia against the Turkish armies at Kut-el-Aamara.

### SIDELIGHTS ON THE PETLURA-WRANGEL AFFAIR

PARIS, October 13, 1920.—The negotiations between Petlura and Wrangel have come to an abrupt end. The representative of Petlura in Paris delivered a note to Millerand, wherein he complains that Wrangel, in spite of the negotiations with Petlura, had convened the newly formed Ukrainian National Committee, which contains people who are connected with Skoropadski, in the Crimea.

### TROTSKY ON FRENCH POLICY

Trotsky sent the following communique from his train on October 11: Our train daily intercepts French radiograms. They are so silly, bombastic and mendacious as to be utterly harmless. It is harder to find an earnest or important word in them than a pearl in a dungheap. They reflect faithfully the picture of the prevailing system in France: provincial politicians in the service of bankers, who now, after victory, deem themselves rulers. The telegraph brings daily extracts from two or three speeches of Millerand or his ministers. These discourses are all of the same stripe, stupid and lying. France is exhausted; she has won a victory only because England and America willed it so. Capitalist France is being pushed farther into the background. Yet France seeks to better the work with phrases and declarations that are mere twaddle, devoid of political significance and historical perspective. At the head of France today stands the old classical type, created by Moliere: the snob, the upstart who for two hundred years strove to become an aristocrat and now, arrived at power, seeks to impose his will upon the world. France is exhausted, yet daily the telegraph brings tidings of its phenomenal restoration and reconstruction. To believe these despatches, France since the armistice has been thrice reconstructed. England rules the world. The United States is competing with England. France is being more and more exhausted and retreating farther into the background. In view of this process phrases, gestures and lies are as powerless as the gables of support to Poland and recognition of Wrangel. Shameless and arrogant, French imperialism is still capable of doing harm to Soviet Russia, but the harm thereby inflicted upon France is far greater. It is also clear that the French bourgeoisie cannot escape its doom.

### THE RESTORATION OF THE PORT OF PETROGRAD

BERLIN, October 15, 1920.—"The Syren" learns from Russia that the work of clearing the port of Petrograd has begun. No less than 700 vessels have been sunk in the basin and the canals; the Neva canal had been made impassable by the sinking of two steamers; the unloading facilities were unavailable; the docks were destroyed; the depth of the Neva Canal was reduced from 29 feet to 23 feet. Zinoviev states that all this has been altered during the last six months and that now 40 ships can be taken care of at once. In fact, according to the above-named journal, all the wrecks have been removed from the basin and the approaches, so that 45 ships (1,000 to 3,000 tons) can anchor in the harbor. The railroad has been rebuilt, coal-pockets partially restored, 2,000 square meters of pier repaired, the electric cranes refitted. About 30 per cent of the floating material is usable, so that eight vessels can be loaded or unloaded simultaneously, though not without difficulty.

### DEATH OF A COMMUNIST WOMAN WORKER

Moscow, October 3, 1920 (*Rosta*).—Comrade Krupskaya in *Pravda* warmly praises the work of a noted leader of women in the Communist movement, Inessa Armand, who died recently in the Caucasus. She was an organizer and collaborator of the journal *The Communist Woman*, and took an active part in the second congress of the Third Internationale.

Readers of SOVIET RUSSIA will recall the interesting article "Women in Soviet Russia", which appeared in our issue for August 21, 1920. The author of this article, Helen Blonina, is identical with Inessa Armand.

### PROSECUTING ATTORNEY DURASSOVITCH IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The *Posledniya Novosti* reports that Prosecuting Attorney Durassovich, who played a leading role in the Beilis case, is now in Constantinople as head of the Russian press bureau in that city.

### PETROGRAD'S POPULATION

The latest census in Petrograd fixes the population at 889,000, of which 385,000 are women. The population of the whole province, including the capital, is 1,000,000.

### H. G. WELLS IN PETROGRAD

The well-known writer H. G. Wells, who is at the present moment in Petrograd, said the following in a conversation which he had with a representative of the Russian Telegraph Agency:

"I came here to see personally what this Soviet Russia presents. The amount of untruth that has been spread in England is so great that it has been quite impossible to form a correct impression. Actually very little is known in England regarding Russia. I spoke to Krassin and I took his tip when he said to me: 'If you want to know what is going on in Russia, go and see for yourself.'

"And I came here. But, at present, it is difficult for me to speak of my impressions. I have seen too much in these few days; impressions followed one another in such rapid succession, I am rather bewildered and have formed no opinion as yet. So far, I have seen the schools, dining rooms, workers' universities, and finally I have walked along the streets watching life around me. I had every opportunity to examine, and to see whatever I desired, and I must say that I was treated with every attention on the part of representatives of the Soviet Government.

"I am going shortly to Moscow. There I hope to make the acquaintance of Comrade Lenin and, still better, to become acquainted there with the political and educational work of Soviet Russia." *Russian Press Review*, October 15, 1920.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

## SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:

1. UKRAINE, by Michael Pavlovich, People's Commissar for Public Works.
2. PEACE TREATY BETWEEN SOVIET RUSSIA AND LITHUANIA.
3. HOW I SAW THE RED DAWN, by M. Philips Price.
4. FRANCE 1798, RUSSIA 1920, by Mager Doolittle. (An interesting comparison of the French and Russian Revolutions based on Coleridge's poem, "France: An Ode.")
5. Regular Weekly MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.

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### Important International Documents

The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA (December 4) will print the complete text of the Peace Treaty signed last summer between Soviet Russia and Lithuania. A carefully prepared translation has been made especially for SOVIET RUSSIA.

The issue after that (December 11) will contain the text of the Preliminary Peace signed last month between Soviet Russia and Poland. The Polish text, as it appears in an official Polish publication, has been translated for SOVIET RUSSIA and will be accompanied by an interesting introductory article.



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## Ukraine

By MICHAEL PAVLOVICH

[The following article by the People's Commissariat for Public Works is one of a number of important contributions to an understanding of the importance of Ukraine. Next week we shall print K. Rakovsky's article, "The Mutual Relations of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine."]

### 1. The Ukrainian Obsession

THE world war of 1914-1918, which destroyed many millions of human lives, and annihilated tremendous resources that had been accumulated in all countries by decades of peaceful labor, was fought, on the one hand, for the possession of sources of raw materials, foodstuffs, and fuel, and, on the other hand, for the control of the great railroad and maritime routes in the regions that were rich in such raw materials and fuels.

Ukraine, with its endless natural resources, its remarkable geographical position—it lies half way on the route from Western Europe to the Caucasus, which has great mineral wealth and huge deposits of naphtha, daily gaining in importance in the economic life of nations, and farther on, to Turkestan, with its cotton plantations, to Persia and all of Central Asia—necessarily had to become the object of the cupidity of all the imperialistic countries of the world.

Immediately after the peace of Brest-Litovsk the German imperialists threw their troops not into Soviet or Central Russia, not against Moscow or Petrograd, but into Ukraine. In attempting to sow discord between Soviet Russia and Ukraine, the German diplomats were pursuing the object of weakening Ukraine and thus making it possible for Germany to annex that country and chain it to the victorious chariot of the German Empire.

When the German revolution overthrew the Hohenzollerns in November, 1918, and the German troops of occupation went back home, new conquerors appeared in the place of these helmeted aggressors. After the downfall of the Hohenzollerns and the crushing of Germany, Ukraine became the object of the lust of French and English

capitalists. If Krassnov and Skoropadski were agents of German imperialism, working for the erection of a German hegemony in Ukraine and on the Don, Denikin and Wrangel, on the other hand, were tools for realizing the plan of conquest of Anglo-French imperialism, particularly with regard to Ukraine. And Denikin, as is well known, after he had occupied Kharkov and Tsaritsin, and had issued to his troops the famous order to march on Moscow, nevertheless did not immediately take the direct route to the old capital. He again deviated into Ukraine and occupied Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kiev. Only toward the end of September, three months after the above-mentioned order was issued, did Denikin's operations begin to move toward Voronezh and Kursk. Apparently Denikin was hastening to complete a definite occupation of Ukraine, in the interest and under the instruction of his superiors, the English and French bourgeoisie. But, while he was putting in three months in conquering Ukraine, both of the left and the right banks of the Dnieper, he was weakening his fighting powers and thus accelerating his defeat in the struggle with his formidable opponent—Soviet Russia.

After Denikin was annihilated, Ukraine apparently was saved from the firm embrace of Western European imperialism. But behold—in place of the black reactionary Cossackdom and the gold-braided officers, there appears as a pretender to Ukraine the Poland of the *shliakhta*. Pilsudski's manifesto most tangibly exposes the cards of the ruling class of Poland. His manifesto leaves no doubt as to the real objects of the Polish *shliakhta* in the struggle with the two federative republics of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. This object

is: occupation of Ukraine by Polish troops, complete seizure of Ukraine.

And again we see that instead of taking the straight route by way of Smolensk to Moscow, and thus offering battle to their powerful opponent on the fields of Soviet Russia, the troops of the *shliakhta* proceed along the same route that had been followed by Charles XII, by the Germans, and by Denikin. So powerful is the attractive force of Ukraine, of the Ukrainian hypnosis, which has been working upon all the opponents of the Soviet power and has apparently befogged their reason! What is it that makes Ukraine the object of such passionate desire on the part of the hirelings of capital; what is the source of this Ukrainian obsession, of the attraction exercised by this country, which appears to have such an irresistible effect on all the opponents of the Soviet power?

## 2. *The Former Russian Empire in World Economy*

In the period preceding the world war, the former Russian Empire, with its 200,000,000 inhabitants, with its infinite expanse of territory, making up more than one-seventh of the surface of the globe, with its agricultural products, its wood, its flax, etc., played a tremendous part in world economy. This part was not a superficially apparent one, as it was more or less veiled in the exchange of goods by the form of money used. The great volume of Russian export, its profound significance for world economy, was to a certain extent masked by its extremely low exchange value, as the Russian wares were exported to foreign countries in the form of raw materials that had not yet been worked upon, that had a comparatively low value; and the total figure for Russian exports expressed in money—rubles, francs, pounds sterling,—was very small when compared with its actual importance in world economy. On the other hand, many objects of Russian export, which were returned to Russia in a fabricated form, such as goods made out of Russian wood, Russian leather, Russian ores, etc., were sold in our country at prices that were often ten or a hundred times as high as the original price of the raw materials.

The former Czarist Empire was one of the richest lands in the world, not only by reason of its natural resources—the most important point was that this empire possessed *the most essential means of production*: cotton, manufactures of which are the basis of the entire textile industry; coal, iron, without which not a single factory can be made to move; finally, the chief elements in the nutriment of the human organism: grain, sugar, fats, meats, salt. Present-day Germany, for instance, has no cotton at all and only comparatively little coal, iron, and grain. If the capitalist order prevails, Germany is doomed to destruction, to die out, to degenerate. It is threatened by a worse fate than the fate of Spain, which was transformed from one of the most flourishing industrial lands of Europe into Europe's poorest region. Germany can only continue as a capitalist state if it again seizes Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar region from France, and once more occupies Ukraine—in short, if it

succeeds in winning a new world war, far more senseless and audacious than that of 1914-1918. Even France and England, in spite of their great annexations of territory, are by no means in a position to maintain themselves without some support on the part of Ukraine and Soviet Russia, including the northern regions rich in forests, the cotton of Turkestan, the naphtha of the Caucasus, etc. There is in all the world only one capitalistic country that can survive without the resources of Ukraine and Soviet Russia, but this single country, the United States of America, lies on another continent; it has grain, coal, iron, and cotton, too, in sufficient quantities, and the American bourgeoisie is therefore less interested in the overthrow of the Soviet order in Russia, as well as in Ukraine, than are the French and English bourgeoisie.

Immediately after the termination of the world war, when a great lack of the most important food-stuffs was beginning to make itself felt, for instance, in grain, meat and sugar, as well as in raw materials: Russian flax (Russia covers 80 per cent of the world demand in flax), coal, ores, building-wood, hides, fats, etc., the unexpected elimination of such an important link in the chain as the former Russian empire, from the system of capitalistic states, turned out to be a terrible blow for these states. In the course of four years of war, humanity had literally shot into the air, through the guilt of the exploiters, milliards of tons of iron, coal, cotton, grain, hides, which were used exclusively for war materials, and now, when the international bourgeoisie is particularly interested in the most stringent exploitation of the Russian empire, in its final transformation into a colony of theirs, this goal turns out to be more distant than ever.

European bourgeois scholars, who have understood that the old cannot be restored again, that it is inconceivable to bring back the former economic relations of a slavish dependence which once existed between the former Russian Empire and Western European states, no doubt fully understand how necessary it is to cease the armed war against the Russian Federative Soviet Republic. The only means Western Europe has against economic decay, against hunger and material demoralization, is, in the opinion of these bourgeois economists and statesmen, a rapprochement with Soviet Russia.

The decision taken at the London Conference for Combating Hunger, as far as the section referring to Russia goes, reads as follows: "The conference is of the opinion that the restoration of world industry cannot be realized before Russia has the possibility of reestablishing its economic life and placing its immense supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs at the disposal of other countries. The first steps along this path must be taken in the direction of a cessation of every possible intervention, both secret and public, in Russian affairs, by foreign powers."

But a considerable number of the statesmen of bourgeois countries will not give up this inter-

vention by force in Russian affairs. The Polish adventure is the best proof of this.

### 3. *The Ukrainian Natural Resources. Ukraine's Position in World Economy Before the War*

Among the other parts of the former Russian Empire, Ukraine occupied but a relatively inconsiderable area. This area was only 14.3 per cent of that of European Russia, or equal to the area of the Governments of Kovno, Grodno, Vilna, Courland, and Archangel. As compared with Western European countries, however, the 45,000,000 dessiatins of Ukraine make it a great state, hardly second to Germany, France, or Spain, with their 46 to 50,000,000 dessiatins of area.

But although Ukraine occupies only 14.3 per cent of the area of European Russia, even before the war it already played a prominent part in foreign trade, in the export of many extremely valuable objects of Russian barter. It is precisely from Ukraine that almost all the wheat, rye, barley, cattle, flour, sugar, salt, and many other goods were exported, which were the annual toll of Czarist Russia for foreign export before the war. Particularly in the production of sugar the importance of the Ukrainian soil is indicated by the circumstance that of the total of 294 coarse and granulated sugar refineries which existed in Russia in the period 1914-1918, Ukraine had 198.

It is clear how great was the importance of Ukrainian grain in the feeding of the population of Western Europe before the war. Ukrainian rye went to Germany, Ukrainian wheat to England, and in part to Italy.

Ukraine produced chiefly grain, particularly wheat and barley. According to the data of production, export and import, the mean net excess in the years 1909-1913 in the nine Ukrainian provinces amounted to 180,000,000 poods of wheat and 211,000,000 poods of barley. A distant third is rye, yielding an excess of 32,000,000 poods, and finally comes oats with 9,000,000 poods. Altogether, the average excess for export of all four cereals together amounted in this period to the enormous figure of 432,000,000 poods annually. It goes without saying that the productivity of the fruitful Ukrainian soil, with the progress of cultivation, will be immensely increased, and Ukraine will be able to furnish an immense excess of cereals for the supply of other countries.

In addition to grain, Ukraine also exported cattle, but in incomparably smaller quantities. According to data furnished by railroad statistics, the average export from the nine Ukrainian Governments in the period of 1910-1914 was 231,000 head or 6,000,000 poods. Of course Ukraine will be capable of a considerable intensification of cattle breeding, and will therefore ultimately be able to export much greater numbers of cattle to other countries. The manufacture of sugar played an important role in the Ukrainian economy before the war. In the 1913-1914 season there were about 200 coarse and refined sugar factories in Ukraine, which produced an average of as high as 67 million poods per annum from 1911-1914.

The manufacture of alcohol in the nine Ukrainian provinces from 1909-1914, produced an average of 50,000,000 liters (24 per cent alcohol) only 61 per cent of which was used up in Ukraine; the excess was exported to Great Russia, the Caucasus, and to foreign ports.

Before the war, Ukraine was one of the most important purveyors of eggs in the world market; thousands of car-loads of eggs went to foreign markets.

Even this hasty review of Ukrainian exports of agricultural products before the war shows how important is the question of properly exploiting Ukraine, and, if necessary, imposing forced exports of grain, cattle, etc., to Western European countries as soon the war had been in progress for a few years and hunger and want began to be felt all over the world, particularly in Europe. It is not a source of surprise that the German imperialists, the day after the conclusion of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, did not throw their troops against "hostile" Russia, but against "friendly" Ukraine. As Comrade Rakovsky recalled in his report at the Fourth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, on May 18, 1920, the Ukraine of Petlura, according to the treaty that was signed between the Ukrainian "People's Republic" on the one hand, and Germany and Austria on the other, was to deliver by June 1, 1919: 75,000,000 poods of cereals; 11,000,000 poods of live cattle; 30,000 sheep; 2,000,000 fowl; 45,000 poods of fats; 2,500 carloads of eggs; 2,500,000 poods of sugar, 20,000,000 liters of alcohol, etc.

The problem of Ukrainian coal and iron ores has played an important part in our civil war. The Donetz Basin, which occupies the first place among all the industrial regions of Russia and Ukraine, became a basis of support, through its wealth in coal and iron, both for our internal counter-revolution, as well as for that which was of international origin, in their struggle against Soviet Russia and Ukraine. The Krassnovs, Kaledins, Denikins, and their European masters, dreamed of chaining the two Soviet republics by cold and hunger, by cutting off the Donetz Basin from Russia and Ukraine, and thus completely crippling the railroads in Russia and Ukraine, and bringing about a complete cessation of economic activity all over the country, resulting in mutinies against Soviet Russia on the part of a population maddened by hunger and cold. On the other hand, foreign capital was too strongly interested in the Donetz Basin to leave this region to the Soviet Republics without a struggle, and to give up the immense incomes yielded to European capitalists by the exploitation of the Donetz Basin.

It will be remembered that imperialistic Germany, on the day after the conclusion of the Brest Treaty, began moving to seize the Donetz Basin, and the German imperialistic press devoted many columns to a description of the resources of that region. It was calculated in much detail what quantities of coal, metals and ores might be taken

from this region by German industries and German occupational troops in the interest of German manufactures.

When the German troops were forced to leave the Donetz region, the latter became the object of the covetous desires of the Entente powers. As far as the coal and iron of the Donetz Basin are concerned, it is correct to say that our coal and our iron before the world war were exported to foreign countries only in very small quantities, but on the other hand—and this is of much greater importance from the standpoint of the interests of international imperialism and counter-revolution—the Donetz coal and iron were the magnet which attracted great quantities of European capital to the Donetz Basin, English, French, and Belgian industrialists have put in enormous sums in the metallurgical enterprises and mines of the Donetz Basin, and, as a matter of fact, the whole metal and coal industry of the Donetz Basin, before the November Revolution, lay in the hands of English-French-Belgian capital. Shortly before the war, in the year 1914, of the 3,600 coke ovens in the coal mines of the Donetz Basin, producing 173,000,000 poods of coke, there were 3,150 ovens, with a production of 153,000,000 poods in the hands of stock corporations having foreign capital exclusively; as far as the metal industry is concerned, foreign capital before the war had also been completely predominant in it. Thus, for instance, the well-known metal trust "Prodamet", which had concentrated into its hands 80 per cent of the total metal production, was chiefly a syndicate of Belgian and French capitalists, and its chief administrative center was in Paris.

The foreign capitalists invested enormous sums not only in the metal mines, the factories, and coal-mines of the Donetz Basin, but also in the tramway lines, the electric power stations, the railroads, and in other industrial enterprises throughout Ukraine, and they were by no means inclined to renounce these sources of income without a struggle. When the Germans left Ukraine, Petlura, who had once sold out to William II, went to Odessa to call on the French General d'Anselme, in order to sign with him a new treaty selling out Ukraine. By this treaty all railroads and customs offices of Ukraine were to pass into the hands of the French Stock Exchange.

As for imperialistic England, the latter is interested, as far as the Ukrainian question is concerned, not so much in the economic conquest of the coal and metal regions of the Donetz Basin, and of the concessions of Ukrainian railroads, customs offices, electric power stations, etc., as in *the problem of the conquest of Ukrainian grain*.

The important English bourgeois paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, in an article appearing in August, 1919, during Denikin's advance, said the following: "The harvest in Ukraine is satisfactory and may be sufficient to cover the needs of all Europe if only sufficient work is put in." Comrade Sokolnikov quotes from the English "White Book" concerning the Bolsheviki a very characteristic report

of an English agent to Lord Balfour: "Europe will suffer a serious need of foodstuffs so long as the fields of Russia are not sufficiently utilized to enable Russia, the granary of Europe, to supply all the European states with its exports of grain" (*Pravda*, May 12, 1920).

This consideration supplemented by the data above quoted, as to Ukrainian exports to foreign countries before the war, sufficiently show why the capitalist powers are attempting at any price to destroy the Soviet power in Ukraine and to reduce the country to a slavish dependence on the international capitalist market. This data also makes it clear why international capitalism, in undertaking campaigns against the two sister republics of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, always throw most of the military forces at their disposal against Ukraine. In the present catastrophic position of the entire capitalist world, in view of the acute necessity of obtaining at the earliest possible moment—today, not tomorrow—an extra million poods of cereals, sugar, salt, etc., just there is the basis for the feverish attempt of the German, Denikin, and Polish troops, to occupy precisely Ukraine. Here is the motive of that "Ukrainian obsession" which is so evident in all the war-like opponents of the Soviet power. History has many examples of sacrifices of important strategical plans and considerations, in war, to political motives, dynastic interests, resulting in the loss of the object of the campaign. In the case now under consideration, the heavy weight in the scales is the burning question of the stomach, the acute inexorability of the need for the Ukrainian flour bag, the Ukrainian sugar bag, and this has forced the strategists who were conducting the campaign against the Soviet Republic, to choose for their advance on Moscow not the shortest way, but without question the route by way of Kiev and other Ukrainian cities.

## Two Interviews

The Riga correspondent of *Kuryer Polski*, Warsaw, Mr. Linski, had two interviews with the representatives of the Russian Delegation, Manuilski, representing Soviet Ukraine, and Obolenski.

We quote from these interviews—together with a short description of the two Russians—the most significant points.

Manuilski is about forty years of age, of medium height, dark-complexioned, with bright eyes and a sympathetic smile. He speaks very quietly, without a trace of the demagogue, and delicately takes pains not to hurt any nationalistic feelings. When once unwillingly he used the phrase *poljskiye pany* (Polish lords) he began to beg my forgiveness. Obolenski, a descendant of an old aristocratic family, a grandson of a famous "dekabryst", looks like a Russian professor, with a blond goatee and a kind face.

We talked with Manuilski about the question of Soviet Ukraine.

*Question:* What is the relationship of Soviet Ukraine to Russia?

*Answer:* We are in the closest alliance on military, political, and economic matters, and for this reason, we have joint commissariats in those departments.

*Question:* Why is there no Ukrainian emissary in Moscow, and vice-versa?

*Answer:* Bourgeois conception . . . We are on such friendly terms that there is no need of emissaries. Instead of diplomatic relations in the coming Communist government, international solidarity will rule. The question of White Russia, Mr. Manuilsky says, is analogous to that of Ukraine, and therefore settled.

*Question:* Poland considers the question of Eastern Galicia also settled?

*Answer:* Oh, as to that, no! The Soviet diplomat defending himself adds: This would not harmonize with our principle of "one undivided Ukraine." Numerically, the Ruthenians are very strong there.

*Question:* Therefore, a plebiscite?

*Answer:* Fundamentally we consider this method the best to regulate ethnographical entanglements. This, however, does not settle the point. Nevertheless, I know that we don't intend to have Eastern Galicia separated from the rest of Ukrainia . . .

*Question:* While Poland cannot consider having Lemberg and Przemysl wrested from her?

*Answer:* Very illogical of you. You have striven to attain unity of the three parts and other territories of Poland; Ukraine also aims to unify all the lands inhabited by Ukrainians. However, we will consider this in the future.

Then I spoke with Obolenski on general topics. He said among other things:

Our peace proposals remained the same, but we will be glad to make several considerations, and we are waiting impatiently for your counter-proposal.

*Question:* What about disarmament?

*Answer:* It is necessary to differentiate two moments: political and technical. When peace will come, disarmament must follow, and its proportions will be decided upon by the authorities. Disarmament is a guaranty which we demand to safeguard peace.

*Question:* But, do you, gentlemen, sincerely desire peace, peace with a capitalistic state? Where is the struggle for the International and your other ideals?

*Answer:* At the present time we are entering a period during which we will abandon revolutionizing the world; it will be a period of the co-existence of two different systems of governments. It was so during the French Revolution. At the present time we aim to establish political and economic relations with Poland and the West in general.

This statement, undoubtedly very sensational, was entirely confirmed by Manuilski; and prior to this it was stated in the same way by the Secretary of the Soviet Delegation, Lorenz. In the course

of further conversation I learned from Mr. Obolenski that the Polish Communists, in organizing "rewkomy"—Revolutionary Committees—during the Bolshevik occupation, were doing this of their own initiative and on their own responsibility. The Moscow "Sovnarkom" tolerated their action of necessity, not extending its approval.

### PEACE WITH RUMANIA

Moscow, October 24.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has addressed the following radiogram to the Rumanian Government:

"With profound satisfaction the Soviet Government takes note of the wish expressed in your radio of October 8 that peaceful relations may be established at the earliest possible moment between Rumania and Russia, on a permanent basis. The Russian Government, on its part, has unalterably pursued this goal, and it is not the fault of this government that such relations between these two countries have not sooner been taken up. And just because our wish is to bring about such friendly relations between Russia and Rumania on a firm and permanent basis, the Russian Government considers direct negotiations to be the only means calculated to lead to the goal, in view of the fact that the interests of the two countries can be represented with greatest advantage for both parties if no foreign influence shall retard or disturb the realization of this our honest desire. As for the juridical side of the international relations between Soviet Russia and Rumania, this question can only be taken up in the course of such communications as we now have in view. There can be no doubt for the Rumanian Government that the relations thus far existing between the two countries are by no means normal relations, since a whole series of questions, touching on the one hand Rumania, and on the other hand Russia and Ukraine, can be solved only in the course of actual negotiations between the governments of these countries. The Rumanian Government shares our desire to escape from the present situation and therefore to enter into negotiations, that is, to hold a peace conference of the three governments. The basis on which the Russian Soviet Government intends to conduct negotiations with Rumania is a strict observance of the rights of the states and peoples concerned, and we are convinced that an understanding can easily be reached on this basis. The object of the approaching conference must be the solution of all disputes and questions between us, and the bringing about of permanent relations of peace and friendship. As soon as the Russian Soviet Government shall have obtained a final answer from the Rumanian Government on the immediate opening of a peace conference, it will communicate to the Rumanian Government the names of the delegates appointed by the Russian Government for participation in the conference. It is desirable that we should learn whether the Rumanian Government accepts the place recently proposed by us as the seat of the negotiations, namely, Kharkov."

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**T**HE capture of Crimea by the Reds, the establishment of Soviet rule in the Caucasus, and the occupation by the Red Army of the port of Batum, together with its recent victorious offensive against Petlura in northwest Ukraine, has brought the whole northern and northeastern and most of the eastern shore of the Black Sea under the complete control of Moscow. Besides this, the Nationalist Turks, holding more than two-thirds of the southern shore-line of the Black Sea, are, as far as we are informed, acting in harmony with the Soviet Government. The best and most powerful ports of the Black Sea, as well as numberless bases for submarine warfare, are at the disposal of the Soviet military and naval command. Here also are situated a great number of very excellent bases for naval aviation both for the Russians and the Turks.

The inexhaustible sources of petroleum in the Caucasus, the rich reserves of coal in the Donetz Basin, the enormous deposits of iron ore and manganese all along the shores of the Black Sea, as well as the Caucasian copper mines, together with the superhuman energy and activity of the Bolsheviki who have awakened the spirit of all the Russian people, will certainly induce and enable the Red Command, in a comparatively short time, to free the Black Sea from foreign invaders just as they cleared the territory of Russia from their numerous enemies.

More than that, I feel that the Bolsheviki will at last unite in a real family of brothers all the many nations which were held together for centuries by the brutal force of the autocratic rulers of Russia and will then have access through the historical straits to the warm seas.

After the collapse of Russian czarism, these nations became independent and started their own existence in the way that each considered right. They enjoyed free existence only for a very short time. The imperialistic capitalists of the west, like a flock of hungry crows, rushed upon them with a common aim, to put them under a new and more terrible slavery than that under the Czar—namely, under the yoke of the most powerful, most pitiless tyrant in the world—Capital.

After a short period of "independent existence" the Caucasian tribes, the Ukrainians in the south, the Lithuanians in the west, and the Estonians and Letts in the northwest, as well as the Finns in the north, fully realized that from a purely military standpoint they would be unable to defend themselves from the invasion of this terrible enemy. They understood that the new Russia, Soviet Russia, has a quite different policy from that of Czarist Russia or of the Russia planned by the so-called Russian "Socialists". They also realized that in order to gain for their people a real independent existence they had to be physically strong first of all. But how could they gain

military strength without the assistance of the great powers, who offered them military and naval support, and financial aid—in exchange for their giving up their economic and political independence?

Even their bourgeois leaders realized the approaching danger and hesitated. The time had passed for capitalistic imperialism to triumph. For during this period the new government of Russia, the Soviet Government, was beginning to be understood by its neighbors. They gradually became acquainted with the real political aims of Moscow, and gradually lost their fear of Bolshevik Russia, which they finally approached.

Their economic dependence upon Russia became quite clear to each of the small nations which had detached itself from the gigantic body of the former empire. Trusting Soviet Russia, and realizing the growing danger from the west, they were not afraid to make peace with the great Federal Socialist Republic.

Contemplating the fast growing power of the proletarian republic, the capitalistic coalition, after the complete failure of its aggressive policy towards Soviet Russia, turned to a policy of prevention. In the north, namely in the Baltic Sea, the most important strategical naval bases fell under the control of the Entente. In the south they captured Constantinople from the Turks in order to control the Dardanelles, and completely cut off the Russian mercantile fleet from outside waters, thus controlling all Russian foreign trade. Could Soviet Russia reconcile herself to such a situation? Will Ukraine or the Caucasus tolerate this restraint upon an independent economic existence? Naturally not, and they have decided to act accordingly. The capitalistic coalition is anxiously watching the Russian movement in the Near East. The Dardanelles must be under our control, say their diplomats. These gates must be guarded by us in order to keep Bolshevism from spreading throughout the world. "With the fall of Constantinople to the Reds nobody would be able to save Europe and the world from revolution," I read in the *Morning Post*, one of the most reactionary newspapers in England.

First of all this is wrong, and wrong entirely, because Soviet Russia is not aiming at Constantinople at all. Soviet Russia needs a free passage through the straits, which are important to her existence just as they are important to all nations with whom Russia must come in contact. Soviet Russia has absolutely no thought of controlling these straits. Russian strategists are clever enough to understand that control of the Dardanelles can not be gained by brute force, that to capture and occupy Constantinople and become master of the Bosphorus would not be sufficient; that it would be more difficult, in fact impossible, to hold this position, which from a purely military standpoint is utopian. The Russian Bolsheviki know well that

the route through the Sea of Marmora is a universal international route, and that therefore, it cannot be possessed or controlled by any one nation, nor by a powerful coalition of large nations.

The Allies are now trying to accomplish their aims by the same methods of aggressive strategy which the Russian Czars in the past fruitlessly tried in regard to the Dardanelles; they also thought that by defeating the Turkish army and seizing the Ottoman capital, they would once for all cut this Gordian knot. The present opponents of Soviet Russia on several occasions fought the Czars' armies in order to prevent this dangerous step by the Russian autocrats. They succeeded. Their naval and military force was stronger than the army of the Czar, and the international universal route through the Sea of Marmora remained in the possession of the Turks, who controlled it as guardians of capitalistic imperialism of the west. At that time there was no Bolshevism, and the military strength of a nation was estimated by its army in the field and its navy on the seas. The people were not taken into account and, strange to relate, Russia with her 60,000,000 people was beaten in 1854-55, during the Crimean War, by a comparatively small expeditionary force of the allies. Russia with an army twelve times as large as that of Japan lost the war in Manchuria in 1905.

Now the situation is quite different. Now all Russians fit for military service are taking arms in order to open connection for themselves through the blockade by which the enemies of humanity have decided to starve the Russian people.

The Russian policy is aiming at the Dardanelles—that is a truth that cannot be concealed from the world. The strategy of Soviet Russia has to carry out this political aim. But how different the tactics employed by the Bolsheviks in carrying out this strategical task from those used by the Czar's satraps in the past! The strategy of the Soviet Republic with regard to the near eastern campaign is not aggressive. It is based on sincere, friendly relations with their eastern neighbors, the Turks, the historical enemies of the Russian nation, strange to say. Now both peoples are not only friends, but almost cordial allies. They both suffered injustice from western imperialism, they were both robbed, oppressed, and menaced by the slavery of world capitalism; and both shed their blood for their independence. It brought them together, it inspired them with full confidence in each other. The Turkish proletariat stretched its hand to the Russian proletariat in an appeal for help—and they got it. The Red Army is ready to aid the Turkish "nationalists", assisting them to clear their country of invaders, the capitalistic bandits of the west; and this is a purely tactical support of an oppressed proletariat. They know well that the fate of the straits will be determined by forces that make aggressive Soviet Russian action unnecessary, and the final triumph of those forces is a matter of time only.

From a purely military standpoint the position of the Allies in Turkey is deplorable. The sud-

den turmoil in Greece which resulted in the collapse of the government of Venizelos, the puppet of the Entente, will certainly lead to grave consequences. There is no question that the Greek army in Asia Minor is on the eve of complete demoralization, while the Russian victory in Crimea, Georgia, and Armenia, naturally would increase the spirit of the "Nationalist" Turks reinforced by the active aid of their Soviet allies.

I have already mentioned that to capture Constantinople and seize the straits is one thing, and to hold them, another. Many months ago in the *New York Call*, as well as in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, I prophesied that the general collapse of the Allied invasion of Turkey was imminent. Well, we are now on the eve of it. The condition of the Anglo-French navy in the Black Sea cannot be considered brilliant, and its base, the Sea of Marmora, is now more likely to be a trap than a real naval base for serious naval operations.

The defeat of the armies of the Crimean Baron caused the Entente a great deal of trouble. One of the most important strategical and political centers in their Russo-Turkish campaign, namely Constantinople, entirely lost its military importance. It was already overcrowded with Russian refugees, all kinds of "volunteers", and troops of various nations; now it is a veritable tower of Babel, a nest of all kinds of international adventurers. According to the local press, as well as the information which we occasionally receive from trustworthy sources, no one power in the world will be able to bring order into the crowd which is flooding the capital of the Ottoman empire. Murder and crime rule in this so-called "main rear" of the Allied forces operating in Turkey. It is sufficient to say that a new Russian Government, yet without title, also has headquarters in Constantinople, and this is sufficient to understand the kind of surprises expected by brainless western strategists.

Kolchak, Denikin, and other White generals, all of them nursed the idea of leading the Russian armies upon Constantinople, and finally to get control of the Dardanelles. Wrangel succeeded, and he is there. Who can guarantee that he will not change his mind, give up being a pretender to the throne of Russia, and play a new part in the Eastern tragedy as a savior of Turkey from Bolshevism? But let us hope that the collapse of the Crimean Baron will bring the Allies to reason. In the Black Sea they have at their disposal very few well-equipped and solidly-protected ports to shelter their navy in an inner sea, which the Black Sea really is. Besides Constanza in Rumania, Burgas and Varna in Bulgaria on the western shores of the Black Sea, where it is doubtful whether the Allied navy will find bases for their operations, there are no more good ports in existence either to the west of the Bosphorus or to the east of the Bosphorus up to Sinope. We must not also overlook the fact that the current from the Black Sea into the Sea of Marmora is very strong, and that there is, therefore, great danger from floating mines for warships anchoring close to the straits of the Bosphorus.

The British knew that well when they tried to force the narrows of the Dardanelles. A very small detachment of submarines with a crew determined to win or perish would be able to force the invaders to clear the Black Sea; and once the Black Sea is free from the naval forces of the Entente it would not be a very difficult task to force them to abandon Constantinople and start home through the Dardanelles.

Everybody knows that the Russian Black Sea shores were almost unfortified; there were not in existence such modern fortifications as could be considered real strongholds against foreign invasion. But in spite of this the Russian proletariat defended their shores with great success, and succeeded in clearing them of invaders, supported by the most formidable navy in the world, and now holds such seaports as Odessa, Novorossyisk, Mariupol, Berdiansk, Kherson, Batum, and others. Would a sound-minded man believe that if the Allies had had the least power to prevent this from happening, by means of their naval forces, that they would not have done so?

They were powerless to fight the Russian revolutionary army in spite of their steel monsters. The Red artillery held them a respectable distance from land. The Red Navy, with submarines and other armed boats attacked them, everywhere, surprising their warships even when it was considered absolutely impossible to be attacked. The Red seaplanes, though imperfect, bombed them, and made many marvelous raids on their bases. And this was accomplished when Soviet Russia was in need of everything, when the rich Wrangel supplies were not yet at its disposal; when Russia, Soviet Russia was fighting alone on several fronts. Now the situation has changed—the Soviet Republic is no longer alone in opposing the attacks of the capitalist world.

## How I Saw the Red Dawn

By M. PHILIPS PRICE

[The following lines are taken from Chapter IX of a book on the Russian Revolution, which will probably be published shortly by Allen, Unwin and Co., London.]

November 7, 1917

It was the evening of November 6, and I repaired to the Smolny Institute, where the Executive of the old Menshevik Soviet had its offices. Roars of cheers were coming from the great hall. The Petrograd Soviet was sitting, and Trotsky was making a rousing speech to the delegates arriving for the Second All-Russian Soviet Congress. All was bustle and hurry, and a look of confidence was on everyone's face. "Demos" was arising from the depth, crude and defiant. Representatives of "revolutionary-democracy", sitting in the old Menshevik Executive upstairs, seemed strangely isolated from realities.

Trotsky was in the chair, and on the tribune now

rose a short, bald-headed little man, whom I had seen six months before, leading the tiny insignificant Bolshevik group in the First Soviet Congress. It was Lenin, without his moustache, which he had shaved off in order to change his appearance during the period of his forced concealment, now drawing to a close. He spoke of the coming Soviet Congress as the only guarantee for bringing peace, land and workers' control to Russia. Then someone whispered into my ear that news had just arrived that the Bolshevik Military Revolutionary Committee, with the aid of Red Guards from the factories and a part of the garrison who had occupied the Winter Palace, had arrested all the Ministers, with the exception of Kerensky, who had escaped in a motor car. I went to the Bolshevik Party Bureau on the lower floor. Here I found a sort of improvised revolutionary intelligence department, from which delegates to all parts of the city were being dispatched. Upstairs in the bureau of the old Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary Executive the silence of the grave reigned. A few girl typists were sorting papers, and the editor of the Menshevik *Izvestia*, Rozanov, was still trying to keep a steady countenance.

On the following day (November 7) the great hall of the Smolny was filled with delegates from every part of North and Central Russia—from those parts, in fact, where the poor half-proletarian peasants, land-hungry soldier-deserters, dominated the village and skilled artisans the urban Soviets. Upon the platform rose Lenin. His voice was weak, apparently with excitement, and he spoke with some slight indecision. He seemed to feel that the issue was still doubtful and that it was difficult to put forward a program right here and now. A Council of Peoples' Commissars, he said, was being set up and the list of names would be submitted to the Congress. The Council would propose to the Congress resolutions dealing with an immediate armistice at the front, with the rights of the Peasant Land Committees in the temporary possession of the landlords' latifundias, and with the control by Factory Workers' Committees over all operations of employers and managers. "We appeal to our comrades in England, France and Germany to follow our example," he concluded. "and we believe that the people, who gave Karl Marx to the world, will not be deaf to our appeal. We believe that our words will be heard by the descendants of the Paris Communards, and that the British workers will not forget their inheritance from the Chartists."

About ten o'clock at night I passed out of the Smolny Institute. In the street outside a group of workmen and Baltic Fleet sailors were discussing the Congress over a log fire. I passed along the banks of the Neva, already beginning to freeze in the shallows near the wharfs. A raw November fog was blowing up from the Finnish Gulf. Opposite the Vassily Ostrov lay the light cruiser *Aurora* and a destroyer with guns trained on the Winter Palace. "Stop!" shouted a voice, and I recognized a cordon of Red Guards across the road. I was



near the Winter Palace, which was now the seat of the Military Revolutionary Committee. "Where are the Ministers of Kerensky?" I asked one of the guards. "Safe across the river in the Petropavlosk Fortress," came the laconic reply. "You can't pass along here," said another.

I crossed the great Neva Bridge and approached the Petropavlosk. The Red Guards were standing round the gates and the Red Flag was flying from the tower of this "bastille" of Czarism. Yesterday Kerensky's Government of doubting Thomases in the Winter Palace was directing the fortunes of a crumbling social order. On this night its members were in this fortress, where they had but yesterday kept the Bolshevik leaders. The wheel of fortune had gone round and the Caliphs of the hour had passed. With their passage the Russian Revolution had entered upon a new phase. The Soviets of workmen, peasants, and soldiers had at last come into their own.

## The School in the Woods

By W. McLAINE

Russia has been at war for six years. Russia lost more men in the European War than all the Allies put together, and has gone on losing men since that war ended—if it has ended. Russia has been blockaded for three years. Russia was bankrupt as a State long before the Revolution. If the Communist Government of Russia had done nothing but carry on, it would have been wonderful, but they have done more than just carry on; they have done a large amount of new reconstructive work.

In their educational work they have performed miracles. Let me describe a memorable evening at a school.

On Tuesday, July 6, we sailed out of Samara at about 7 p. m. to visit what I have called "The School in the Woods." As our boat approached the landing stage where we were to disembark, we heard children's voices singing the "Internationale" and saw on the bank some two or three hundred children arranged in a group to welcome us. As we approached them they cheered vigorously, and waved their flags, pine branches, and bunches of flowers.

When we reached the group, a young boy of about thirteen years stepped forward with a great red standard, and in a remarkable little speech, bade us welcome. Every delegate present was hoping that he would not be called upon to reply. All were so affected that speaking would have been almost impossible. However, an Italian comrade managed to speak for a moment or so, then we all moved through the wood in the direction of the school. The children clustered round us, and hand in hand children and delegates walked in the cool of the evening, singing, and wonderfully happy in each other's company.

The school was once a bourgeois residence. What thoughts that brings to our minds. The great

houses of the old corrupt Russian families now turned into schools for hope of the world.

We looked over the school. Everything was clean and orderly. We found there, Russian children, Polish children, Yiddish children, children of known reactionaries, children of officers known to be fighting against the government, and so on. But in Russia there are no reactionary or other different kinds of children. There are only *children*.

The children wanted to know if our town children were taken away into the country for the summer months. They wanted to know if they were as happy and jolly in their school life as these boys and girls from Samara. Alas! We had to say that they were not. One boy with great pride told of his work, the fitting up of electric lamps in the school. He was twelve years of age. So we talked, and as we talked we laughed from sheer pleasure at the sights and sounds around us.

At midnight our boat sailed away. The twilight was merging into such darkness as that part of the world has. The children gathered on the bank and sang until we were out of hearing. Most of us had tears in our eyes. We did not want to go away. All of us had in our minds the thought: "Good-bye, little brown-faced happy boys. We leave you to your work and play, to your swimming in the river. Good-bye, little girls, graceful and sweet and smiling. We shall never see you again; maybe our government will be responsible for the murder of your parents, maybe for your death."

Yes, it may be so, but it will be no use blaming the Churchills or even the Labor Party. We are responsible for the lives of these children. This winter, many must die from cold and hunger—and British labor will allow great Christmas and New Year feasting in the London hotels and mansions. Nay, British labor will prepare, provide, and serve them.

"Little Russian boys and girls. British labor will be sorry for you, as it is for the boys and girls of Austria and elsewhere, but British labor is a giant asleep or drunk."

*"All citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations. . . ."*

Section 10, Article II, of the Code of Labor Laws of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

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## With or Against the People

The Petrograd edition of *Pravda* prints an extraordinary article by the academician Bekhteryev. This scholar, who is a well-known psychiatrist, even outside of the boundaries of Europe, attached himself to the Soviet Government from the very start and recently issued an appeal to Russian scholars living abroad, in which he calls upon them to return home and to devote their energies to the Russian people. His appeal has had the opposite effect among many of the Russian intellectuals who had fled to foreign parts; among these intellectuals is, for example, Professor Rostoftsev, who protests in a Russian newspaper printed in Paris against Bekhteryev's appeal. Bekhteryev now prints the following reply to this protest:

"The object of my article was to support the appeal of the Russian student youth, in which they call upon our scholars, professors, and students, living abroad, to return home. In my letter I expressed the great urgency of devoting one's intellectual creative forces to our own country, and declared that scientific work was entirely unpolitical, since the scholar must be permitted to work without limitations, without taking part in politics. Unfortunately I am not intimately acquainted with Rostoftsev's article, but to judge by what the Petrograd *Pravda* communicates of it, I am represented in Rostoftsev's statement as calculating my appeal in a manner hostile to our country. It would follow that those scholars who remain at home performing their scientific labors are committing a crime against their country. It seems as if Rostoftsev is making another attempt at the so-called "intellectual sabotage" which he tried once before, but which ended rather soon because those who had proclaimed this sabotage were the first to stop it. There is nothing of this kind in Russia any more, but it is possible that some Russian scholars living in foreign countries may still boast of sabotage. Professor Rostoftsev is probably able to labor abroad, and as he imagines that it would be a sin to cross our boundaries, let him work abroad in peace. But there are other Russian scholars of whom I know, for instance, that they are making a living in Finland by giving music lessons. To be sure they now receive some aid from the American Red Cross, but it is my opinion that such a condition is unworthy of a scholar, especially at a time when there is a great lack of professors and scholars in Russia. I ask, without any thought of personalities: Would it not be better to work together with our people at home, without taking part in politics, to instruct them or produce scientific workers? When our native country is passing through a severe crisis it is our duty to help and not to go abroad. It will not harm Professor Rostoftsev to learn that there are Russians abroad who fought against us not only with phrases but also with weapons for the sake of their political principles and who have yet been brought to admit that they must return home, in order to work there. In April I received

from Pjuchtiza (Esthonia) the following telegram: 'A group of former Yudenich officers and soldiers, not sympathizing with the party, would like to return to Russia, not to become soldiers, or to participate in politics, but in order to live for Russia and work for peace. We need your help. It is above all necessary to organize those abroad, who left Russia and now are eager to return home.' I immediately applied to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and the matter was disposed of at once. I therefore think that instead of Professor Rostoftsev's saying so firmly: 'I will not have anything to do with them!' he should rather put before him this alternative: '*Either one works with the people or against the people!*'"

### COMPOSITION OF THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION AT RIGA

*The Riga correspondent of the "Robotnik", organ of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.), writes:*

The chairman of the actual Delegation Committee, that is of the so-called "close few", is Mr. Yoffe, a physician by profession. Besides him there are Mr. Manuilski, a composer and musician, I believe, Representative of Soviet Ukraine; Mr. Obolenski, professor of social economy, and Mr. Kisor, secretary of the "four", evidently an authority on Polish affairs, who is to arrive within a few days.

At the head of the actual committee of authorities is Professor Bogolyepov, an economist and statistician; the vice-chairman is Mr. V. J. Pitchele (Finn), professor of social economy. In this committee there are also General Novicky, formerly commander of a corps in the Czar's army, and General Polivanov, former Minister of War in Schturmer's cabinet, and J. B. Rozenblat, Editor of the *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*.

All the delegates and authorities, with the exception of the two generals, belong to the Bolshevik Party. The generals, although not Bolsheviks, are nevertheless, according to the assurances of the Bolshevik secretaries, so loyal towards the Soviet Government that they were invited to the Riga conference; and that there is no fear that they will take advantage of the situation and betray Soviet Russia, escaping to France or to Wrangel.

The general secretary of the delegation is Mr. J. L. Lorenz, an alderman from Lodz, in what was formerly Russian Poland, son of a factory official, educated in a local gymnasium of the city of Lodz.

Mlle. Lizowska (Polish) was assigned to the post of chief interpreter. The director of the bureau of interpreters is Mr. Wacław Panski, a Polish Communist. Mr. Rozenberg is the chief of the publicity staff.

Altogether the Bolshevik Delegation numbers about sixty persons, who have brought along a variety of technical equipment, several automobiles, etc.

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NEXT WEEK.—Special 32-page issue, with text of Polish treaty and important articles.

## France 1798, Russia 1920

By MAGER DOOLITTLE

Does history repeat itself? I refuse to believe it. I refuse to believe it because I am not a pessimist; because I have faith to believe that through the ages an increasing purpose runs. Yet I admit that one's faith receives a severe jolt in the presence of so staggering a resemblance as exists between the international situations created respectively by the revolution in France in 1789 and in Russia in 1917. I know that I am speaking platitudes. But they are lugged in here merely as an excuse to introduce an interesting poem by Coleridge. Its name is "France: An Ode." Coleridge isn't known nearly so well as he is admired. He was not a voluminous poet, to be sure, but he did write some things besides "The Ancient Mariner." And "France" will be appreciated by those fortunate ones who have the knack of reading mankind's story in its literature.

Coleridge early came under the spell of the revolutionary mutterings in France; and indeed his career as a student at Cambridge was hopelessly marred thereby, for he became too much preoccupied with visions of social regeneration to be able to focus his mind on mere academic pursuits. What happened when triumphant democracy reared her head in France, striking terror to the hearts of the powers ranged around, and Coleridge's own spiritual reaction to the events of the day, are powerfully depicted in the following lofty verses. Read them thoughtfully, with one eye on what is going on today, and let your amazement grow:

When France in wrath her giant-limbs upreared,  
And with that oath, which smote air, earth and sea,  
Stamped her strong foot and said she would be free,  
Bear witness for me, how I hoped and feared!  
With what a joy my lofty gratulation  
Unawed I sang, amid a slavish band:  
And when to whelm the disenchanted nation,  
Like fiends embattled by a wizard's wand,  
The monarchs marched in evil day,  
And Britain joined the dire array;  
Though dear her shores and circling ocean  
Though many friendships, many youthful loves  
Had swoll'n the patriot's emotion  
And flung a magic light o'er all her hills and groves;  
Yet still my voice, unaltered, sang defeat  
To all that braved the tyrant-quelling lance,  
And shame too long delayed and vain retreat!  
For ne'er, O Liberty! with partial aim  
I dimmed thy light or damped thy holy flame;  
But blessed the paeans of delivered France,  
And hung my head and wept at Britain's name.  
"And what," I said, "though Blasphemy's loud scream  
With that sweet music of deliverance strove!  
Though all the fierce and drunken passions wove  
A dance more wild than e'er was maniac's dream!  
Ye storms that round the dawning east assembled,  
The sun was rising, though ye hid his light!"  
And when, to soothe my soul, that hoped and trembled,  
The dissonance ceased, and all seemed calm and bright;  
When France her front deep-scarr'd and gory  
Concealed with clustering wreaths of glory;  
When insupportably advancing,  
Her arm made mockery of the warrior's tramp;  
While timid looks of fury glancing,  
Domestic treason, crushed beneath her fatal stamp,

Writhed like a wounded dragon in his gore;  
Then I reproached my fears that would not flee;  
"And soon," I said, "shall Wisdom teach her lore  
In the low huts of them that toil and groan!  
And conquering by her happiness alone,  
Shall France compel the nations to be free,  
Till Love and Joy look round, and call the Earth their own."

But when from the fires of the revolution there ascended the spirit of Napoleon, and France embarked on a career of unprecedented imperialism, the shock was terrible, and the bitterness of Coleridge's soul poured itself forth in these lines:

Forgive me, Freedom! O forgive those dreams!  
I hear thy voice, I hear thy loud lament,  
From bleak Helvetia's icy caverns sent—  
I hear thy groans upon her blood-stained streams!  
Heroes, that for your peaceful country perished,  
And ye that, fleeing, spot your mountain-snows  
With bleeding wounds; forgive me, that I cherished  
One thought that ever blessed your cruel foes! . . . .  
O France, that mockst heaven, adulterous, blind,  
And patriot only in pernicious toils,  
Are these thy boasts, Champion of human kind?  
To mix with kings in the low dust of sway,  
Yell in the hunt, and share the murderous prey:  
To insult the shrine of Liberty with spoils  
From freemen torn; to tempt and to betray?

However, he accepts the inevitable, and in rather conventional British fashion thus expresses his opinion of the French:

The sensual and the dark rebel in vain,  
Slaves by their own compulsion! In mad game  
They burst their manacles and wear the name  
Of Freedom, graven on a heavier chain!

We do not agree with Coleridge that the imperialistic temper of the French people, perhaps partly induced by the victories of the Revolution, and utilized by Napoleon in his campaigns of aggression against Europe, represents a permanent characteristic of the French race, or that the French are "the sensual and the dark" any more than other peoples at moments when they are misguided. Nor do we believe, we may add, that the present imperialistic attitude of France, particularly toward Russia, will be forever tolerated by the French people. Napoleon himself explained his success in exploiting the French for military purposes by alluding to their love of glory, and of a leader who had acquired glory. As a matter of fact, such mental conditions may make a people exploitable for a short period, but they are necessarily of temporary nature. There is no doubt that imperialistic tendencies might similarly inspire the Russian people if intervention should be pressed with sufficient vigor against them. But such military campaigns, disastrous though they may be to the intervening powers, will not indicate any real and permanent characteristic of the Russian people, but will be merely a necessary answer to the military interference by those powers. Soviet Russia will attack only her enemies—and it would therefore be well for those states that have been actively supporting intervention to desist from doing so.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

SOVIET RUSSIA seems at the moment to be not so much misrepresented in the American press as was the case a month or so ago. Editorials appear in some of the daily papers that suggest a belief that the Soviet Government will not be immediately overthrown, and an apparent desire to have some sort of dealings with the new social system. Even the *New York Times* has softened its editorial venom on the subject of Russia, and only a week ago today completed the printing of a series of interesting and by no means unfavorable articles, in the form of a diary of Mrs. Clare Sheridan, who left Russia November 7; the *New York Globe* is still printing a series of instalments by Mr. Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, giving his impressions of Russia at a somewhat earlier period. Altogether, it would seem as if an angel of peace had ventured into the not unsullied editorial precincts and left behind some feeling of kindness in some rather hardened hearts. Or does it seem more as if some powerful government,—say that of England—had instructed its organs in other countries to be more cautious in their comments on Soviet Russia, because their employer might soon be disposed to enter into trade relations with the new order? Even France, by the way, was reported by the usual “well-informed circles” to be almost ready to consider a lifting of the ban against Soviet Russia, and to be emitting only low growls of persistence on the subject of a reimbursement for her loans to the Czar when he needed money to hold down the approaching revolution.

And yet, while we should like to be optimistic, and while we know that those who wish the new government and the new system well are persons of idealistic temper who like to believe that even England, France, and other countries are well-disposed, we cannot refrain from cautioning friends of Soviet Russia against being too sure that the present weakening of the current of hatred against that country is of permanent or genuine nature, or that it will necessarily lead to serious and lastingly satisfactory results. There are many forces, unfortunately, which have strong financial interest in preventing Soviet Russia from really undertaking the needed work of reconstruction, and it is difficult to believe that these forces, in France, England, and other countries, will consent to let any

opportunity slip by to launch another counter-revolutionary onslaught against the proletarian state.

It is not impossible, therefore, that further delays may arise in the signing of the Commercial Agreement between Soviet Russia and England. This signing has been awaited at earlier dates and has already been several times delayed. Thus, on November 16, the *Daily Herald*, London, announced that the Russian Trade Agreement, the signing of which was expected at any moment, would probably not be signed “this week.” And, needless to say, the agreement was not signed that week. By the way, the reason assigned by the *Daily Herald* for that failure to sign the agreement is interesting:

A much more serious claim is that made by the British purchasers of Russian property—land, factories, timber, etc.—from Russian emigres.

It is said that a gamble on a vast scale has been going on in this kind of property in financial circles, and these claims the Soviet authorities, quite naturally, refuse to consider.

The situation is regarded as very delicate, and it is now no secret that, as announced in the *Daily Herald* yesterday, there is strenuous opposition in the Cabinet to the Prime Minister's policy.

“SO flickers through darkness and hunger, the thin flame of the Russian mind,”—is the comment of *The New Republic* (November 24) on the passages it has quoted from H. G. Wells' second article on Russia, an article to which we paid our respects editorially, by the way, in our last issue. Mr. Wells' articles are prolix and diffusive, and, like all the long productions of the “impartial liberal spirit,” they mean many things to many men. It is interesting that to *The New Republic* they mean that the lot of the intellectual in Russia is hard, and that much must be done in all countries to safeguard and shelter the gifted scientist and litterateur so that they may have the comfort and high spirit necessary to produce their valuable work. With apparent approval *The New Republic* quotes Mr. Wells' sentences: “Science, art, and literature are hothouse plants, demanding warmth and respect and service. The collapse of the Russian Imperial system smashed up all shelters in which such things could exist.” Of course, neither Mr. Wells nor *The New Republic* would wish that Czarism should be restored in order to reerect the shelters in which such things as science, art, and literature could exist, but both seem to think that the Soviet Government, with its “crude Marxian philosophy,” neglected the flower of intellect and art until, in the composite words of *The New Republic* editorial:

Too late, perhaps, the Communist Government awoke to find science, art, literature dying on its hands, and its efforts to keep the spark alive are clumsy, since “Marx, the prophet, and his sacred book supply them with no lead at all in the matter.” The hero of what salvage is being made of intellectual men and women is Gorky, who “has a passionate respect for the value of western science and culture . . . and has found a steady support in Lenin.” Between him and “the more creative intelligence in the Bolshevik Government” have been organized the House of Literature and Art in Petrograd—and, more developed, the House of Science, which feeds rations to some 4,000

scientific workers and their families, and provides them to a small extent with hospital conveniences, baths, clothing."

We know that the Soviet Government is doing all it can to secure life and the opportunities for labor and research to the many scholars and artists in the population, but we nevertheless feel constrained to point out to the school-bred and university-sheltered intellectual that the importance of affording special conditions of life to those who have had the privilege of a better intellectual and artistic training than their fellows is capable of occasional exaggeration and over-statement. The nursing of a special artist and scientist class is sometimes very useful, but as often as not the race that sacrifices itself for such persons is cherishing a serpent at its breast. Perhaps some of the misery to which the Bavarian people were subjected, in order that Richard Wagner and Ludwig II might have sufficient funds and leisure to live and create—and dissipate—was transformed into immortal music, but the mass of evidence presented by the experience of Bavaria and the rest of Germany would make it seem just as well to have the scholar and the artist, and the privileged folk generally, put themselves more closely in contact with the trials and discomforts of the rest of the population. We are thinking of the ninety-three German intellectuals who signed an "Appeal to the Civilized World" in October, 1914, in defence of the imperialistic war that the German Government was then waging against Russia, France, and England. Ninety-three of the most sheltered and pampered brains in Europe were found able and willing to sign a statement, obviously intended to secure favorable attention to German propaganda in foreign countries, in which all the claims of the government of the Hohenzollerns—that it was waging a war for German Kultur, that Germany was beset by cruel, implacable foes who would not let her live in peace, and that the war that had been "forced upon" Germany must be won by her in order that she may again pursue the arts of peace undisturbed—found full support and loud assertion. And thousands of additional signatures to this document might easily have been obtained in Germany, if it had not obviously been the intention to strengthen the effectiveness of the document by having it emanate from the highest circles only, of art, science, and literature. These ninety-three men, those of them that are still living, are now pitifully preparing declarations admitting that they had subscribed to errors in their statement of six years ago. Perhaps Entente scholars will have mercy now and send them some food.

Were these men all liars, or did they not know any better? We shall not presume to judge, although we cannot fail to recognize the hypnotic power of a nationalist idea that has been inculcated by frequent repetition, for years, in the heads of the successful intellectual bureaucracy of a very successful commercial civilization. But whether their support of this document was honest or dishonest, it was a terrible mistake, and served to aid the German Government in holding the support of

the less learned and more easily influenced portions of the population. And that is precisely what the ninety-three picked men of Germany should not have done. Anyone who is acquainted with conditions in the university world of Germany before 1914—and in Germany, more than in any other country, the noted scholars and artists had been provided with professorships in the universities—will recall how much was done for these men in the form of emoluments, privileges, royalties, social status, general adulation. Every chance to develop their minds, to withdraw themselves from the rude efforts of other men—had been afforded to this chosen band. Special opportunities to study and to sharpen their wits were given them, and for the artists even a special morality was proclaimed. And when the great hour of fate arrived, when the intellectual celebrities of the German people should have given proof that they had not only intelligence, but also courage, when the people looked to them to speak proud words of disdain and disavowal to the butchers that were driving the German people like cattle to the slaughter—those celebrities stripped themselves of the medals they had received from British and French academies, and sent back their doctors' diplomas to the foreign universities!

It was but poor service the German people got from their "great men" when they needed it.

But the German people found—and had always found—other champions. The German university faculties never produced any historian who was the equal of Franz Mehring, nor an uncompromising proclaimer of truth to equal Karl Liebknecht, nor an economist to equal Karl Marx—to the audacious task of shaving whom Mr. Wells announces he is about to raise his fastidious lance. These men were nursed by conditions far less favorable to comfort and abstract thought than those of the German professors, but they turned out to be better men and straighter thinkers. In Germany, as in other countries, a few lone scholars held out and refused to sign such documents as the above, or even actively opposed the autocracy; but they were men to whom their office seemed to involve a duty in return for all the privileges it had brought them. Most of the learned and the artistic in all the countries of the world had come to regard themselves, however, as individuals who must be preserved no matter what might be the fate of the civilization that had produced them.

The "thin flame of the Russian mind" is not flickering. There is darkness and hunger, but more thought has recently come out of Russia than out of any other country. The forms of life are changing, the ancient ruins crumbling, and the new life that blossoms from the fragments will not fail to assume shapes that are lovely, or impressive, or profound, as the case may be. Perhaps there will be fewer expert specialists in certain fields, but then this may be an era in which the production of great philosophers and statesmen is more important than that of novelists and technologists.

THE same issue of *The New Republic* that approvingly quotes Mr. Wells' words on the "flickerings of the thin flame of the Russian mind" also has a little editorial passage which may come to Mr. Wells' attention, if Mr. Wells admires and reads *The New Republic* as much as it admires and reads him. Here are two little sentences from this passage:

For thousands the present industrial depression means frugality in the use of luxuries, and perhaps the necessity of living on their capital. But for hundreds of thousands, who have no capital, and no luxuries to give up, it means less bread and butter, patched clothes, pale children, cold jobless months with the breadline at the end.

Will Mr. Wells still maintain in his victorious persiflage with Zinoviev, Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, that the interpretation which Soviet Russian officials put on western European conditions is based upon a blind following of the teachings of Karl Marx, and will he—provided he really takes seriously the picture drawn by *The New Republic*—still insist that there are not less than 200 social classes in England?

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IN Mr. Wells' third article, the last to which we shall have time to devote any attention in these columns, the former head of the German Department of the British Foreign Propaganda expresses two opinions as to the relative stability of the various governments in Europe that should not have escaped the pen of so astute an official. But perhaps they are careless verdicts, which the hasty journalist, who has to turn out such an article every week, had no time to revise or adapt to each other. We give them as they stand; the former occurs rather early in the article (*N. Y. Times*, November 21), the latter near the close:

1. "Today the Bolshevik Government sits, I believe, in Moscow as securely established as any government in Europe, and the streets of Russian towns are as safe as any streets in Europe."

2. "We may drive what will remain of Bolshevik Russia to the steppes and the knife if we help Baron Wrangel to pull down the by no means firmly established government in Moscow under the delusion that thereby we shall bring about representative institutions and a limited monarchy."

The only way to reconcile the two statements is under the assumption that no government in Europe is stable, and so able a propagandist as H. G. Wells could not have meant to say that.

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H. N. BRAILSFORD is also writing a series of articles on Russia. The first appeared in *The New Republic* of November 24, the same issue that printed apparent approval of H. G. Wells' sayings. But no observers of Russia could be farther apart than H. N. Brailsford and H. G. Wells. Wells goes to Russia overflowing with apt sayings and smart repartee; to Zinoviev he audaciously denies that there are any less than 200 social classes in England; he undertakes blandly to expand the allegedly growing sense of futility and non-performance in Russia; his brilliant mind demands proof that the Civil War in Ireland is a class struggle,

and his adroit fingers itch not only to turn out the well-selling world-solving serial, but also to attack the irritating wilderness of Karl Marx's beard. Uppermost in the bright Mr. Wells' mind was always to tell somebody something; in Russia, when he suspected men of feeling that perhaps the revolution was not going well,

"I tried to assist in the development of this novel and disconcerting discovery, and also I indulged in a little lecture on the absence of a large class-conscious proletariat in the western communities."

Mr. Brailsford didn't go to Russia to teach, but to learn. And his conclusions are therefore worth reading. How different, are his observations from those of Wells. In the little manufacturing town of Sobinka, near Vladimir, on the Moscow-Nizhni-Novgorod railway, he finds huge cotton-factories, and carefully studies what might have been the causes leading to the establishment of such an industry in such a God-forsaken place, without transportation, without fuel close at hand, without the raw-material (cotton), and finds that the reason why capital had determined to take a chance here, under the Czarism, was simply the presence of a large number of poor laborers who could be employed at a very low wage. Mr. Brailsford's remarks are not those of the sensational artist, of the journalist writing acceptable stuff for a shallow reader, but those of a careful student who presents his conclusions at the end of a convincing array of facts, arranged very much in the order of the premises and conclusion of a syllogism. Mr. Brailsford has sympathy for the millions of Russian workers who are trying to solve the greatest economic problems in history, but his sympathy does not prevent him from attempting seriously to determine what are the causes that have made the task a difficult one, and in this study he chooses carefully the regions best exemplifying certain conditions and then proceeds to analyze them with clearness and thoroughness. It is a real student of conditions who places before us the interesting fact that on the whole the appearance of city populations in Central Europe is physically less favorable than in Russia, and then shows how far below Western European food standards the Vladimir proletariat is nevertheless obliged to live. (Always concrete in his treatment, Mr. Brailsford, when he gives statistics, tells where he got them, and to what town they apply, instead of picturing a fabulous East creeping insidiously westward over the Russian steppes.) We believe that these six articles of Mr. Brailsford in *The New Republic* will be worth reading. There are still five to come. Read Wells for amusement and Brailsford for information.

### *Marx and Russia's Beards*

An article on this subject, suggested by Mr. H. G. Wells' irritation over the beard of Karl Marx, has been prepared by Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich, and will appear in our next issue (32-page number).

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## O'er the Russian Lapland

By JOHN S. CLARKE

COMRADE CHRISTIANSEN of the Murmansk "excise" department is a tall, broad-shouldered, fair-haired, fresh-complexioned Finn. He speaks English very well, is good-natured, and solicitous for the welfare of all friends of Russia. He guided us from our boat to the "customs house", took charge of our few belongings, prepared water for our ablutions, a bed for our weary bodies, and gave us "the freedom of the city." Elsie Varsten made dinner for us of cabbage soup (in which floated a piece of pork fat), raw anchovies, and tea.

Afterwards we wandered all over the settlement, went where we liked, did what we liked, and photographed anywhere and anything we liked.

It was a Saturday, and the "subotnik" or voluntary labor was in progress. Scores of men were engaged in digging foundations and trenches for railway buildings.

No cigarettes. Imitation tobacco rolled up in pieces of newspaper. A diet that would cause a British clerk to faint with fatigue when he lifted a pen. Rags and tatters. Mud and misery. Such was life at Murmansk. But—smiling faces, light hearts, breasts filled with hope, and minds with vision.

And out of it all the song, the song of hard toil for Freedom.

Shovels and picks plied rhythmically, piled the earth up in ridges above the heads of those who dug. A huge locomotive puffed and grunted back and forth. Up and down the slippery bank went the pony carts, drawn by mountain ponies, hogganed, fat and well-groomed, and driven by ancients with flowing beards. Grinning Mongolian faces passed by, their owners giving us a welcoming "cheero", and going mad with delight at the gift of a real cigarette. From the hillside a woman came toward us. A ragged skirt reached to her calves, which were bare; she was shod in a pair of soldiers' "bluchers", and the upper portion of her attire consisted in the darned and stitched remnants of a man's jacket. Under her arm she carried a tin bowl half-full of wild bilberries, which she insisted on our sampling, pouring them into our hands. We tried to thank her, and, with merry laughter at the two "Tovarishi" from a land whose people were responsible for her country's martyrdom, she walked away humming with a prick-eared mongrel trotting at her side.

Around a building near by, a group of prosperous looking children played hide and seek, while two little boys "rather more grown", as Ingoldsby would say, made valiant efforts to drag a protesting fluffy-haired puppy along with a piece of string.

"Kids", I said sententiously to Gallacher, "are the same the world over." With which piece of not very remarkable wisdom we went in to bed.

At four forty-five p. m. next day we departed for the south. An enormous locomotive piled high

with wood fuel drew our formidable looking train. The passengers, with few exceptions, were soldiers of the Red Army en route for the Polish front, the exceptions being railway workers, and in one or two cases the wives of some of the soldiers. Our compartment was a nightmare in yellow wood and two storeys. The broad wooden seat of the Russian train folds up like a bed couch, and when opened out joints the seat opposite to it, making sleeping accommodation for two. Likewise the "back" lifts up, and by a rod and socket arrangement another plank bed is supported above, on which two more travelers may sleep, provided their anatomy is sufficiently elastic to permit them doing so.

After the customary hand-shaking we climbed up the ladder and were soon moving along the sandy track. For some distance we followed the gulf, losing sight of it now and then through the obtusion of scrub-clad banks down which were scattered thousands of tons of boulders and pebbles, fallen trees, and war-time debris.

On either side, lamentable to behold, every form of rolling-stock lay in ruin, half submerged in morass or smashed up beyond hope of repair. Everything we looked at on this dejected track seemed symbolical of destruction. The very herbage was black, burned up by the fires set ablaze by the myriad sparks blown from the engine fire-box. Everything, too, was so painfully discernible, for speed is admittedly not the strong point of the Murmansk train service. Two trains per week leave on their thousand mile journey, and the speed varies between five and fifteen miles per hour.

The first stop is at Kola itself, an old, very small village situated at the extremity of the gulf, where it is joined by the torrential rivers Kola and Talom. Over its rock encumbered bed the water rushes cataract-like, not with the song of poetic fancy, but with the noise of distant thunder accompanied by the hissing of ten thousand fiends. The roar is greater in the immense ravines where the current is swifter, and where the splash of a hundred cascades, falling like avalanches of silvery feathers down the rocky sides, augment the disturbance.

The sandy bed is stirred by the agitated torrent which hurls over every boulder in its path a mass of reddened spray and yellow foam. The spray does not sparkle during its dance in the air, for the gigantic granite walls shut out the sun's beams; but to glance down into the gloom where the patches of spray leap amid the devils' orchestra of the rushing waters is to catch a momentary glimpse of the Inferno's own dark river.

Crossing this we arrived at Kola, and drew up at the pine wood building which does duty as the station. In the distance the tiny church, the inevitable village landmark, stood conspicuously with its tower and cupola dwarfing the wooden houses nearby. Kola is an ancient village. It was once

Russia's "farthest north", being the earliest settlement known to have been made by Novogorodian emigrants on the Murman Coast, and mentioned in the chronicles as early as 1264 A.D.

In 1550 Ivan the Terrible fortified it during his wars with the Swedes and renamed it Citadel of Kola, from which time until one hundred years ago it was used as a place of exile for political prisoners. Kola was destroyed in 1855 by the English.

The buildings of the recent British occupation stand on the ground immediately adjoining the railroad. On my return to Kola with the Russian Labor Delegation I made investigation among the simple trappers and fishermen who inhabit the settlement, and learned of further brutalities perpetrated by the British officials. After hypocritically alleging that their military base at Kola was for "defensive" purposes, i. e., to protect these unconcerned people against Bolshevism, the British C.O. requisitioned houses, wood, produce, and labor belonging to the civil population, who, when they protested, were told their settlement was now under martial law, and that future complainants would be severely punished.

These half-savage children of the frozen tundra, living the most peaceful of lives up to that moment, had no more idea of the significance of British martial law than their sledge-dogs had. They continued therefore to protest against the wanton destruction of their property, the invasion of their sacred privacy and unwarrantable interference with their economic life. The British democracy-savers, liberty-lovers, and small-people protectors therefore stopped the "grousing" by sentencing to death and executing five inoffensive villagers, leaving their dead bodies to rot in the swamps. I stood beside their graves, marked by the little white painted Greek crosses, in that melancholy far away Arctic land. Beside me stood a group of wondering muzhiks and trappers in sheepskin coats tied by ropes, huge boots, and enormous "bonnets". Their eyes glittered like beads that peeped from a shaggy mass of hair that grew all over their faces and drooped beneath the peaks of their caps; their huge knarled hands hung listlessly at their sides, and their whole bearing was one of patient, uncomplaining resignation. My eyes wandered from these to the little railed-off enclosure where five of their fellows lay beneath the shadows of the holy crosses with their one-time sturdy hearts penetrated by British bullets, and my mind flew off to London, to the garden parties at Buckingham Palace, to the oily eloquence of number 10 Downing Street, and the lispng lunacy of the Dundonian baboon, and I felt there was more honor, more truth, and more manhood in the little finger of a slit-eyed, squat-faced Eskimo or Samoyede of the Arctic steppes than in the entire carcass of a British "gentleman".

After leaving Kola the train crosses the entire peninsula from the Arctic Ocean to the inner reaches of the White Sea. The peninsula is about 443 miles (English) from west to east and 266

miles from north to south. The line winds unevenly across the country owing to the number of obstacles this land presents. From Kola in the north to Kandalaksa at the southern end the journey is through the forbidding forest zone and over the moss-grown wilds covered with bogs, swamps, and lakes. Huge stretches of dreary wastes called by the geologist "tundra", overgrown with mosses and lichens, with here and there in more favorable spots a sprinkling of dwarf birch and willow-scrub. Bordering this and intermingling with it, but never wholly absent from it, is the forest wild. Thousands of miles of it, making a coniferous ring around the top of the globe with the ice-capped center called the polar regions lying like a monk's tonsure on the top. Pine, fir, larch, birch, and willow are the chief growths of the forest zone, inhabited by characteristic fauna of the tundra—lemmings, Arctic foxes, mountain hares, reindeer, and in the summer weasels, wolverines, wolves, and brown bears.

Here once roamed the lordly mammoth fighting his unequal fight with the parsimonious, blizzard-ridden north, and here he succumbed, as unfitted to survive in such conditions as a White Army in a Red land. The crawling train wriggles along through the slender trees until Lake Imandra is reached. Here the forest vanishes on the right (on the downward journey) and beyond the lake, which we were more than a day in passing, the Hibinski mountains with their peaks veiled in perpetual snow rise 1,000 feet above sea level. One looks upon, also, Mount Bozia (or God's Hill), where the ancestors of the Lapps offered up sacrifices to their gods. These mountains are honey-combed with caverns, studded in parts with crystals of translucent quartz and amethyst. In the ground, untouched as yet by man, there is known to be "riches beyond the dreams of avarice"—minerals of highest quality. Silver, lead, iron, copper, zinc, gold, platinum and precious stones. The forest timber alone is estimated at £100,000,000. Pearls have been discovered in the rivers.

To look upon the dismal landscape—dismal except where the tree-clothed hills relieve the view, or when over a wooden bridge we crawl caterpillar-like over an angry cataract, and to follow the old rotting military road through the bogs and over the rock-strewn mosses, one marvels at the endurance, the heroism, and the industry of the men and women who, only a few years ago, laid out the track for this desert railway line.

The ghostly-looking trees, the limitless expanse above, the awe-inspiring silence, and—visions of the Nevsky Prospect, the Nicolskaya, and the International Congress. The lines of the Russian poet, Nekrassov, crept into the mind:

"There is noise in the capitals, the orators thunder,  
The war of words rages;  
But there, in the depths of Russia,  
Is the silence of centuries.  
Only the wind gives no rest  
To the tops of the pine trees along the waste."

Only the wind, till an excited shout from Gal-



lacher draws attention to a majestic dragon-fly, which like a miniature monoplane, only infinitely more beautiful, sweeps from its marsh and vibrates above our heads, an epic in gauze and gold.

Every few hours the train draws up at a wooden pump house, which supplies the engine with water drawn from a lake nearby.\* At the same spot wooden logs cut from the forest are piled up ready to be thrown on to the tender for fuel. At some of these lonely places a "boiler house" is established for supplying travellers with hot water for their tea, and as the train stops an eager crowd bolts along the permanent way with billy-cans and metal jugs, each member of it endeavoring to grab the coveted prize first.

It was unanimously decided by our small party, which now numbered seven—three Finns, an American, Gallacher, myself, and our courier—that Gallacher, being the greatest tea-drinker, should be the principle hot water diplomat, and right well and worthily did he carry out the trust "imposed" upon him.

At first, of course, he sometimes conveniently forgot to grab his tin in time, but learning by bitter experience that the inexorable law of Soviet Russia is: "He who does not hop it quickly neither shall he drink," William accepted the "discipline", and did some magnificent sprinting when the occasion demanded it.

His efforts, however, to learn the results of the Red advance on the Polish front by talking Scotch to Russian-Finns were not so brilliantly successful. He would first grab a soldier in the corridor, who was as well acquainted with Paisley Scotch as a cabbage is with the philosophy of Bergson, and the conversation would follow on these lines:

W. G.—"Poles, Poles, are they defeated?"

Soldier—"Ne uponymio!" (I don't understand).

W. G.—"Poles—defeated?"

Soldier—"Ne uponymio!"

W. G.—"Poles—beaten—defeated—beaten?" (a little fistcuff display).

Soldier (stoically)—"Ne uponymio!"

W. G.—"Poles beaten! y'ken beaten—washed out—up the pole?"

Soldier (with loud guffaw)—"Ne uponymio!"

And so on, ad infinitum.

When halts were made for fuel replenishing, the duration of the stay was anything from half an hour to an hour, and on these occasions we wandered into the fringe of the forest and plucked bilberries which literally carpeted the rocky and swampy earth. These were delicious to eat, but they dyed the tongue and lips a deep blue, giving them the same appearance as a chow-chow dog's. At several calling points the few workers who

\* On Lake Imandra, many hours' journey from Kola, the train in which I travelled back to Murmansk stopped for water. The train from Murmansk passed us at this spot, or rather it drew up and travellers dropped out of both trains on to the track to greet one another and exchange news. I had climbed on to a gigantic rock to watch the approach of the new train, and as it slowed up I descended and stood exactly opposite a compartment, from the window of which I saw the excited and smiling face of Helen Crawford staring at me. I was dressed Russian fashion, and was quite alone at the time, which made her think it was a ghost she looked at. We were both delighted at this strange meeting in a strange land.

felled the logs, and fished in the streams for their daily food, would visit the train with bowls of these berries, which they bartered with us for bread or sugar. In these little transactions there was an entire absence of "haggling". At the gift of a handful of loaf sugar, which we had purchased in Norway, their childish gratitude knew no bounds, and for a piece of bread they literally wept their thanks.

I gave a woman some sugar at one hamlet, and placed one lump into the mouth of her child, a boy of three years. The mother anxiously endeavored to extract this piece of wealth from the "wean's" teeth. He had evidently never in his short life experienced such delightful sensations as the taste of sugar was giving him, and his little teeth closed like grim death upon it, until the effort to remove it had to be abandoned.

Gallacher made frequent and furtive expeditions back to the train, returning each time with sugar for some of these forlorn and tragic-looking people, who, we were assured, had an abundance of food, but of a monotonous kind.

It must be remembered that these people are the inhabitants of a most peculiar country. The entire population, including the Lapps, is so scarce that it hardly works out at one person to the English square mile. For over six months in the year the ground is covered with deep snow and the river are all frozen. Hunting, reindeer breeding, felling and floating timber, preparing charcoal and tar are the only real occupations. Agricultural pursuits are simply impossible, and earth cultivation is limited to the production (in fortunate circumstances) of a few potatoes and a very few turnips. The ground for these is artificially made by burning immense quantities of brushwood, tree branches, and dead leaves, and the mixing of ashes with the sand.

For hundreds of miles we did not observe one solitary patch of cultivated land nor yet a plant of any description that had been planted by the hand of man. Nothing but the tundra and dreary-looking forest enlivened here and there by patches of pink alpine flowers.

Hour after hour sped by until the trees on our right became less dense, and through them we could see the still blue waters of the White Sea. Soon we arrived at the little town of Kandalaksa, having crossed the whole of Russian Lapland, and were in the land of the Pomors and Karelians.

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# Peace Treaty Between Soviet Russia and Lithuania

[The following is a translation of the treaty of peace signed at Moscow on July 12, 1920, between representatives of the governments of Soviet Russia and Lithuania.]

Lithuania, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, having firmly resolved to establish their future mutual relations on the basis of righteousness and justice to the end that peace and good-neighborly relations be secured between both nations and their inhabitants, have decided to open negotiations, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Lithuanian Democratic Republic:

Thomas Naruszewicz,  
Peter Klimas,  
Simeon Rosenbaum,  
Joseph Vailokaitis, and  
Vylantas Raczkauskas.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic:

Adolph Abramovich Yoffe,  
Julian Iosephovich Markhlevsky, and  
Leonid Leonidovich Obolensky.

After a reciprocal exchange of credentials which were found to be in the proper form and in good order, the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have come to an agreement on the following:

## ARTICLE I

In accordance with the declaration of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of the right of all nations to free self-determination, Russia recognizes without reservations the independence and sovereignty of the Lithuanian State, with all the juridical implications of such recognition, and renounces forever all sovereign rights to Lithuanian territory.

The former sovereignty of Russia over Lithuania shall not imply any obligations toward Russia on the part of the Lithuanian people or their land.

## ARTICLE II

The frontier between the states of Lithuania and Russia shall be as follows:

Starting at the point where the Grodnyanka River falls into the Bobr, two versts to the east of the village Chernolyes, the frontier shall follow the Grodnyanka River between the villages Khmelniki-Khmelevka and Levki-Olsha; from this point the frontier line shall continue by land to the southern side of the village Vesselovo, thence along the nameless tributary of the Kamena River to the point where this tributary falls into the Kamena, about one verst along the Kamena River, continuing by land to the village Nerastnaya up to the source of the nameless tributary of the Sidra River; then along this tributary to the point where it falls into the Sidra, within a distance of one verst from the village Siderka; thence along the Sidra River, between the villages Sheshtan and Siderka, past the town Sidra, between the Villages Urashi and Ogorodniki, past the villages Beniashi and Litvinka, between Zhverany and Timany, and to the village Lovchiki; thence by land to the southern side of the village Valkushi and further to the northern side of the village of Chuprinovo; then into the hills, to the trigonometrical point within one verst's distance from the southern side of the village Novodielo; further along a line about one verst toward the north from the village Tolchi, thence to the southern side of the village Dubovaya, then along the river Indura; past the village Lushki, past the villages Prokopovich and Beliaeyvo; then along the Lasha River, past the village Bobrovniki, to the point where the Lasha falls into the Svisloch River. Thence the boundary line follows the Svisloch River to the point where it falls into the Nieman, then by the Nieman to the Berezina, then by the Berezina, Isloch, and Volozhinka, along the western side of the city of Volozhino and the northern side of the villages Brilki, Burmoki, and Polikshehiuchizna; thence in a northeastern direction toward the villages Melashi and Gintauchizna, within one verst's distance from them, then in a northeastern direction toward the town Kholkhle,

one verst's distance from its western side; then along the western side of the village Sukhanarovichizna, within about one verst from the village. The frontier shall then turn to the northeast and follow along the western side of the village Beresovtsi, one verst distant from the village, then along the western side of the village Vaskauchi, along the western side of the village Lyalkovchizna, one verst distant from it; turning there toward the north it shall follow along the western side of the village Kuliavchizna and further between the villages Dreni and Zherlovki; thence toward the northwest along the eastern side of the village Garavino and along the western side of the village Adamovichi; then toward the village Mislevichi, then along the eastern side of the village Bukhovshchizna to the station Molodechno, running through the latter in such a way that the Vilna-Molodechno-Lida railway line shall remain on Lithuanian territory and the Vileika-Molodechno-Minsk railway line—on Russian territory; thence along the Bukhovka River to the point where it falls into the Usha, then by the Usha River to the village of Ush; then, turning toward the northeast, along the western side of the villages Slobodka, Dolkoye, and Prenty; then by the Naroch River and, turning within about one verst's distance from the village Cheremshchytsa toward the north, along the eastern side of Lake Bliady; within a verst from this lake it shall run northward, intersecting Lake Mistro, and then by land along the western side of the village Pikolchi and the eastern side of village Minchyi, then northward within a distance of about one verst from the village Volochaki; then northward through Lake Mejiol toward the western side of the village Pzhegrad, to within about one verst from the village; then along the Mejiol River to the point where it falls into the Disna, then by land toward the northeast to the western side of the village Borovoye, to within about a verst from the village; then northeast through Lake Mikalishki, then along the Nishchanka River to Lake Oziraichi, to the western side of the farm-settlements Repishchi and Zamoshii, through Lake Zelva, along the Zelva River, through Lake Drivyaty to Tzno, and through Lake Nespizh; then northward through Lake Nedriavo, then along the Druya to the point where the latter intersects the boundary of the Kovno province, and, finally, to the Western Dvina River at the Shaftanov estate.

Note 1. The Lithuanian frontiers with Poland and Latvia shall be determined by agreement with the two latter states.

Note 2. The surveying and setting-up of frontier signs between the Lithuanian and Russian States shall be carried out by a special mixed commission, with an equal number of members from both sides. In determining the boundary-line where inhabited points will be involved the aforementioned commission shall make its decisions on the basis of the economic and ethnographic features of such places, vesting them, in their entirety if possible, with one or the other of the two States. In cases where the boundary line goes through rivers, lakes, or canals, it shall run through the middle of the rivers, lakes, or canals, unless otherwise provided in this treaty.

Note 3. The artificial diversion of water from border rivers and lakes which would cause the lowering of the average level of water, is prohibited. Rules and regulations regarding shipping and fishing in these rivers and lakes shall be determined by special agreements; in fishing, only such devices shall be used as do not result in the extermination of fish.

## ARTICLE III

The conditions with regard to guarding the frontiers, also the question of custom-houses and other questions relating to same, shall be settled by a special treaty between the two contracting parties after the territories which are now under occupation, separating Russia from Lithuania, will have been freed.

## ARTICLE IV

Both contracting parties bind themselves:

1. To prohibit the formation or existence on their territory of any government, organization, or group aiming

to wage an armed struggle against the other contracting party; also to prohibit within their territories recruiting and mobilization for any army by such governments, organizations, or groups.

2. To prohibit to states which are actually at war with the other contracting party, and to organizations, and groups aiming at armed war against the other contracting party, the use of its ports or territory for the transaction of anything that might be used to attack the other contracting party, such as; armed forces, military equipment, technical appliances of a military nature, and artillery, quartermaster's, engineering, or aviation supplies of such states, organizations, or groups.

#### ARTICLE V

Russia, on her part, agrees to recognize the neutrality of Lithuania after the other States will have recognized it, and to share in guarantees to insure this neutrality.

#### ARTICLE VI

Persons who, on the day of the ratification of this treaty, live within Lithuania's boundaries and who themselves, or whose parents, were registered in the records of the village or town communes, or of the estate (class) bodies, of the territory now constituting Lithuania, also persons who have lived in Lithuania, having permanent employment, for not less than ten years before 1914, with the exception of those who were in the civil or military government service and their families, shall be considered as Lithuanian citizens.

Persons of the same category who, on the day of the ratification of this treaty, live within the boundaries of a third country and have not been naturalized there, shall likewise be recognized as citizens of Lithuania.

However, within one year from the date of the ratification of this treaty, all persons over the age of eighteen, living within the boundaries of Lithuania, shall have the right to renounce their Lithuanian citizenship and to choose Russian citizenship; their citizenship shall be shared by their children, and by their wives, unless there is a definite agreement between husband and wife to the contrary.

Also, persons who, according to the definition contained in the first clause of this article, would be considered as Russian citizens, shall have the same right to choose Lithuanian citizenship, during the same period and under the same conditions.

Persons who have announced their wish for such option, as well as those who share their citizenship as stated above, retain their title to chattels and real property in accordance with the laws which are in force in the country in which they live, and in case they should be leaving the country they have the right to sell or to export their property.

*Note 1.* To persons living in the Caucasus or in Asiatic Russia, the time limit mentioned in this article shall be extended by one year.

*Note 2.* The right of option as defined in the present article shall extend also to those citizens who lived within the boundaries of one of the contracting parties until the World War of 1914-1917, but who at the time of the ratification of this treaty are living within the boundaries of the other contracting party.

Refugees shall have the same rights in regard to their property which they could not export on the basis of the agreement on the repatriation of refugees of June 30, 1920, as are provided in this article for citizens with the right of option, provided the refugee can prove that the property belongs to him and that it has been in his actual possession during the repatriation time.

#### ARTICLE VII

Refugees of both contracting parties who desire to return to their country, shall be given the opportunity to return within the shortest possible time.

The order and conditions of return shall be determined by the governments of both countries.

#### ARTICLE VIII

Both contracting parties reciprocally renounce all claims that would arise from Lithuania's former connection with Russia, and recognize the various state properties on each country's territory as the property of that country alone. The title for Russian state property which was removed

from the territory now constituting Lithuania to a third country since August 1, 1914, shall be transferred to the Lithuanian State.

To the Lithuanian State shall be transferred all financial claims of the Russian Treasury against properties within the boundaries of the Lithuanian State, also all claims against Lithuanian citizens, provided these claims have not been liquidated by counter-claims presented at the settlement of accounts.

*Note.* To the Lithuanian State shall not be transferred the rights of claims against small holders-peasants based on their indebtedness and default of payments to the former Peasants' Agrarian Bank of Russia, or to other agrarian banks now nationalized; these debts shall be considered null and void. Also, the indebtedness of the nobility to the former Noblemen's Agrarian Bank of Russia, or other agrarian banks now nationalized, shall not be claimed by the Lithuanian State but shall be considered null and void, if that land has been given to the small holders-peasants or to agricultural laborers.

The Russian Government shall turn over to the Lithuanian Government all documents and acts which substantiate the rights mentioned in this section, provided these documents and acts are in the actual possession of the former. If within a year from the day of the ratification of this treaty this has not been done, these documents and acts shall be declared lost.

#### ARTICLE IX

1. The Russian Government shall return, at its expense, and hand over to the Lithuanian Government the libraries, archives, museums, art productions, school equipment, documents and other similar property of educational, scientific, religious, governmental and public institutions or of institutions of the estates, if these materials were removed from Lithuanian territory during the World War, and actually are or will come under the jurisdiction of the governmental or public institutions of Russia.

As to the archives, libraries, museums, art productions, and documents which have an important scientific, artistic, or historical value to Lithuania, and which were removed from Lithuanian territory to Russia before the World War of 1914-1917, the Russian Government agrees to return these to Lithuania, insofar as their removal will not cause substantial damage to the Russian archives, libraries, museums or art galleries in which they are kept.

The questions arising in connection with such removal shall be settled by a special mixed commission with an equal number of members from both contracting parties.

2. The Russian Government shall return, at its expense, and hand over to the Lithuanian Government all court and governmental records, and all court and governmental archives, including the archives of the senior and junior notaries, the archives of the title and land offices, the archives of ecclesiastical departments of all creeds, the archives and plans of the departments of land surveying, land organization, forestry, railroads, highways, post and telegraph, etc., which were removed to Russia from Lithuanian territory during the World War of 1914-1917; also all plans, drawings, maps and in general all material from the topography bureau of the Vilna Military District relating to the territory of the Lithuanian State; the archives of local branches of the Noblemen's and Peasants' Banks, of branches of the State Bank and of other credit, cooperative, or mutual insurance institutions; likewise the archives and records of private institutions of Lithuania; provided the above-mentioned materials are or will come under the jurisdiction of the governmental or public institutions of Russia.

3. The Russian Government shall return, at its expense, and hand over to the Lithuanian Government, to be turned over to those to whom they belong, all documents bearing on property rights, such as: bills of sale, mortgage certificates, rent contracts, promissory notes, etc., also accounting books, papers, and documents, and, in general, documents which are of value for the ascertaining of property rights of Lithuanian citizens, if these materials were removed from Lithuania to Russia during the World War of 1914-1917; provided that these materials actually are or will come under the jurisdiction of the governmental or public institutions of Russia. If such documents have not been returned within two years from

the date of the ratification of this treaty, they shall be considered as lost.

Russia shall turn over to Lithuania the materials in the archives and records of her central and local institutions which have a direct bearing on districts within the boundaries of Lithuania.

#### ARTICLE X

1. The Russian Government shall, at its expense, return to Lithuania the property of social, charitable, cultural and educational institutions which was removed to Russia during the World War of 1914-1917, and also the bells and property of churches, and prayer-houses of all creeds, if these objects actually are, or will come under the jurisdiction of the governmental or public institutions of Russia.

With regard to saving deposits, securities, and other money deposits made with the former governmental or judicial institutions, insofar as such deposits and moneys belong to Lithuanian citizens, likewise with regard to deposits and various securities placed with the local branches of the former State Bank or other credit institutions now nationalized or liquidated, insofar as such deposits and moneys belong to Lithuanian citizens, the Russian Government binds itself to allow to Lithuanian citizens all rights that were formerly allowed to all Russian citizens, and will therefore permit Lithuanian citizens who could not exercise these rights because Lithuania was under occupation, to exercise them now. In meeting these claims, the Russian Government shall make allowance in favor of Lithuanian citizens for the depreciation of Russian currency between the date of the last occupation of Lithuania—September 1, 1915—and the day of payment.

In regard to valuables and properties which were kept in the rooms of banks or in their safes, if such valuables and properties belong to Lithuanian citizens, the provisions of the first part of this clause shall be applied.

The money, valuables, and property mentioned in this article shall be handed over to the Lithuanian Government, to be turned over to the owners.

3. The Russian Government shall return, at its expense, and hand over to the Lithuanian Government the funds which provided for scholarships in the schools of Lithuania or for Lithuanian citizens studying in Russian schools.

4. With regard to reimbursement for Russian government bonds or bonds guaranteed by the government, or for private stocks and bonds issued by corporations and establishments whose enterprises have been nationalized by the Russian Government, which are in circulation within the boundaries of Lithuania; likewise with regard to the settlement of claims by Lithuanian citizens against the Russian State or against nationalized institutions, Russia binds herself to grant to Lithuania, Lithuanian citizens, and institutions all those rights and privileges which, directly or indirectly, Russia has granted or may grant to any third country or its citizens, associations, or institutions. If the stocks or bonds, or property deeds, are not on hand, the Russian Government, in applying this section of the present article, is willing to recognize as the holders of bonds, etc., those persons who will furnish proof that the securities belonging to them were evacuated during the war.

#### ARTICLE XI

1. The Russian Government shall return to the Lithuanian Government to be turned over to the owners, all property of Lithuanian cities, societies, or juridical and natural private persons, insofar as such property actually is in, or may come into, the possession of Russian governmental or public institutions.

*Note.* This article shall not apply to funds, deposits, and valuables which were kept in the branches of the State Bank or private banks, credit institutions, and saving funds within the territory of Lithuania.

2. With regard to the telephone, telegraph, and railway equipment which was evacuated to Russia from Lithuania during 1914-1915, likewise with regard to the equipment of railway shops, Russia agrees to return to Lithuania as much of it as is required for the actual needs of Lithuania.

A mixed commission formed on the basis of equal representation shall determine in detail the amount of equipment which must be re-evacuated.

*Note.* Rolling stock, telegraph, and telephone equipment as well as railroad shop equipment, that will be apportioned for that part of Lithuania which is under occupation, shall be delivered only after the occupation will have ended.

3. For the enforcement of the provisions of articles VIII, IX, X, and XI of this treaty, the Russian Government shall be bound to give to the Lithuanian Government all the information and data bearing on these, and shall render every assistance in the recovery of property, archives, documents, etc.

For the settlement of all questions a mixed commission shall be established on the basis of equal representation.

#### ARTICLE XII

Taking into account the fact that Lithuania was almost completely ruined during the World War, and that the citizens of Lithuania are deprived even of the possibility of reestablishing their enterprises and particularly of rebuilding their destroyed and burned buildings owing to the destruction of the Lithuanian forests, the Russian Government declares its willingness:

1. To free Lithuania from responsibility for the debts or any other liabilities of Russia, including those incurred through the issuance of currency, treasury notes, and bonds, Russian treasury series and certificates to various establishments and enterprises, and through the guaranteed loans of the latter, etc. All such claims of Russia's creditors, in the part which would fall upon Lithuania, shall be directed against Russia alone.

2. To grant to the Lithuanian Government the right of felling timber in forests on an area of 100,000 dessiatins in districts close to the Lithuanian border and as close as possible to navigable rivers and railways, the forest areas for wood-cutting to be gradually assigned in the course of twenty years in accordance with the plans of Russian forestry. The determination of further conditions for timber cutting shall be entrusted to a mixed commission with an equal number of members from both contracting parties.

3. To pay to the Lithuanian Government three million rubles in gold within a month and a half from the date of the ratification of this treaty.

#### ARTICLE XIII

1. The contracting parties agree to open negotiations regarding the conclusion of commercial and transit treaties within the shortest possible time after the ratification of the present treaty.

2. The commercial treaty shall be based on the principle of the most favored nation.

3. The transit treaty shall be based on the following principles:

a) Goods passing in transit across the territory of one of the contracting parties shall not be subject to any customs duties or taxes.

b) The freight rates for goods in transit shall not be higher than the freight rates for the same kind of goods for local destination.

*Note.* Until the advent of normal conditions, the mutual transit relations between Russia and Lithuania shall be regulated by the same principles. The other transit terms shall be settled by special provisional agreements.

4. The Russian and Lithuanian merchant fleets shall mutually make use of the harbors of the contracting parties on equal rights.

5. The property left after the death of a citizen of one of the contracting parties within the boundaries of the other contracting party shall be entirely turned over to the consular or other authorized representative of the nation to which the deceased belonged, to be disposed of in accordance with the laws of that nation.

#### ARTICLE XIV

Diplomatic and consular relations shall be established immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

After the ratification of the present treaty the contracting parties shall take steps for the conclusion of a consular convention.

## ARTICLE XV

After the ratification of this treaty, an amnesty shall be granted by the Russian Government to Lithuanian citizens and applicants for Lithuanian citizenship, and by the Lithuanian Government to Russian citizens and applicants for Russian citizenship, military persons or civilians, for all political and disciplinary offenses. If sentence has not yet been passed on such offenses, the cases shall be discontinued.

Persons who will have committed such offenses after the ratification of this treaty shall not be subject to this amnesty.

Persons condemned in criminal court for offenses which are not subject to this amnesty shall be returned to their country after serving their sentence. If, however, sentences in such cases are not passed within a year placing the defendant under charges, the defendant shall, after the lapse of this time-limit, be turned over to the authorities of his country together with the records of the case.

Simultaneously, both contracting parties shall also grant an amnesty to their own citizens for offenses committed in the interests of the other contracting party before the ratification of the present treaty.

## ARTICLE XVI

In the deliberations upon the present treaty both contracting parties took into account the circumstance that they have never been in a state of war with each other, and that Lithuania, serving as a field of war operations during the World War of 1914-1917, has particularly suffered from the latter. Therefore the terms of this treaty can in no case serve as a precedent for any third country.

On the other hand, should one of the contracting parties grant to a third country or her citizens any privileges, rights and advantages, such privileges, rights, and advan-

tages shall without any special convention be extended to the other contracting party or her citizens.

*Note.* The contracting parties shall, however, present no claims for advantages which one of them may grant to a third country bound to the former by a tariff or some other alliance.

## ARTICLE XVII

The settlement of legal questions of public or private aspect that may arise between citizens of the contracting parties, likewise the settlement of some specific questions between the two states or between one of the states and citizens of the other, shall be charged to a special mixed commission with an equal number of members from both contracting parties which shall be instituted immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, and whose composition, rights, and duties shall be defined in the instructions by agreement of both contracting parties.

## ARTICLE XVIII

The present treaty is drawn up in the Russian and Lithuanian languages. For purposes of interpretation both texts shall be considered authentic.

## ARTICLE XIX

The present treaty shall be subject to ratification.

The exchange of the certificates of ratification shall take place at Moscow.

Wherever there is reference, in the present treaty, to the time of the ratification of the treaty it shall be understood to mean the time of the reciprocal exchange of the certificates of ratification.

In confirmation of which the plenipotentiaries of both contracting parties have personally signed the present treaty and countersigned it with their seals.

The original in two copies was drawn up and signed in the city of Moscow, July 12, 1920.

## The Former Leaders of the Cooperatives on Trial

**T**HE trial of the leaders of the cooperatives started in September before the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, Ksenofontov presiding.

Before the bar appeared the eminent cooperators Korobov, Lavrukhin, and Kuznetsov, two former ministers of the Provisional Government, Nikitin and Gvozdev, and a number of authorized agents of the Centrosektsia and Centrosoyuz, charged with activity meant to undermine the economic policy of the Workers' and Peasants' Government for the purpose of preparing the ground for the expected arrival of Generals Denikin and Yudenich in Petrograd.

The case originated in the following way: In the course of an investigation of the activity of "cooperators" who were suspected of having engaged in speculation, the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission, during a search and examination of the safe in the office of the Centrosoyuz, found that, besides the official treasury, it contained also a secret treasury in which were discovered 3,000,000 rubles in Duma and Czarist currency, in stocks, and in foreign currency.

The extremely confused and contradictory explanations of the treasurer Krokmal led the investigators to believe that it was a much more serious case than ordinary speculation, and it was decided to search Krokmal's residence. The search led to the discovery of a number of communications and letters from London which showed defin-

itely that the activity of all the offices of the Centrosoyuz, located in districts which were in the hands of the counter-revolutionists, was directed by Berkenheim through the London office, the chief foreign office of the Centrosoyuz.

One of the letters said that from the moment that the Petrograd office would lose connection with the Moscow office, in other words, when Petrograd was occupied by the bands of Yudenich, the Petrograd office would be placed among the offices which were under the jurisdiction of the London office. In expectation of this event the latter had already issued eighteen communications with instructions, some of which had been received in Petrograd, and the others were to be sent in a few days. The contents of these documents show definitely, first of all, that at the most critical moment, during the expected occupation of famished Petrograd by the Whites, the London office of the Centrosoyuz was making preparations to ship food there, and was definitely advertising the advantages of the regime that would come along with Yudenich and with the restoration of the bourgeois capitalist order.

The disclosure of the aforementioned documents, as well as the presence of large sums of money in Duma and Czarist currency, bonds, etc., in the Centrosoyuz, made absolutely clear the activity of the leaders of the cooperatives, which carried on through fictitious persons large purchases

of all kinds of commodities and materials. Further investigation of this case led to the transfer of the center of gravity of the inquiry from Petrograd to Moscow, involving chiefly members of the Central Council of the Union of Cooperative Organizations.

Searches made at the residence of members of the Governing Board gave unexpected results. At the residence of the members of the Governing Board, Korobov, Lavrukhin, and Kuznetsov, numerous documents were found definitely revealing the nature of the activity of the organs of the cooperatives and their attitude to the Soviet power.

The Soviet power had to consider as its paramount task the implacable struggle against the free market and chiefly against speculation in manufactured goods. Despite their clear duty to aid the Soviet power by their economic apparatus, the cooperative organs continued basically to work "as of old", employing the former methods of buying and selling. Drubin's testimony showed that certain merchants, unable to sell the goods which they had concealed from registration, offered to sell them to the Centrosoyuz under assumed names.

The investigation established that Berkenheim\* was sent to the United States to obtain there machinery and tools for the Supreme Council of National Economy, but he ultimately turned out to be in London where he took charge of the office of the Centrosoyuz, whose activity has now become clear. The members of the Governing Board, Selgheim and Lenskaya, were sent to Switzerland for their health, but they went to other countries, and Selgheim took charge of the Stockholm office of the Centrosoyuz, and sent goods to Denikin.

Selgheim's reports addressed to Korobov, a copy of which was found in Kuznetsov's residence, contains the following statement: "Have received an inquiry from Berkenheim as to whether I would advise him to buy from the American quartermaster 25,000,000 dollars worth of underwear, shoes, pants and raincoats. I cabled to him to be very careful, to take only goods for which there may be a demand among the Russian peasants, and suggested that he ask our offices at Omsk and Rostov for advice." It is clear that the purchase was intended for Kolchak and Denikin.

#### *The Sentence*

After considering the evidence disclosed by the investigation, and the testimony of the witnesses and defendants, the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee passed the following sentences:

Citizen Krokmal, who was guilty of buying goods whose sale had been prohibited and of not informing the authorities of unlawful transactions with speculators,—to three years confinement in a concentration camp; but in view of his acknowledgement of his errors, and the absence of wilful

intent on his part, the First of May amnesty shall be applied to him, and the sentence shall not be enforced. Citizen Arishtam, for complicity in speculative transactions, and Citizen Mordukhovich, for not informing the authorities,—to three years confinement in camp; but in view of mitigating circumstances, the amnesty shall be applied and the sentence set aside. Citizen Obolensky, Mosdorf and Shisko, for not informing the authorities and for protecting speculators, to five years confinement in camp, with the sentence suspended. Citizens Sharoto, Alexander Mordukhovich, and Drubin, the first for complicity in giving a bribe, the second for complicity in the speculative transactions of his father, and the third for buying goods prohibited from sale and for protecting speculators,—to ten years confinement in camp. Citizens Rosen, Korobov, Lavrukhin, and Kuznetsov, the first for buying goods prohibited from sale, for protecting speculators and for receiving commissions from them, and the other three for sending abroad, to Kolchak and Denikin, their partisans whose activity aimed to undermine the economic policy of the Soviet power and to give all possible support to the Russian counter-revolutionary movement,—to 15 years confinement in camp. Citizen Nikitin, for active support to the counter-revolutionary government of Denikin—to be shot, but in view of his repentance, the sentence shall be replaced by 15 years confinement in camp. Citizen Berthold, for receiving money under an assumed name and for giving a bribe to the investigator of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission,—to be shot, but the sentence shall be replaced, in view of mitigating circumstances and of the First of May amnesty, by 15 years confinement in camp. Citizen Adolph Bordukhovich, for wilful speculation,—to be shot, the sentence to be replaced, in view of his age, by life imprisonment. Citizens Pruss, Sakharov, and Smetanin were acquitted.—*Izvestia*, September 5.

### *Bound Volumes for 1920*

*Volume II, of which a number of copies, splendidly bound, are still to be obtained by persons desiring them, is sold at five dollars. Check or money order should accompany order. Volume I (June-December, 1919) is sold out and will not be reprinted. Volume III will be bound, with title-page and index, as soon as the issues have all appeared (January 1, 1921). Readers may place orders now for Volume III, and should send the cost of the volume—five dollars—with their orders.*

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 W. 40th St.

New York, N. Y.

\* Alexander Berkenheim was in the United States in 1919. His mission, that of opening trade between the United States and the Russian Cooperatives on the ground that the latter were independent of the Soviet Government, was unsuccessful, and Berkenheim left for London.—*Editor SOVIET RUSSIA*.

## Wireless and Other News

### CONFERENCE OF SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES OF MOSCOW PROVINCE

Moscow, October 18, 1920.—*Sixth Session.* Chairman Sorokin, of the Committee of Provisioning, reported on the food situation in the government of Moscow. Sorokin pointed out that crop failures in many Volga and central provinces this year created a situation which can be remedied only by complete obligatory delivery of grain to the provisioning agency of the state. Even the Czar's Government had applied this remedy in years of bad crops, but in such manner that the delivery was compulsory upon peasants, whereas the big farmers and landowners were enabled to export their grain at exorbitant prices. Only by abolishing private property and private commerce and by nationalizing industry can the monopoly of farm products be eliminated. In this case, the burden of compulsory surrender falls not on the poorest but on the more affluent element of the peasants. With statistics in hand, Sorokin demonstrated the correctness of the Soviet policy in the matter of feeding the masses, and affirmed that the peasantry comprehended the situation better, so that now in harvesting, the interference of armed force was seldom required. In 1917 there were 130,000,000 poods of grain gathered in Russia; 110,000,000 poods in 1918; 265,000,000 poods in 1919. In 1920, out of the 450,000,000 poods that had been expected, 400,000,000 poods were actually delivered. In 1918, 26,000,000 poods of potatoes were obtained; in 1919 (after the establishment of the monopoly) 43,000,000 poods, while 117,000,000 poods may be expected this year.

### THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LABOR ARMY IN THE CAUCASUS

*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* writes that the General Committee of Labor has now received the reports covering the activities of the Labor Army in the Caucasus for the month of June.

In the field of naphtha production, much preliminary and preparatory work had to be performed, as the storage tanks, etc., were in deplorable shape. In comparison with the last few months the naphtha production is gaining. During the first ten days of June, 204 storage tanks per day were shipped, and during the last days of June the number had risen to 256. A total of 6,700 storage tanks was shipped during the month of June. The prescribed number was 4,500 tanks. In addition to this, over a million poods of naphtha were shipped to Petrovsk by pipeline, and 600,000 poods by steamer. 1,731 qualified railroad workers and 42,124 unskilled railroad workers have been actively engaged. In addition, 260 qualified railroad workers were employed in the railroad stations. Particular attention was called to the development and enlargement of station facilities at Grozny.

### THE WORK OF THE FIRST LABOR ARMY

*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* reports that the results of the First Labor Army from January 1 to June 14 have just been made public. The following data have been published by the Labor Committee for the Urals:

Regarding work in the forests, a total of 660,160 days of labor has been expended during the past five months, and 106,596.65 cubic sazhen of wood have been cut. 88,807.85 cubic sazhen of wood and 2,295 pieces of timber have been shipped, and 17,399.08 cubic sazhen have been sawed and split. 101 dessiatins of forest land and 21 dessiatins of marsh land have been cleared for agricultural purposes. During a total of 166,905 working days 121,434 pieces of lumber and timber were made ready for shipment, in addition to 5,280 poods of peat and 858 poods of charcoal.

In the Urals, during 1,639 working days, 523,853 poods of coal were mined.

In regard to the railroad system, the following figures are available: During 37,547 working days, 248 locomotives and 435 freight cars were repaired, and 3,556 repair parts were manufactured in 2,965 working days. A distance of 1,002 versts of railroad tracks was put in complete working order in 45,317 working days, besides which 18 bridges were repaired. In 77,688 working days, 73,924 cubic sazhen of wood, 671 pieces of timber and lumber were loaded for transportation, and 10,158 cars of all kinds were shipped and transported. In 52,446 working days, 2,668 cars were unloaded, in addition to 595,008 cubic sazhen of wood and 14,057 timber and lumber; 1,459 versts of telegraph and telephone wire were tested and repaired in 7,842 working days, and 103 versts of telegraph cables were installed.

### RAILWAY CAR REPAIRS

The planned number of cars to be repaired during August for 24 railway lines amounted to 6,630. The actual number repaired was 10,084 cars, in other words 3,454 cars over and above the number intended. The output of repairs of cars is gradually increasing and gave for August a surplus of 52 per cent, i.e., approximately 22 per cent above that of July. The record was broken by the Vladikavkaz railway line which repaired 1,388 cars instead of the intended 540.

### A NEW ALLIANCE AGAINST THE EAST

LONDON, October 13, 1920.—The Helsingfors correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* has been informed that there are negotiations in progress between Finland, Poland, Hungary, and Roumania for the purpose of forming a defensive alliance against possible attacks from the East.

### THE ENTRANCE TO THE BIGHT OF NOVOROSSIIYSK

Moscow, October 19, 1920.—At the recommendations of the port-commander of Novorossiysk, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs notifies the governments that the following regulations will apply to all vessels arriving at Novorossiysk with war prisoners. All such ships must communicate beforehand, to the General Staff of the Bight of Novorossiysk, the date and hour of their arrival, their nationality, tonnage, draft, character of the ship, the call and wave-length of their radio, by means of which they will communicate with our coast station whose standard wave-length is 4,000 meters. All these ships must approach the entrance to the Bight so that they will reach the harbor between sunrise and sunset at a speed of six knots. At the latitude of 44°30'N ships must notify Novorossiysk of their name, position, and hour of arrival. They will receive no reply but will be met by a boat with a pilot's flag, which will conduct them into the harbor. The pilot's flag must be raised on the incoming vessel. If the pilot's boat does not appear within three hours, the foreign ship must proceed to the Bight of Dzhubga and communicate directly with the Post, whereupon it will receive appropriate directions from the General Staff of the Bight. The General Staff refuses to be responsible for any consequences due to disregard of the above regulations.

### THE FUNERAL OF INESSA ARMAND

Moscow, October 18, 1920.—Moscow saw today the funeral of one of the oldest champions of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, Inessa Armand (Helen Blonina). Her burial, which took place at the Kremlin, where all the bravest champions of the Revolution lie buried, presented a magnificent spectacle. Delegates from all proletarian organizations of Moscow came to pay their last respects. The funeral speech was made by one of the most important workers in the Russian women's proletarian movement, Alexandra Kollontay. Lenin and many other leaders of the Russian proletariat were present at the funeral.

### MAILS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Russia has now succeeded in obtaining postal relations with Norway and the rest of the world, since there is now a regular postal service between Norway and Russia carried on by Russian motor boats plying between Vardo and Archangel twice a week. Mails now also go from the countries of Europe to Russia by way of Norway. The mails to Russia are sent to Christiania, and thence forwarded to Vardo. At Vardo Russian mails are sorted and placed on board the boats.—*Social-Demokraten*, Christiania, Norway, October 29.

### THE NEXT ISSUE

of

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Will Consist of 32 Pages and will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. *PRO BARBA*, by Professor Isaac A. Hourwich. *A playful yet serious study by the head of the Legal Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York, to be read in connection with Mr. H. G. Wells' objections to the beards of revolutionary philosophers.*
2. *PRELIMINARY PEACE TREATY AND ARMISTICE BETWEEN SOVIET RUSSIA AND POLAND.*
3. *Important Recent NOTES TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT from the Russian Soviet Government.*
4. *IN THE HEART OF KARELIA*, by John S. Clarke.
5. *SOVIET RUSSIA AND SOVIET UKRAINE: THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS AND DESTINIES*, by K. Rakovsky, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Republic.
6. *Regular Weekly MILITARY REVIEW*, by Lt.-Co. B. Roustam Bek.

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## Pro Barba!

By ISAAC A. HOURWICH

(An historical inquiry into the causes of the popularity of Karl Marx's beard in Russia.)

MR. H. G. WELLS in his recent contribution to the *New York Times* has touched upon a question that must interest every Anglo-Saxon mind. He tells us that he had never wasted his time upon the abstruse speculations of Karl Marx until they were forced upon his attention during his stay in Russia, where the whiskers of that closet savant obtruded themselves upon his gaze wherever he went. The frame of mind of the great British novelist has brought back to the present writer memories of the early days of the Russian immigration to the United States, some thirty years ago, when the 100 per cent Anglo-Saxon dwellers of the Water Front, especially of the younger generation, gave expression, in various vigorous ways, to their aversion to the beards of the newcomers. We are tempted to paraphrase the familiar physical law by suggesting one of our own creation, to wit: "Anglo-Saxon nature abhors a beard."

These preliminary reflections have led us somewhat astray from the subject of our inquiry, "Why the beard of Karl Marx is so popular in Russia?" Mr. Wells is unfortunately unaware of the close connection of whiskers and politics in Russian history. Prior to the reign of Peter the Great, all adult Russian males were bewhiskered. That Russian revolutionary monarch, after returning from his voyage to the western lands, decreed that all his subjects of the upper classes were to shave off their beards. This decree aroused great discontent, which led to conspiracies upon the life of the mon-

arch as well as to open rebellion. The beard was sanctified in the minds of the disaffected by the observation that all saints of the Greek Catholic Church had worn beards. The decree directing the subjects of the great Czar to shave their beards was one of the counts in the popular indictment charging him with being the "Anti-Christ".

The act of Peter the Great remained in force for more than a century and a half. Shaving was obligatory for the nobility and the office-holding class. Even in private life the discharged soldier was admonished "to shave his beard and to beg no alms." There were two styles of shaving prescribed by the law, one for the civilians, another for the army. The civilian was required by law to shave his moustache and chin, the military man was permitted to retain his moustache, but he was required to shave his chin. Whatever the critics of Czardom may hold against it, it is an historical fact that in the enforcement of that particular statute a certain amount of reasonable freedom was left to individual taste. The civilian was at liberty to wear side-whiskers without restriction of size,—either of the British banker style, or like those of the late John Stuart Mill, and of course he enjoyed the privilege to exhibit to the world a smooth-shaven countenance. The army man was likewise at liberty to add side whiskers to his moustache, or to confine himself to a moustache of the Anglo-American style, as exemplified by the picture of Mr. Wells himself.

In the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, a strong movement in favor of whiskers developed

among the Russian intellectuals of that period. The remarkable feature of that movement was that it succeeded in uniting on that one issue the two warring factions of the intelligentsia, the "Occidentalists" and the "Slavophiles". The latter, who condemned the tendency of the St. Petersburg period of Russian history to imitate the ways of "the rotten west", affected the old Russian style of clothes and defiantly wore whiskers. The Occidentalists, who studied in German universities, came under the influence of "Young Germany", which repudiated the ways of the Prussian Police-State and favored the return to Nature. The principal character in one of the novels of Zschocke, a popular writer of that day, argues in favor of the beard as the masculine weapon with which Nature has endowed man to captivate the heart of woman. All Russian writers of that period wore full beards,—*vide* Herzen, Bakunin, Turgenyev, Byelinsky, etc. This seditious tendency, of course, could not escape the eyes of the government. Emperor Nicholas I (penned by Count Leo Tolstoy under the name of Nikolai Palkin), on one of his visits to Germany, ordered the Russian students of the Berlin University to present themselves to him. One of them had the hardihood to appear before his sovereign with a moustache on his face. The Emperor directly ordered him to shave off that appendage, which was the privilege of military men only.

The enforcement of that law was relaxed under the benign rule of his son, Alexander II, the Czar-Liberator. An inspection of the pictures of the writers of that generation would reveal to the disgusted gaze of Mr. Wells a series of bearded faces. The one exception known to the present writer is Chernyshevsky, who before his exile to Siberia had a smooth-shaven face, although he had reached the age at which he was physically capable of

growing a beard. But even that exception soon yielded to the spirit of the time. He returned from his twenty-year exile in the wilds of Siberia with a fairly long beard, which he retained until his death (1889).

Liberal high school teachers of that "epoch of great reforms" dared grow moustaches and chin beards, and the principals, falling in with the prevailing spirit, would wink at that exhibition of license. But whenever the Curator of the Educational District (an official representing the ministry of education) would come on a tour of inspection, the teachers would report with their moustaches and chins duly shaved.

At last even in Russia the government had to yield to public opinion. Alexander III, shortly after ascending to the throne of his fathers, repealed the law regulating the shaving of male faces. This must by no means be construed, however, into a concession to Liberalism. Alexander III was a strong Nationalist, and his enabling act permitting his loyal subjects to wear beards was a belated tribute to the old Slavophiles. It is the tragedy of history that ungrateful posterity has quite forgotten this act of Alexander III,—indeed, the only liberal reform enacted by that monarch.

A useful lesson may be drawn from this brief essay of a history of beards in Russia. So long as the wearing of beards was prohibited by law, the spirit of sedition delighted in showing an unshaven face, as it were, to law and order. Directly after the repeal of the anti-whiskers legislation, diversity of barber styles freely displayed itself among the Russian intelligentsia. Every student of Russian literature knows that one of the most popular Russian writers, Maxim Gorky, shaves his whiskers and wears only a moustache, even as the author of "New Worlds for Old." Such are the beneficent effects of liberty.

## Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine

### THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS AND DESTINIES

By K. RAKOVSKY

THE socialistic revolution not only transforms the internal economic and political structure of states, but also fundamentally alters the relations between them. The relations between the Soviet states are essentially different from the relations between bourgeois states. The bourgeois statehood is distinguished from the proletarian statehood even in its rudimentary principles. The proletarian statehood does not fit into any of the classifications that have been set up by the political economists of the old world.

The general presupposition of all forms of administrations—the aristocratic, the democratic, the absolute monarchy, the constitutional monarchy, the republic, etc.—was the exclusiveness, the segregation, of the state organism. The most democratic of the democratic republics put their own citizens

into a sort of opposition to foreigners. In the most democratic republic the foreigners are not admitted to the political life of the country. The political life was a privilege of the national classes concerned, or at best, of the citizens of the state in question. In the constitution of the Soviet nations on the other hand, both of Russia and Ukraine, one fundamental principle is precisely the abolition of all racial privileges; thus for example, paragraph 20, section C of the Constitution of the Ukraine Socialistic Republic states: "Foreigners belonging to the working class or the peasants actually working as such, enjoy the right of suffrage". Such a constitutional provision is completely incomprehensible to the bourgeois jurist who customarily begins by assuming the opposition of his own state towards other states, of its citi-

zens to foreigners. But this provision is a logical result of the most fundamental quality of the proletariat.

What is the main difference between the proletarian and the bourgeois state in their different economic bases, which are entirely exclusive.

The bourgeois state as well as the forms of state organs which preceded it, is based on the principle of private property in land and in the means of production. The whole so-called bourgeois law, regulating relations between the private owners, is based on this principle. The state as a whole, with all its institutions, its military, administrative and economic organisms—together with its church—likewise constituted such property, but of course not the property of the possessors of the means of labor, but the property of the entire possessing class, of the bourgeois landed proprietors or slave holding classes. The object of each private owner is the extension and enlargement of his holding. Competition is a means for obtaining this goal. The outcome of the law of competition is destruction or at best subjection of the less wealthy and the less skilled owners to those owners who have greater means, greater capital, and greater ability. The same law controls also the development of the bourgeois states. They constitute precisely such organisms, competing among themselves, and the outcome of this competition is the same,—the complete destruction of the weak states or at best their subjection to the strong states. The principle of bourgeois statehood is expressed precisely in the creation of these individual mutually hostile national states. Between these states, there may be concluded commercial treaties, postal, telegraph and railroad agreements; as the international situation varies, there may be defensive and offensive alliances between them, but such arrangements are temporary, fortuitous and incomplete in character. Such arrangements cannot eliminate the peculiar and profound antagonism existing between these states and in the entire capitalist order of society. As soon as the danger uniting various countries, or their temporary coincidents of self-interest are passed, struggle and hatred once more blaze up between them with increased force, for such conflict grows out of their very nature. Particularly characteristic in this connection is the history of the coalition of the entente states and of their allies before and after the imperialistic war. The ideology of bourgeois statehood is nationalism. Diplomatic intrigues, "spying" of every kind, mutual deception, are the regular devices of the bourgeois power. When Marx, in the first manifesto of the International in designating the foreign policy of the capitalist states, held up to them by contrast a policy that should be based on the laws of human morality, he of course did not mean that the socialists in bourgeois society should support the Christian morality as opposed to this policy of the state: "Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you." He called the attention of the proletariat to the fact that only through the victory of a proletarian revolution could the condi-

tions for honest and straightforward relations between all nations be brought about. As opposed to the bourgeois statehood the proletarian statehood, which rejects private property as a means of production, simultaneously defies private property as an attribute of the state itself. In the socialistic state the normalizing principle is not the interest of the private exploiter, but the interest of the entire working-class. The boundaries separating socialistic states will no longer have a political character, but will be transformed into simple administrative limits. Likewise there will disappear the frontiers between the individual private productions which are regulated only by the law of competition. Instead of the chaotic, capitalistic economy, in which the most voluminous production of manufactures and the most intense exploitation of the worker alternate with industrial crisis and unemployment, there will be an organized nationalized production, rationally developed according to the general needs on a nation-wide plan, and not only on a national scale but also on an international scale. The tendency of socialistic revolution is political and economic centralization, provisionally taking the form of an international federation. Of course, the creation of this federation cannot be effected by a stroke of the pen, but is the result of a more or less extended process of elimination of particularism, provincialism, democratic and national bourgeois prejudices, which will result from mutual acquaintance and from mutual adaptation.

The above principles, which were already announced by the first workers' International, were naturally the cases for the relations between the already existing Soviet republics, particularly between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. From the first moment of the joint existence of these republics, Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine began laying the bases for economic and political relations along federative lines. Although during this phase, which extended up to June, 1919, both republics had independent commissariats for all branches of their national affairs, there was nevertheless already a connection and a joint plan of work existing between these commissariats. In the course of time these two republics found their organized expression in the creation of common central organs. In June, 1919, the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic adopted a resolution on the necessity of uniting a number of the commissariats of the two republics, namely, the Commissariats for Army and Navy, Transportation, Finances, Labor, Postal and Telegraph, and the Supreme Councils of National Economy. This resolution was ratified by the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet Republic, and in 1920 the First Congress of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets of Ukraine also approved, on its part, the decision of both Central Executive Committees in a modified resolution. A precise constitution of the federative organs, that is, of the organs uniting the Ukrainian Commissariats, has not yet been worked out. The Central Executive Commit-

tee of Soviet Russia, in its February session, proposed a list of members of commissions which were to occupy themselves with the elaboration of the federative constitution. But because of the fact that the responsible members of these commissions were assigned to military and political duties outside of Moscow, it has not been found possible to undertake the discharge of this task, and the federative relations are still regulated for each case separately, by immediate agreements between the two republics.

Such an agreement was made in January last year, concerning military affairs. In uniting the army apparatus, this union also provided for a creation, in the immediate future, of separate cadres for the Ukrainian Red Regiments, with the Ukrainian language used in commands. For this purpose, the creation of a school for Red Ukrainian commanders was provided, and this has been already realized. In Kharkov the founding of a central school for Red commanders has been already undertaken. Already in this agreement the creation of a military section in the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine provided for the purpose of maintaining permanent liaison with the military and administrative apparatus in Ukraine, which is immediately under the revolutionary military council of the republic, which is simultaneously a revolutionary military council of the federation.

There still remain separate, in the two republics, the People's Commissariats for Agriculture, Education, Internal Affairs, Social Welfare, Popular Health, Provisions, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, as well as the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution. The Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars at present constitute the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, and the authorized plenipotentiaries of the United Commissariats. The latter have the same suffrage right as the Ukrainian commissars.

This system of federative relations may not be considered as either complete or perfect. We did not approach the question of the federative relations in a dogmatic spirit, for we were never of the opinion that national relations, particularly the relations between Soviet republics, could be regulated on the bases of abstract provisions. The federative constitution of the Soviet republics was dictated by necessity itself, and fully considered the acquired national experience. The particular relations in which Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine stood toward each other considerably facilitated the task of a swift creation of close federative relations between them. The proletariats of the two states were, historically, closely connected through their past, through their common struggle against Russian Czarism. Besides, Ukraine and Great Russia were united by a common economic life. After the November Revolution, Soviet Russia became the national support for the struggle of the workers and peasants of Ukraine against the Central Rada, against the Austrian-German occupation, against the Hetman authority, against the Denikin government,

and now, finally, against the Poles. The Ukrainian workers' and peasants' revolution naturally had to guide itself by Soviet Russia, which was the only Soviet center. The Communist movements in Ukraine and in Russia were already historically connected through their common past. The party of the Bolsheviks organized the working class within the entire former Russian Empire. In Ukraine, this task was made easier by the fact that the city proletariat in that region is, to an overwhelming extent, of Russian origin.\*

But the various Ukrainian petit bourgeois "socialist" parties, which put the national element into the foreground and sacrificed the social revolution of the working class, evinced a tendency from the very earliest days of the revolution, already in February, 1917, to split the working class in Ukraine, to put up the Ukrainian workers, and particularly the Ukrainian peasants, in opposition to Russia. During the Provisional Government of Kerensky, they concealed their national policy behind the slogans of federalism, for they beheld in this government a petit bourgeois government very much like their own, a policy related to their own. They were led to sacrifice even their national policy.

After the November Revolution, these nationalistic parties openly set their course toward a complete separation of the Ukrainian working-class and peasantry from the Russian working-class and peasantry. In the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, they definitely entered the camp of the Austrian-German nationalists. From this moment

\*In the thesis elaborated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, concerning national relations between Russia and Ukraine, these views are developed under points, 8, 9, 10. We herewith present the text of these points in full:

8. The independence of the Ukrainian working masses, their right to enjoy the fruits of their labor and the resources of Ukraine—land, mines, factories—can only be secured by a true workers' and peasants' power, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. All the efforts of the Ukrainian workers and peasants must be directed toward solidifying the Socialist Soviet power. But experience has shown, in Hungary, Bavaria, and Ukraine itself, that counter-revolutions can easily dispose of all Soviet republics which cannot offer the necessary military resistance, because of the smallness of their territory and their population, or because of the absence of a sufficiently organized military and civil apparatus, as well as of accumulated political experience.

9. Of all the Soviet republics that have thus far existed, only Soviet Russia has been able victoriously to resist the international and internal counter-revolution, and to deal smashing blows to its opponents. Soviet Russia alone holds the geographical conditions, as well as the economic and political resources (extent of territory, hugeness of population, richness of resources, millions of individuals constituting a revolutionary industrial proletariat, an organized military and civil apparatus, accumulated political experience), which make of it an impregnable fortress against all the attacks of international imperialism. In consequence of the circumstances that have intervened, Soviet Russia is the leader and organizer of the international proletariat in the struggle against international-imperialism. Each new Soviet republic, impelled by the instinct of self-preservation, will seek support and aid from Soviet Russia. And effective alliance with Soviet Russia is the revolutionary duty of every new Soviet state.

10. Aside from the interests of defense, a close alliance of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic with Soviet Russia is dictated also by a number of circumstances which all arise out of the indissolubly related historic destiny of these two Soviet states. The Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants were already united by the struggle against the Czarist yoke and the Great Russian imperialism. They are related by similarity of language, by a similar mixed population, by a common economic life. A complete separation of these two Soviet states is merely an artificial process, in contradiction with the entire past and future struggle of the Ukrainian workers and peasants. A complete national separation of Ukraine will inevitably lead to an internal national struggle within Ukraine, and to the magnification of the economic demoralization both in Ukraine and in Russia.

on, the Ukrainian Social-Nationalists adhered definitely to the western orientation, that is, the orientation of imperialistic counter-revolution. For two and a half years Ukraine was a theater of civil war, not only between the workers and peasants, on the one hand, and the landed proprietors and capitalists, on the other, but also between the class-conscious portions of the working class and the peasantry and the unawakened elements, which followed in the wake of the petit bourgeois Ukrainian National-Socialist parties, and actually supported the Russian and the international counter-revolution. We may say that the civil war in Ukraine has now in both these phases arrived at its conclusion; the proletariat has now finally defeated not only the White Guard counter-revolution, but also the petit bourgeois nationalist counter-revolution. The Ukrainian national socialistic parties have fallen to pieces. Their best elements have already entered the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, which is at this moment the only political representative of the proletariat and of the revolutionary peasantry of that country.

### Lenin's Reading at Geneva

Lenin, before he began to assume the leading position in Russia which he now holds, and while he was still a marked man abroad, lived for a number of years in Geneva. SOVIET RUSSIA in its issue for September 27, 1919, prints an account by Siegfried Bloch of Lenin's private life while living in another Swiss city, Zurich, and on February 21, 1920, SOVIET RUSSIA had Charles Rappaport's article, "Recollections of Lenin", which also describes some of Lenin's studies in Switzerland.

Now we learn from an article contributed to *Comoedia*, a French dramatic magazine, by M. Guy de Pourtales, just what were the books that Lenin asked for while a member of the Circulating Library at Geneva during the years 1905-1908.

Among Lenin's readings, there are many books that are of purely literary nature. The name of Maupassant recurs frequently in his book-slips, so frequently as to indicate a systematic study. In 1905 he reads: *Une Vie*, *Bel Ami*, *La Maison Tellier*, *La Main gauche*, *Le Horla*, *Yvette*; in 1908 he asks for *Claire de Lune*. Of Victor Hugo. he read in 1905: *Quatre-Vingt-Treize*; in 1908: *Les Miserables*, *La Legende des Siecles*, *Les Contemplations*, *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, in other words, Hugo's novels and long poetic works. Zola appears only once, in 1905, with *La Terre*, as one might imagine. On other occasions he asks for *Contes de la Montagne*, of Erckmann-Chatrion, and *Tartarin sur les Alpes* by Daudet, Corneille's works, a history of the short story in France, and Lanson's *Manuel de la Litterature Francaise*; also various books by the Goncourts, Flaubert, Bourget, Balzac, Sully Prudhomme, *L'Aiglon* by Rostand. He also reads Bailly's *Style*, some analytic book by Albalat, and, among a number of other philosophical works, the *Grammaire raisonnee* of Gaston Paris.

His readings in German, apart from the works of Hegel, which he asked for in 1908, include only political books, *Das Deutsche Parteiprogramm* by Salomon; *Volkspolitik* of Menger, and a *Future of Russia*, *Die Zukunft Russlands*, by Martin.

His historical-geographical readings are important. They include *Das Weltbild* by Snyder and books on Korea and China, on Japan and on the XIX century; before all however, and constantly, he reads writings about the French Revolution and commune: Quinet, Aulard, Lissagaray, Hamel, Mignet, *Fetes et Chansons de la Republique* of Tiersot.

There also appear a treatise on mechanics and a psychological annual, the treatise of Henri Poincare on *The Value of Science* and Hume's *Human Nature*. Among the 1908 readings, are *L'Education de la Volonte* by Payot. This education of the will is an art that had to be practiced much by that young Russian who quietly came to the rooms of the Geneva Circulating Library in which he was registered as 'publicist', born in 1870. His name, Vladimir Ulyanov, then seemed destined to obscurity and even today it is hidden behind that of "Lenin" which has become famous all over the world.

M. de Pourtales points out the fact that French literature and the Revolution seem to have been Lenin's favorite subjects. Perhaps Lenin did not distinguish much between the two. The taste for Corneille was very common among the men of 1793; that for Maupassant with his clear concrete vision of reality is quite consistent on the whole with the character of the great revolutionist of our days who in his Geneva days of 1905-1908 was preparing by such preparatory studies to lead men and to rule people.

Once more we behold a man of action forming his mind slowly through books, a statesman from afar, so different from our so-called "civilized statesmen", who never feel during their life of action how necessary it is to read.

### SCIENTIFIC CONTACT WITH THE WEST

Moscow reports as follows on October 13, 1920: A special committee from the Petrograd Academy of Science has proposed a plan to the Academy, whereby a closer contact between the scientists of Russia and those of Western Europe is to be achieved.

### FOOD STUFFS

Moscow, November 2.—The transportation of grain from the Kuban district exceeds all expectations. The Kuban Cossacks are delivering from their settlements more flour than it is possible to load on the cars. Many settlements have delivered more than 150 car loads.

For the present year the potato supplies amount to 110,000,000 poods already under shelter before the coming of the frost.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**A**RMENIA has become a Soviet Republic. The Armenian revolutionists, supported by the Red Army of the Azerbaijan Tartars, have completely defeated the military force of the reactionary Erivan government and have joined the Turkish army of Mustapha-Kemal. This occurred between the tenth and thirteenth of November, just at the moment when the victorious Russian Soviet forces broke into the Crimean peninsula.

The Armenian Government was compelled to sign an armistice with Soviet Russia and with the Turkish Kemalists on three points: (1) The withdrawal of the Armenians to the western bank of the Arpachai, thus giving up the Zangazour and Karabagh district and opening up a corridor for communications between the Turks and Soviet Russia; (2) the Turks to occupy Alexandropol and a radius of ten kilometers, pending peace negotiations; (3) the Turks to take responsibility for the maintenance of order and the security of the inhabitants. These terms imposed on the Armenians were fully carried out and greatly strengthened the military position of the Red Caucasian Army, which speedily established its control along the Poti-Baku railway, as well as that of the Turks who became masters of Alexandropol, a railway junction of the Tiflis-Alexandropol-Kars and Tulf-Alexandropol railways.

The Armenian population did not lose their opportunity and a revolution broke out which ended by declaration of Soviet rule in Armenia.

These events produced a great impression in Georgia, the puppet state of Great Britain. Surrounded by the Reds on the north and east, and on the south and southwest by the Kemalists, the Georgian bourgeoisie had either to capitulate to the Reds or yield to their own revolutionary movement. As far as we can see they have chosen the latter alternative, as the appearance of a Red Georgian garrison in Batum seems to prove.

The development of the political situation in Asiatic Turkey has strengthened the strategical position of the Reds in the Caucasus and in Central Asia. The Alliance between Turkey in Asia and Soviet Russia has removed the Caucasus from any danger of a new attack by the imperialistic coalition headed by Great Britain. Furthermore, the Red Army has now seized the initiative in the Asiatic theater of war, forcing the Allies to use a strictly defensive strategy in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and compelling England to defend herself in South Persia and along her Indian borders.

If we will look on the map we will understand that the revolution has spread through the Middle East in the regions of the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea; namely, throughout the Caucasus (Kuban and Terek, Azerbaijan and Georgia), in Persia and in Turkey, except its northwestern part which is still in

the hands of the European invaders. This sudden transformation of the map of Asia, which is one of the most important events of the day, has seriously alarmed England, who fears the vengeance of the oppressed nations.

The Russian people, the peasants and workers of free Soviet Russia, have brought upon Great Britain this retribution. The long and ruthless murdering of the workers of Russia by the British imperialists and their allies forced the Russians to seek sympathy among the Eastern peoples likewise oppressed and robbed by the merciless Entente.

The Entente remained deaf to the repeated appeals for peace. The slaughter of the Russian workers and peasants continued. The plans for the dismemberment of Turkey went forward, accompanied by a vigorous propaganda based upon the Armenian massacres. The Armenian bourgeoisie living in Europe and America, with plentiful capital at their disposal, supported this propaganda. The businesses and welfare of these Armenians depended chiefly upon their relations with the governments of the countries in which they resided, and they supported these governments in their attempts to submit Armenia to the control of western capitalism. They knew perfectly well that the Allies had not declared themselves the protectors of the Armenian people either for the sake of the beautiful eyes of the Armenian women or because of the "commercial ability" of the Armenian business men.

Knowing the country and its population I can say positively that the agricultural element of the Armenians, as well as the Armenian proletariat, always lived on the best terms with the Turkish population, and were, as well, on the most friendly terms with the Azerbaijan Tartars and the other Mohammedan peoples. I saw, myself, during my travels through Afghanistan and Persia many Armenians serving in the Afghan and Persian armies. I saw the Armenian workers toiling together with their brother Tartar workers at their hard tasks in the Baku oil fields. And in Turkey was the fate of the Armenian workers worse than that of the Turkish toilers themselves?

The massacre of Armenians by Turks and of Turks by Armenians was due solely to an artificial incitement of one race against the other by the so-called Armenian patriot-capitalists whose aim was to provoke an armed intervention of the Great Powers. That the Russian Czar's Government in a most shameless way incited both the Armenians and the Tartars to slaughter each other is an established fact.

Victorious Soviet Russia, from a purely strategical standpoint, was unable to permit the establishment of a capitalistic Armenia as well as an imperialistic Georgia under the domination of Great Britain, France and other powers.

The successful revolutionary movement among the Tartars, Georgians, Persians, Turks, and Armenians has spoilt the plans of capitalistic imperialism. These events, moreover, freed a large part of the Red Caucasian and Turkestan armies. The newly created states are naturally in possession of their own military forces. They need, and these only for the early period of their existence, some Russian specialists, instructors, and a comparatively small body of soldiers to protect their newly elected revolutionary authority. Thus the Red military command was enabled to undertake a serious strategical manoeuvre in Central Asia.

As it was recently reported, General Sokolnikov, the Chief Commander of the Soviet forces in Turkestan, was instructed to move his army of 150,000 men towards the Afghan frontier of India. This movement, if it is not an invention of the British press bureau, is of extraordinary significance. Some time ago I understand that Great Britain was concentrating her Indian Army along the north-western frontier. Taking into consideration that the relations between Afghanistan and Great Britain have been seriously ruptured for about three years since the British army tried to break through Afghanistan with the intention of invading Persia and Russian Turkestan, it may be that the Afghans, in order to protect themselves from a new British invasion, have appealed to their new ally, Soviet Russia, for military support. Otherwise, it is difficult to interpret the news that General Sokolnikov is to occupy certain strategical points along the Afghan-Indian frontier. It would have been impossible for the Red Army to penetrate to this line without the permission of the Afghans, who dispose of a strong and well-equipped military force. This short dispatch, twice repeated in the American press, only confirms the fact that Soviet Russia is becoming the leader of all the oppressed peoples of Asia.

A year ago, discussing the situation in Turkestan, I published in the *New York Call* of November 7, 1919, a warning to England that her aggressive policy towards the Soviet Republic in the West might be met by the Russians in the East. On several occasions I said that the British Government was obstinately incurring a very serious menace to India, and that only peace with Soviet Russia could postpone the catastrophe which, sooner or later, was imminent. I said that the military pressure which Great Britain so energetically and so shamelessly continued to bring upon the Russian workers and peasants would only shorten the time when that catastrophe would come. I pointed out that the military and political situation in Turkestan was very satisfactory. "This vast region of Central Asia," I said in the *New York Call* of November 7, 1919, "is in complete control of the Soviets. The natives of the Fergana, Syr-Daria, Samarkand regions as well as of Khiva and Bokhara are in full sympathy with the Bolsheviks, as are also the populations of Afghanistan and India." . . . "Russia," I continued, "is a semi-Mongolian country. She was respected in Asia

under the Czars. Free Russia, Soviet Russia, may be a leader even more respected by the peoples of the East. Let England keep that in mind!"

When, early in 1920, Comrade Trotsky said in one of his interviews with an American journalist that the Russians are good linguists and could easily learn Hindustani there was much scorn in the British press. At the end of June, 1920, it was reported that Kuropatkin was appointed Commander of the army which was to undertake a manoeuvre towards India. In reply to this, Great Britain with her allies increased their hostilities against the Soviet Republic, and the Polish War as well as Wrangel's adventure were in full swing. In September came the Congress of Mohammedan nations at Baku.

The resolution of the more than one thousand representatives who attended this historical congress, unanimously accepted, was "war to the death against world capitalism"—which for the Mohammedans means a war against Great Britain. This caused several interpellations in the House of Commons. British strategy in the Near and in the Middle East was instructed to prevent by means of arms the possibility of any kind of union between the Mohammedans and the Soviet Republic. France and Greece were to cooperate in a newly planned campaign. At one time even Wrangel was ordered to undertake a perilous manoeuvre in order to land a part of his band in the Kuban district, which he accomplished under the protection of the British navy. (As we know, his Caucasian expeditionary forces never returned to the Crimea. They were entirely defeated, thus considerably weakening the main "army" of the Crimean Baron.) European Turkey with Constantinople, part of Anatolia as far as east of Ismid and east of Smyrna, was annexed by the Allies and principally by the Greeks.

Several times since the outbreak of the civil war in Russia, Great Britain succeeded in penetrating into the Caucasus and Transcaucasia and, being pushed back by the local population, finally attempted to control the ports of Poti and Batum on the Black Sea. French detachments meanwhile operated in Syria and the British in Mesopotamia, still hostile to the invaders.

All the efforts of Great Britain to weaken the growing moral power of Moscow and to restore the vanishing prestige of London amongst the Asiatic people were in vain. The strategy of the Soviet Republic in the East was quite different from that of the Allies. It was based not upon military force, but on sincere and friendly relations with the peoples through whose country the Red Army had to pass in order to protect these countries from the threatened invasion. Once the invaders were defeated, the Red forces were immediately withdrawn. This happened first in Persia in 1918-1919. Not an inch of the Persian territory was annexed by the Soviet forces. Such a policy created the greatest sensation throughout all Asia. The same happened in Turkestan, in the Khanate of Bokhara, in Khiva, Azerbaijan, and in Georgia. The same

is happening now in Armenia and may happen in Turkey and elsewhere. This is the real strength of Russian strategy in Asia, a strategy which capitalistic states can not adopt without radically altering the political structure of their countries and abandoning the principles of national imperialism.

Do the western military thinkers understand that the proletarian army of the Soviet Republic, during its occupation of a country, will be strengthened by the people of the latter because the Red Army does not fight peoples but is hostile only to the bourgeois capitalists? An army of the imperialistic invaders, on the other hand, "melts like snow in the spring," as Napoleon always repeated. Real deliverers, and conquerors camouflaged as humanitarian "protectors", are two different things, and are always easily distinguished by the people.

The fallen Armenian bourgeois republic comprised the district of Erivan, a southern part of the Tiflis region, the southwestern part of the region of Elizavetpol, and almost all the region of Kars, except that part of it situated north of Ordahan. The representatives of the Armenian bourgeoisie were pledged at the Peace Conference to extend Armenian territory from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea, thus including a part of Azerbaijan with its rich oilfields. Similar claims were also put forward by the Georgians. Naturally the Tartars became alarmed, and realizing that the Armenians and Georgians had the support of Great Britain they joined with the Turks. The struggle then began between the Armenians and Georgians on the one hand and the Tartars and Turks on the other, a purely territorial conflict led by the representatives of the capitalistic class. It would have resulted in endless bloodshed in Transcaucasia had the revolutionary forces not come into power and put an end to the quarrel.

Transcaucasia is thickly populated. An area of about 100,000 square miles, the greatest part of which is mountainous, has a population of 7,500,000. The territory comprised six governments and three provinces under the Czarist regime. In this small region situated between the Caucasian Mountains and Persia and Turkey and the Black Sea on the west and Caspian Sea on the east there are about sixty separate races, Mohammedan as well as Christian. In Daghestan alone there are 58 different tribes, distinguished by their national dresses, customs, and religion. Could such diverse populations be brought together by any regime in the world except the Soviet regime? When these peoples, accepting the theory of "self-determination", under the influence of their bourgeois leaders, began to seek independent existence as separate republics, their respective bourgeoisies at once started a series of permanent wars and flooded the country with paper money.

The majority of the natives of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia are uneducated and lead the most primitive existence. Even the most progressive element of Transcaucasia, the Armenians, are for the most part illiterate. The wealthy landowners have exploited the peasants in the same way as in other

countries and have so prepared the ground for a general uprising. It is a great mistake to judge the Armenian people by those Armenians whom we are accustomed to meet in Europe and America. They are as unrepresentative as were the Russian intelligentsia of the past who in no way represented the real Russia of the workers and peasants. Generally the Armenians are a clever people, with great physical and mental abilities, advancing rapidly in their education whenever they have an opportunity. The Armenians were always considered in the old Russian army as good fighters.

The moment has approached when western capitalism, led by Great Britain, has to meet the oppressed peoples of the East under the inspiration of free Russia.

### RUSSIANS IN FRANCE

We have just received interesting information referring to the Russian troops placed at the disposal of France by the Czarist and Kerensky Governments.

This information reached us through a Russian military man who has just returned from Paris.

There were in France the following Russian infantry regiments, namely, 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 6th regiments of 5,000 men each; four reserve companies of 600 men each, and the 2nd Artillery Brigade of 800 men. All these forces, 23,200 fighters, were engaged on the Verdun sector of the French battle-front, under General Lokhvitsky.

Besides this, on the Salonika battle-front another Russian division, constituted of 3rd, 40th, 7th, and 8th infantry regiments and of four reserve companies as well as of the 2d Artillery brigade, was active under General Saraille. In addition to these forces, already during the Kerensky rule a battalion of 800 engineers arrived, making the entire Russian Salonika forces 24,000 men.

The total of all Russian fighters in the French Army is 47,200 men.

During the latest period of the Great War the French captured from the Germans about 70,000 Russian prisoners engaged by the Germans to work on the battle-front. Thus the number of Russian soldiers in France increased to 117,200. The additional military staff, namely Red Cross men, commissariat, and different clerks and employes of inferior rank could be estimated at about 30,000 men, which gives the number of 147,200 men in all.

On January 14, 1918, these Russians were divided into three categories: (1) the volunteers who desired to enter the forces of the reactionary Russian general; (2) the volunteers who refused to fight the Bolsheviks, but were willing to engage themselves in work for the several White Russian governments, and (3) those who refused to take any engagement and demanded an immediate return to Russia. At first the third category was most numerous, but due to severe repression its numbers decreased and finally 1,000 men of that category were dispatched to Africa and placed in Souk-haras in Tebessa and Creider in Algeria. Their condition is deplorable and the cruelty of the French beyond description.



## Litvinov



**I**N the light of many lying reports which have been published by the bourgeois and Socialist press of the right about Litvinov, as well as about the other Bolshevik leaders, the following biographical data which have appeared in Norwegian Socialist papers will no doubt be of great interest to the public. These stories demonstrate further how unfounded these false reports were with which it had been attempted at the time to explain Litvinov's failure to carry out his projected trip to England.

Maxim Litvinov was born in 1876, of a bourgeois family. He had hardly finished his studies and his military service when he joined the Russian Social-Democratic Party in 1898—the year in which that party was founded. At that time a social-democratic party could not exist openly and legitimately, but was forced to develop and foster its activities illegally, and its members were in constant danger of being imprisoned and sen-

tenced. He was hardly twenty-two years old when he was arrested on the ground of being a member of the sub-committee of a Socialist party, and although there was no evidence against him, he was kept behind the bars for almost two years, and was then sent to Eastern Siberia for six years, on the mere order of the Minister of the Interior, and without a regular judicial sentence. However, even before this last term of imprisonment could begin he was able to make his escape. He thereupon went to Switzerland, where he became a member of the United European-Russian Social-Democratic Executive Committee, a committee whose other two members were Leo Deutsch and the wife of Lenin. After the split of the Socialist Party, Litvinov, together with Lenin, joined the Left Wing, whose leader at that time was Plekhanov.

After a short stay in Switzerland Litvinov returned secretly to Russia in 1903, although he ran the risk of imprisonment and death, especially as he was on an important mission for the party. Several times he acted as a delegate to party congresses in Western Europe, and was also a delegate to the Congress of the Second International. During this period he fell repeatedly into the hands of the police, but he always succeeded in making his escape.

Immediately after the Revolution of 1905 he founded, in cooperation with Krassin and Gorky, the first Socialist daily paper which was not printed underground, but was published openly. This was the well-known *Novaja Zhizn* which was, however, suppressed after a few months of existence. Litvinov came very near being arrested then, but was able to flee from Petrograd just in time. After 1908, however, the secret service of the Czar kept a sharper lookout for him, so that he was unable to return to Russia. He emigrated to England, and was delegated to the International Socialist Bureau as a representative of the Left Wing. The Mensheviks were represented by Axelrod. Shortly after the famous November Revolution he was appointed diplomatic representative in London by the Soviet Government. Notwithstanding the reports which the bourgeois press continued to spread about Litvinov, and the official lie by Lloyd George in the Lower House, the truth of the matter is that Litvinov was not banished from England, nor were any proceedings brought against him for propagandist activities during his stay in England.

The real facts are as follows: When Lockhart, the English diplomatic representative to Russia, was arrested on account of having taken part in a conspiracy against the Soviet Government and Lenin, the English authorities entered the home of Litvinov and searched his house, and looked over and took possession of all his diplomatic papers; although this was in direct violation of diplomatic immunity. Furthermore, instead of

banishing Litvinov from England, he was prevented from leaving until Lockhart was freed by the Soviets. It will be remembered, the exchange of Lockhart and Litvinov took place thereafter in Norway.

After Litvinov's return to Russia, Chicherin appointed him his assistant, and he took charge of the division for Western European affairs in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, he became a member of the Commissariat for State Control, where he organized a Central Bureau of Complaints. In November, 1919, he went to Dorpat, where he began the peace negotiations with Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Thereafter he went to Copenhagen, where he negotiated with O'Grady regarding the exchange of Russian and English prisoners of war. It is one of the secrets of history, and wholly inexplicable, why England failed to permit Litvinov to accompany the Russian Trade Delegation to London. Every one knows that this stand taken by England was the cause of months of delay in the negotiations. Later on Lloyd George became aware of the fact that his position was untenable, and when he invited Russia to take part in the peace negotiations, he declared that he would make no attempt to influence the selection of Russian delegates, which likewise disposed of the Litvinov matter once and for all.

### Trade Unions in Ukraine

The Trade Union movement in Ukraine is at the present time laboring under most unfavorable conditions. The repeated change of government, the disorganization of industry resulting from the three years of civil war naturally had a great effect upon the trade union organizations. In spite of all this the Ukrainian Trade Unions have carried out a great deal of work during the last eight months in regard to the organization of industry as well as in strengthening the union apparatus.

With the first days of its work under new conditions the Ukrainian Trade Unions were faced with the necessity of taking the most radical measures for the purpose of reorganizing production.

One of the measures undertaken in this direction was the formation of the Ukrainian Labor Army. The representatives of the trade union movement took an active part both in the work of the revolutionary council of the Labor Army, and in that of the Ukrainian Industrial Bureau. The result of these united efforts was that the total of the coal output, and the productivity of labor generally, of each workingman increased considerably. The average output per man for the month of April was 121 pounds; in July it reached 217 pounds.

During this period the trade union movement made great progress. Trade union organs have been established in a number of places, and there is a universal prevalence of adherents to Communism. Many provincial trade unions have grown so strong that they can work on a far larger scale than many of the trade unions of Central Russia. In this connection it is interesting to mention the

Trade Union Council of the Odessa province. This trade union was composed of 128 to 130 thousand workingmen. The result of the Provincial Congress, which took place at the end of May, was a sharp predominance of the Communists. Similar congresses took place in the other provinces. Here, also, the result was a victory of the Communists.

At the time of the Wrangel offensive the Ukrainian trade unions undertook to mobilize five times the number of men that had been originally allotted to them. There is information at hand to the effect that this mobilization has been most successful. In addition to the mobilization at the front a considerable mobilization is taking place for work in connection with the supply of provisions.

The Ukrainian trade union movement takes a great interest in the general work of the Soviets. The Odessa Council of Trade Unions supplies interesting figures characterizing the above:

Number of trade unionists delegated by trade union organizations to Soviet institutions from February 1 to July 1, 1920, were:

| Name<br>of Institution                  | Number<br>of Delegates |
|---|------------------------|
| Council of Public Economy.....          | 235                    |
| Labor Department and Social Maintenance | 100                    |
| Provision Organs .....                  | 234                    |
| Land and Housing Department.....        | 107                    |
| Other Institutions .....                | 556                    |
| Total .....                             | 1,232                  |

These figures show that the trade unions have passed the most difficult period of organization and have grown fairly strong.

### ORIENTAL STUDIES

Moscow, November 2.—Oldenburg, President of the Academy of Sciences at Petrograd, reports that the academician Berkhtold has discovered Syrian inscriptions of historic importance in the vicinity of Sama in Turkestan.

The academy has assumed control of the extraordinarily important archives that were once the possession of the Emir of Bokhara.

*"All citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations. . . ."*

Section 10, Article II, of the Code of Labor Laws of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

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## In the Heart of Karelia

By JOHN S. CLARKE

**M**R. J. R. MACDONALD, writing in the *Forward*, October 23, gives an account of a labor meeting addressed by him in Georgia. "Surely never," says he, "had British Socialist so strange an audience as this."

From his description of the affair, I can pretty safely aver that it was a commonplace happening compared to an experience of my own on the barren coast of the White Sea.

The topographical setting my readers ought to be fairly familiar with ere this. Imagine a desolate stretch of tree-clad swamp-land, bordered on the west by a miniature mountain range, the peaks of which, though no higher than one thousand feet, are yet capped with perpetual snow. On the east, an almost rippleless blue sea with a slight haze hovering above it and terminating in a low-lying rock-strewn shore. Upon the shore itself stand one hundred and fifteen peculiarly constructed wooden houses, housing the modern descendants of an ancient people. Such is the village of Kandalaksa, or Kandalax, on the southwest corner of the White Sea. To the north, the precarious track upon which the railway is built makes a semi-circular bend to the east and follows the coast line for some miles.

At the center of the loop the "station"—two or three wooden buildings—stands between two scrub-clothed embankments.

Here the most unique experience I ever had in the movement occurred. I was with the Russian Labor Delegation, and four of us (Alexis Lozovsky, Feodor Sergheiev, Diimetry Antoshkin, and myself) were having breakfast when the train stopped. An attendant came into the compartment and told us that the townfolk of Kandalaksa had marched out en masse to the train, and were demanding speeches. Sergheiev, who knew English very well, and who had already interpreted three speeches of mine, insisted on my addressing them in English.

We left the train and beheld what can only be described as an amazing spectacle. About four hundred men and women were drawn up in military formation, the men clothed in tattered uniforms and odd-looking garments and the women mostly in "national" dress—the "sarafan" of striped or printed calico with a smock frock partly covering it. The men wore every variety of clothing imaginable. Soldiers' great-coats, tunics, jerseys, leather and sheepskin jackets open or tied with rope, top-boots, ski-boots, puttees, peak-caps, fur-caps, and old-fashioned forage caps. The women, curiously picturesque, wore the typical kerchief tied around the head, and were shod in as many varieties of footgear as the men—though one or two were quite barefoot. Some held children by the hand, and some carried them in arms giving them suck at ample and fully exposed breasts.

A huge red banner carried by two of the men

bore in golden lettering "Long Live the Soviet Republic."

As we passed they stood at attention. The women walked over to the sandy embankment and seated themselves in front of the makeshift platform—a pile of fuel-logs; the men then grouped themselves behind. Their immobile staring faces were a study. Clean-shaven or whiskered, it was impossible to penetrate behind that pacific empty stare. Sergheiev stood before them and spoke for fifteen minutes. He was followed by Lozovsky, who evidently indulged in periodical quips of humor, for every now and then a grin would spread itself over the faces, and at times a roar of hearty laughter was provoked. But Alexis was very serious at the end. His bearded face with the fire-flashing, penetrating eyes gave him the appearance of a biblical prophet, and his words were drunk in with avidity. At length he pointed his finger at me and stepped down. It was my turn. I climbed the logs and looked down upon my tatterdemalion but picturesque audience, now augmented by curious travelers from the train. The silence was deathlike, not even the buzz of a fly could be heard, and the motley-arrayed crowd appeared to have been turned to stone, so motionless was it. A brilliant morning sun, with no heat in it, blazed on high in a perfectly cloudless sky, and not a movement could be detected in the atmosphere. It was an ideal day for an outdoor meeting. I smiled but received a grim and stony stare in return. The men were expressionless, the women and children more so. A small, sandy-colored mongrel began to exhibit some little excitement—over a flea—and I began to speak. "Tovarischi!" They pricked up their ears, but dropped them again when I continued in English. I waxed poetical, rhapsodical, and augmentative. I told them Pushkin fables; told them of the Polish defeat and the Wrangel advance; leath-ered Lloyd George and Churchill; and destroyed the British Empire root and branch. They listened to my verbal cataracts unmoved. Invective, however bitter, sarcasm however withering, rhetoric however passionate, and humor broad or dry, left them as indifferent and unresponsive as before.

The reason, of course, was obvious—they didn't know what I was talking about.

Their open-mouthed, statuesque countenances were the nearest approaches to absolute vacuity I have ever seen. It was not a "fed-up" look, mind, for I was told they thoroughly enjoyed themselves, though I was very doubtful at the time whether the tremendous applause I received was due to "popularity" or because I had dried up. In this wilderness of weeds and rock, where picture houses, theatres, and music reigns unchallenged, the people are passionately fond of speeches. Anyone who can orate to them is almost worshipped, for by the spoken, not the printed, word have their minds and hearts been influenced.

I stepped from my log platform and was accorded at last some beaming smiles and military salutes. Sergheiev came up to me and whispered, "You have gave me one hell of a job!" "I'm very pleased," I replied; "you asked for it!"

But Feodor did the job well, judging from the delighted faces I watched while he delivered the speech over again in Russian. Even then, there were many there who could not understand the Russian of Sergheiev, for among them were natives of the district who understood only their Karelian tongue.

Karelia and Pomoria, in the old days, formed the district of Kem, which stretches from Kandalaksa to the foot almost of the White Sea. This district was 36,000 square versts in area, or about 10,000,000 English acres. The entire population of this enormous district—about as big as Ireland—is only 36,368, of which 14,000 are Russians.

The Karelians, a Finnish tribe, were dominant on the lower White Sea coast till about the 14th century. They began then to penetrate eastwards towards the Northern Dvina, where the Karelian Monastery of St. Nicholas still stands, and to settle on the western coast, where they intermingled with the Russians. The older people, the Lapps, were driven more and more to the north, until today they are confined practically to the Kola peninsula.

The Karelians are mentioned as far back as the 9th century. King Erik Edmondson in 833 marched into their country, while Harold Harfarger's chief, Torolf Koeldufson, the viking, routed them in battle in 897.

Karelia proper consists of the western part of the district of Kem, bounded on the north by Lapland; on the northeast and east by Pomoria; on the south and southeast by Olonets Province; and on the west by Finland.

The rivers form a seemingly continuous chain of lakes, which the train follows for hundreds of miles, the chief being the River Kem flowing from the Finnish frontier. The land is swampy and stony. It is puzzling, in fact, to see so many huge boulders and smaller stones lying in such profusion, until one remembers the proximity of the sea. The climate is bleak and raw, and in the autumn, foggy. The villages are connected only by footpaths over the rocks and swamps. There are no cart roads anywhere to be seen. In some cases communication is maintained by boats on the various lakes, but many rapids have to be shot and difficult channels negotiated during the voyages.

Agriculture is carried on on a very small scale, such pursuit being a continual struggle with nature. Catch crops of potatoes and turnips are obtained, but only about one-third of the grain requisite to feed the population is produced from the unyielding, half-manufactured soil.

Timber felling and river and sea fisheries are the chief occupations of the people, though some engage in trapping the fox and squirrel and hunting the brown bear.

The Karelian house is erected on a kind of permanent scaffolding. A ladder leads to the door. On the ground floor the sheep pens and cattle byres are placed. In the kitchen the stove, moulded from clay, stands on a hearth of cobble stones, for bricks are quite unknown in Karelia. Benches stand around the walls; the sleeping couch, made of wood, is near the stove, and the ikons or sacred pictures hang exactly opposite—perhaps in order to permit them being seen by anyone lying sick.

There is a crockery cupboard and a few chairs, a kettle, samovar, and wash tub. I could see nothing else in any of the houses.

The logs with which the house is built are fitted into one another by a kind of mortice process, and the interstices are packed with paper, down, and sheep's wool. Most of the windows are double to keep out the intense cold.

The Karelians are not unlike the rustic Russians. Mostly blue-eyed, with reddish or brown hair, usually unkempt and hanging below the ears and across the eye-brows. Their voices are somewhat monotonous, especially when singing. After our propaganda meeting everyone closed up into a crowd, placed the flag in the center, bared the head, and sent up to the clear blue sky, in which the brilliant morning sun smiled down upon an otherwise dismal place, the strains of "The Internationale."

As already mentioned, the train follows the coastline for a considerable distance after leaving Kandalaksa. It runs through the whole of the district once called Pomoria until it reaches Kem, then it continues in a more southern direction. Evidences of the Allied "occupation", as the politician describes the devastating activities of an invading army, are to be seen everywhere. The repeated destruction of the railroad has made it very unsafe in parts, and the wreckage encumbering the permanent way is an ever-intruding eyesore throughout this route. But this is not the worst aspect of the journey by any means.

Reminders of the bloody deeds committed by representatives of civilization and "democracy" are to be observed in these backwoods of the north in the shape of lonely mounds of weed-covered clay crowned with wooden Greek crosses. They are the lonely graves of workmen who were butchered by the British because they "might" be sympathizers with Bolshevism. Many a time I sprang from the train, miles from any village, and photographed these melancholy heaps.

Sometimes one solitary, half-decayed cross would be seen through the trees, sometimes two, but seldom more than two. Hunters, following their calling, captured by an advance column and absolutely incapable of understanding the situation. No useful information could be obtained from such, but they might give warning if liberated. Military expediency demanded their death, and they were brutally murdered and *left in the woods without burial*. Some villages were almost stripped of the male inhabitants in this way. The snow alone was their shroud and its drift their grave. Such was

British mercy in Northern Russia. These simple, ignorant souls were Pomors, and the reader will appreciate better the childlike guilelessness and simplicity of these people if I relate an anecdote I heard respecting two of them, who, when at Archangel, were asked to sign on as log-hut builders with the Jackson-Harmsworth Polar Expedition of 1894.

They went to the Governor of Archangel and asked him for passports. "Where are you going to," he asked. "We are going to the North Pole, and the parish officials say that the Pole is not in Russia, therefore they cannot give us passports."

"Well," said the Governor, "the Pole is not abroad but as much in the province of Russia as anywhere else, therefore passports won't be necessary. Besides, there are no policemen at the Pole."

The two Pomors were staggered to hear of a place where there were no police, but they simply couldn't trust the Governor, and insisted on having passports to avoid trouble at the Pole.

"It's all right so long as you have got a passport," they said, so the Governor gave them a certificate authorizing the "authorities" at the North Pole to permit them to pass without hindrance, etc.

Now imagine such people being seized suddenly by the highly civilized and intelligent know-it-alls of the British army. What coherent statements could such people make to satisfy a British Jack-in-office?

Other Pomor villages we passed through were Keret, Pongam, Lapin, Soroka, and Niukots, and each had its story of woes suffered at the hands of alien oppressors.

Pomor means "coast dwellers", and the habits of life and nationality of the Pomors are quite distinct to those of the Karelians. They are the descendents of the Novgorodian emigrants and freebooters who settled here in the 11th and 12th centuries, and who gradually broke away from the overlordship of Great Novgorod and established separate small kingdoms with distinct rulers. They are, consequently, Russian stock, not Finnish, but, of course, the two peoples intermarry and are slowly becoming one. They are one of the hardiest seafaring people on the globe, and their fisheries are remarkable for the ingenuity displayed in conducting them. When cod-fishing, for example, the Pomor scorns the Finnish or Norwegian method of small lines and hooks. He launches forth into mid-ocean, and plays out his "garus" (great line) miles in length and studded with thousands of hooks. In all weathers he just rolls about in his smack until sure of his haul, and when he lifts it, it means enrichment for weeks to come. We found them very hospitable and easily amused, as most Russians are, and strong supporters of the Soviet regime.

In this respect it is as well to note that "Pomoria" practically does not exist now, and that Karelia is no longer confined to its old boundaries. I append here a statement prepared for me by the representative of the Third Internationale on the latest development of this interesting mixed popu-

lation. They are developing, in short, an autonomous Soviet Republic, which will embrace every district from the River Svir to the Arctic Ocean| I give his statement intact:

"The Karelian Commune extends from the River Svir in the south across the Lake Onega to the White Sea and round the Kola peninsula to the Norwegian frontier and again southward for a thousand miles along white Finland. The highly important Murmansk railway runs entirely through this territory. This vast area contains but a small population, a quarter of a million or so. Consequently its rich natural resources are as yet practically undeveloped. Iron, copper, and zinc ores are found in various parts, but the most important mineral is the valuable lead deposits on the Kola peninsula. Agriculture is not well developed owing to the rigorous climate, but the southern parts are capable of great daily production. The Murman coast is due to one of the richest fishing seas of the world, the Arctic Ocean, which now is connected with the vast markets of Petrograd and Middle Russia, yet the most important industry of the Karelian Commune will be the exploitation of its tremendous forests and water powers. The timber is worth well over £100,000,000, the utilization and export of which will bring the republic into commercial relations with Western European countries. Besides, sawmill products, boards, etc., turpentine, tar, wood spirits, pulp, cellulose, pasteboard, and paper can be produced in abundance.

Thanks to the great water power, this industry will be largely independent of foreign coal supply. Also it is probable that it will play a highly important part in the subsequent electrification of the North Russian railways.

The towns are few and small. The capital, Petrozavodsk, has only 24,000 inhabitants, but Murmansk will soon develop into a great and very important port. It has an excellent harbor, and is the only real ocean port of Russia, free from ice all the year round. The Murmansk railway, completed only in 1916, has made this "window" towards the deep seas, America and Western Europe, available for all North and Middle Russia, including Petrograd, which is ice-bound for months every winter.

The most interesting feature, however, from a Socialist point of view is that utilization and development of all these riches will begin, not by a ruthless exploitation and imperialist expansion, but will start from the beginning on Communist lines in systematically building up a free, classless community. It will be an experiment, but there are all probabilities of its success because of the backing up and friendly neighborhood of Great Communist Russia.

The present leader of this great undertaking is a highly capable man, a former member of the Red Finnish Government in 1918 (Dr. Edward Gylling). He is an equally experienced Socialist, scientist, and practical statesman, having been for many years one of the leaders of the formerly powerful Finnish Social Democracy, professor of

economics in the university in Helsingfors, and one of the most active members of the parliamentary group, a finance expert of the Bank of Finland. During the Finnish Revolution of 1918 he acted for a short time as chief of the Red General Staff.

It is, moreover, very remarkable that this Red Karelia will be built up to a great extent by Finnish workers and Red Guards, who, after the Revolution, fled to Russia in thousands, forming colonies of their own, and Red regiments, which played an important part in the defense of Petrograd.

Karelia, which by climate and nature is very similar to Finland, will provide them with a new and free home on the threshold of the old one, waiting for its liberation.

In the constitution of a Communist country many skilled workers will be required. Many factory, transport, and agricultural workers are there already. Many more will come, bringing with them tools and machinery from persecuted White Finland.

They may have to defend themselves against the aggression of the Finnish imperialists, but they will do it with the Red Workers' Army and the help of Soviet Russia.

The creation of this Karelian Republic means also the creation of a new Scandinavian country, a link between Scandinavia and the Russian Soviet Republic. North Norway and Finland especially will feel the influence of the new neighbor. Its evolution will certainly be keenly watched by the workers in those countries, and by Socialists all over the world. In a sense it means a renewal of the old idea to construct an "ideal state" out of more or less virgin conditions—the idea of old Plato, Thomas More, Fourier, Robert Owen, and many others—except that the possibilities are now immensely more real than in those days."

## Litvinov and the Norwegian Government

On October 6, Litvinov and his assistant, Piatigorsky, left Christiania where they had been engaged, on the invitation of the Norwegian Government, in an effort to complete negotiations with that government with the object of establishing commercial relations between the two countries. Doubtless the obstacles placed in the way of these negotiations by the Norwegian Government did not originate with the latter, but were due to definite instructions obtained from more powerful sources. Piatigorsky, on the very day he and Litvinov departed from Christiania, sent a letter to *Social Demokraten*, a well-known Socialist paper in that city, which appeared in its columns of October 19. This letter was sent in Russian, but the text from which the following translation was made was necessarily Norwegian:

To the Editor of *Social Demokraten*.

Dear Sir:

In connection with the article entitled "Commercial

Camouflage", which appears today in *Morgenbladet*,\* I take the liberty to request you to print the following in your newspaper. For *Morgenbladet* draws certain definite conclusions from facts which are by no means as indicated in their article. It is quite conceivable that *Morgenbladet* might present a number of facts in more or less distorted form.

In reality the case is as follows: Lawyer Schultz, who was in the habit of paying visits to me with his Russian interpreter applied to me with the proposal to purchase a quantity of young lambskin leather in our country. He was undertaking purchases for firms in this country. The price he offered was low, namely, 36 Norwegian crowns per piece. In accordance with data we had at Archangel, the market price in London had recently been as high as 60 shillings per piece. As the difference in price was so great as to make it impossible to agree to furnish the leather at the lower price, I promised Lawyer Schultz to ask London and let him know the answer. The fact really is that when I came back from Bergen, I was approached not by Schultz, but by his interpreter, to disclose the result. I informed him that I had not yet received any answer and added that, in view of my departure, which would take place the next day, it would be impossible for any real business to be done in importing Russian goods into Norway. It was not until this conversation took place that the interpreter expressed the opinion that the price named by me would presumably be understood as the price per kilo and not as a price per piece. For my own part I said only that I could not give a definite price as I had not obtained any precise data from London.

To draw the inferences which *Morgenbladet* draws in its article "Commercial Camouflage" is absolutely without foundation in fact, and, in my opinion, extremely unbusinesslike. Such an act, as a matter of fact, is an outcome of a desire to twist all the negotiations which have taken place between us and the Norwegian firms.

I do not for a moment doubt that in view of the extreme gullibility of the editorial office of *Morgenbladet*, additional reports of a similar fabricated character will appear in that paper concerning the commercial negotiations with us. And no doubt more such gentlemen will appear who have in reality had no negotiations with us, and they may be quite sure that the editorial office will swallow everything they are offered without asking any proofs.

In order to show how all the actual facts concerning us are distorted in the press, I shall take the liberty to dwell for a moment on the negotiations concerning the purchase of fish. Immediately after my arrival at Vardo, the Secretary of the Norwegian Fishermen's Association, Lorentz, came to me with an offer of a certain quantity of fish at the price of 1.10 crowns per kilogram. I remarked already at that time that it was difficult to judge prices from Vardo, as that place is not a market. I hope *Morgenbladet* will not find any reason for rebuking us for the fact that we did not want to pay more than the market price. After we all had come to Christiania, the same Lorentz, acting for the same organization offered us the same fish for 0.55—0.45 per kilogram, and I may add that such exorbitant demands occurred in all the offers made by Norwegian firms.

May I ask the editors of *Morgenbladet* whether it was our duty humbly to accept at once every offer even if the price was more than twice as high as the real price, as was the case with Lorentz's offer? And is that any proof that we have not come to do business? The space I am taking in this note does not give me an opportunity to enter into details concerning all the negotiations which would clearly prove the opposite of the conclusions drawn by *Morgenbladet*, and the desire on the part of this and other papers purposely to distort the facts concerning our negotiations.

Respectfully yours,

PIATIGORSKY.

CHRISTIANIA, October 6, 1920.

\* A capitalist morning newspaper appearing in Christiania

## The Red Army in Congress Poland

THE whole bourgeois public is shouting with indignation over the shameful "treason" on the part of the farm workers and estate hands. Just imagine, they have been aiding the Bolsheviki! They have been aiding the Bolsheviki instead of defending with their own blood the rule of the native knout.

The governor (*wojewoda*) of Lublin, Moskalewski, makes the following statement in the *Gazeta Poranna* of September 8:

" . . . having heard for many months from the Bolshevik agitators, of the Bolshevik benefactions to the poor, the landless peasant population has been waiting with impatience for the invasion of the Bolsheviki into the confines of the Republic.

"Entirely different was the behavior of the possessing class in the villages. . . The farm owners, in a predominant majority, awaited the Bolshevik attack with an undisguised fear which eventually proved altogether well-founded.

"On the other hand, particularly in the counties of Radzyn and Sokolov, the farm workers and estate hands, sufficiently agitated by the Bolshevik instigators and sympathizers, not only awaited with impatience the arrival of the Red armies but, after the invasion, hailed with joy, and—what is most characteristic—took an active part in the "revkoms" (revolutionary committees)."

The President of the Agrarian Union, Stecki, interrogated by the correspondent of the *Gazeta Warszawska* (of September 6) tells of the behavior of the farm hands as follows:

"—It is hard to say anything final in the matter. There is no doubt however that this has been the only class in Poland which had been planning for themselves various luxuries as a result of the Bolshevik attack.

"I do not wish by these words to accuse the union of agricultural workers. At all events, there is no doubt that agitation by a number of functionaries of this union has had a very bad influence upon the farm hands. It became evident that in many localities those functionaries had belonged to the Polish Communist Party and had implanted in the souls of the farm hands the principles of Bolshevism. They also had put themselves in many localities at the head of the Bolshevik committees or organized the "Cherezvychaikas" (extraordinary committees for the combating of counter-revolution).

"Almost on every estate the farm hands hailed with joy the organized committees or created such themselves because of an order to that effect."

*Gazeta Warszawska* of September 5 reports as follows:

"From the neighborhood of Plock and Plonsk, from the neighborhood of Sierpce and Ciechanow—in a word from many localities which the Bolsheviki were overrunning, there is a flood of reports that the Mongolian barbarian hordes, despite their cruelties and acts of violence, were received

with sympathy by the farm hands. This is emphatically stated in the report on the tour of Premier Witos and Foreign Minister Skulski over the parts of Masovia liberated from the Bolshevik invasion. Our estate workers and farm hands, these bred-in-the-bone Masovians, these 'Polish countrymen, Polish people, the hereditary tribe of Piast,' have most often been coming out as the allies of the invaders, greeting them sympathetically in their land, giving them any requested information, and receiving from their hands the mandate for the exercise of the local rule. Here and there—as for instance in Mokro (the estate of Karol Grabowski) and in Leszczyn (the estate of Machinski) in the province of Plock—the estate workers even erected triumphal arches to greet the enemies of the Fatherland! . . ."

But the police and the military are busy "putting things down." Executions of farm hands are the order of the day. In Mlawa alone thirty delegates of farm hands were shot.

*Gazeta Warszawska* of September 14 reports as follows in a correspondence from Bialystok:

A manifesto "To the Agricultural Workers" published in Bialystok by the Communist Labor Party of Poland calls upon the farm workers to introduce a new order in agricultural relations. It proclaims that the Polish land shall become from now on the property of the entire people, and that the farm workers shall become its administrators. The estates must not be divided but kept whole. If land should be divided to be owned, every farm hand would get only a few acres of land and there would not be enough bread for all, considering the fact that in our country the estates feed the cities. The manifesto calls for the creation of farm hand committees who, together with administrators sent by the revolutionary committees, would administer the estates. The land-owner—if he has not fled—must be arrested immediately, and brought to the nearest city to be handed over to the local revolutionary committee. In the city a demand must be presented for an instructor in administration who, together with the elected farm hands' committee, shall administer the estate.

*Gazeta Poranna* (No. 235) contains these lines:

"The attempts at the creation of a "Revkom" in Lipno have failed. At the head of this organ was put a local carpenter, Zaborowski, a well-known, and for unknown reasons, tolerated Communist. The forest guard, Perkowski, became the commandant of the rural militia. The first of the dignitaries created by the enemy has fled together with the Bolshevik armies.

"In the villages, the Bolsheviki met often with distinct sympathy on the part of the farm laborers, whom the Commissars, after the occupation of Warsaw, Lodz, and Wloclawek, were supposed to make happy with all kind of benefactions at the cost of the *burzhuis* of the city and the country."—*Swit*, Vienna, September 24, 1920.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*

RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU  
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

A NEW line of buffer-states may soon be established against Soviet Russia. The old line, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, has gone over to the other side: all those countries have either already signed peace with Soviet Russia or are about to do so. In several of those countries the revolutionary movement, induced by prolonged Allied abuse of their resources in men and materials, is so strong that Bolshevik processions are frequent in the streets on election days and other state occasions, as was the case in Esthonia last week. Similar tendencies are reported from Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, the first line of buffer states to the south of Russia; one *New York Times* correspondent (message dated) Paris, November 29) goes so far as to say that "the situation, therefore, from the Armenian point of view is more hopeful than it has been, but if events turn out as expected it is more likely to be Soviet Russia than the League of Nations which will be the savior of Armenia."

The Allies accordingly must erect a new wall of states against Soviet Russia. Feeble attempts to mediate between the Turkish nationalists and Armenia are perhaps the first indications of a westward tendency in the choice of southern buffers, but we seriously doubt whether Turkey can be used for this purpose. The European continent likewise presents few opportunities for military exploitation against Soviet Russia, and not a single country on the continent fails to recognize the immense benefits it might attain through trade with Soviet Russia, thus making it impossible for the Allies to continue a sort of vicarious blockade after they have been obliged to desist from their own criminal attempts in that direction. But there is still left a small group of countries that have not yet been made to feel the worst consequences of the European War, because they did not themselves participate in it and were not subjected directly to its military operations. This group of former "neutrals" has the at present enviable distinction, in the exchange quotations of the New York market, of having its monetary unit quoted in American money at about one-half its mint par, while the standards of most of the former belligerents have gone down to various figures from about one-thirtieth to about one-third their pre-war value. The plan of inducing Sweden, Norway, and Spain to send troops to

Lithuania, for the purpose of policing Vilna when Zeligowsky goes (but what will they go to Lithuania for, if the Soviet Government has really announced its intention of again occupying Vilna, with the purpose of restoring that city to Lithuania?)—if go he ever does—will bring Spain, Norway, and Sweden at least as close to the brink of desperation and revolution as the marginal states of Russia now all are. Already the mutterings of protest in the Spanish press have become loud indeed, and the Swedish and Norwegian press will not fail to be heard from, if the plan is really persisted in.

Apart from Spain, which lies at the end of Europe and is, like Italy, dependent on the general situation in that continent, as far as any progress of the revolutionary movement in that country is concerned, the proposal to use Sweden, Norway, or other European countries of the central belt would appear to be part of a new plan to build up buffers against "Bolshevism", or Soviet Russia, or whatever may be the form assumed by the vague but frightful fears in the minds of French and English statesmen. This new belt of buffers, beginning with Norway and Sweden in the North, consists of Bavaria, Hungary, and Austria in the center, and Rumania in the South. Reports have already appeared in New York newspapers, describing a meeting held in Paris on November 27, in which the plan is said to have been discussed of a general offensive by powerful armies from certain Central European states, to be launched against Soviet Russia about the middle of March. Among the nations mentioned as prepared to participate in this offensive is Poland, although we must say that the present eagerness of Poland to make peace with Soviet Russia seems quite genuine, and we have little reason to believe that any Polish Government could be constituted that would undertake the hazardous task, in view of the present ugly mood of the Polish people, of again plunging that country into war at the behest of France. It is also not without interest to note that while Kerensky, who appeared at the Paris meeting as the main spirit of the new plan, had just returned from a trip through Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Rumania, he mentioned only two of those countries as participating in the new offensive: even Kerensky seems to have observed that the Czechs have been so mortified and outraged already by their forced counter-revolutionary activity that no power on earth could move them to continue or renew it. It will also be recalled that Rumania's recent notes to Soviet Russia have been very friendly and indicate a desire to return to a state of complete peace with the Republic of the Workers.

Let us assume, however, that it is possible for the Allies once more to plunge a new group of impoverished peoples into the task of furnishing troops for a new attack on Soviet Russia. Let us suppose the initial protests, which would not fail to rise all over the afflicted belt, should be ignored, and that the armies should actually be formed and forwarded to Soviet Russia. We need not outline too precisely what would be the result. In reac-



tionary Bavaria, in Hungary, in German Austria, industry would perhaps be stimulated a little. The decimations of the male population would continue, and great disaffected groups of relatives would be produced, offsetting the temporary prosperity induced among other groups, working in munition and uniform factories. The worst effects would be in the unhappy countries, France and England among them, that would be obliged to make their populations pay for the raising of these Central European armies against Soviet Russia, and we are certain that the peoples of Western Europe will not forever tolerate the sending of money and munitions and ships to help putting down a government merely because it has been established by the people, and seems to be uncommonly successful in distributing the good things of life to all its population. And, in addition, the new offensive would probably be beaten back and the Soviet Government turn out to be as victorious as ever.

Kerensky is reported to have said that his new invading army is to consist of 690,000 men, including 260,000 from Poland, 150,000 from Hungary, and 280,000 from Rumania (the latter also including 70,000 of the troops of General Wrangel, who is expected in Paris, which are at present encamped in Dalmatia, "at the disposal of the French Government"). Needless to say, none of these contingents are unaffected by Bolshevism, and none can be used with certainty and confidence. But France may have confidence in Kerensky. How well the Liberal always is prepared to eat out of the hand of reaction! Kerensky would not now be half so useful a tool in the hands of the French Government, if he had not for years been busy spreading rumors to the effect that he was opposed to intervention, that he was for a "revolutionary" government in Russia. Some few persons at least will have the impression that Kerensky has again become convinced of the sacredness of the Allied cause, or of the benefactions intervention promises for Russia. He who appears to be a more recent convert is always more useful in the hands of the press agent. But then the press agent should have suppressed the information that there were present at the Paris meeting of November 27, besides Kerensky, and forty members of the former Duma, also "many Russian nobles and generals, as well as General Wrangel's ambassador, whose presence is considered particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that this representative, only a few days ago, declared to the French Foreign Ministry that Wrangel's army of 70,000 men was now in Dalmatia, at the disposal of the French Government."

Kerensky is at last appearing in his true colors. It now matters little to the Russian people that he was once "opposed" to intervention. When he was "opposed" to intervention, he did little to oppose it, but now that he is for intervention, he leads armies against Soviet Russia. There are some "friends" who merit little attention while they are friendly, and only begin to be interesting when they are frankly hostile.

WHAT do League of Nations statesmen mean when they express fears lest troops which they may send to Lithuania be exposed to hostilities by Soviet forces, or, in the words of the *New York World* of December 1, "whether a Red army is likely to start a westward drive that would imperil an international army shortly to be sent to Vilna"? It is a dangerous game that the Allies are now playing. Their situation is desperate, however, and only dangerous games can help them. They know perfectly well that they cannot use their own troops for a new invasion of Soviet Russia, for their own troops are already so unwilling to be used in warlike enterprises as to make them useless, or worse, for such work. In addition, both England and France need all their white troops for home tasks; England needs them in Ireland; France needs them in Alsace-Lorraine and Africa. And Colonial troops have a surprising faculty of developing sudden revolutionary tendencies, as has already been the case with some of the colored troops used by France in Germany. It would be interesting if this Geneva message of Lincoln Eyre, to the *New York World*, from which we quoted above, should simply be a means of preparing the minds of newspaper readers for news that troops belonging to the "League of Nations" have been "attacked" by the Red Army, and that it is necessary for the "League" to send reinforcements, from the military man-power of the so-called "major" nations, to rescue the "neutral" troops assigned by the "League" to the innocent task of policing Vilna as an aid to the population of that city, in the determination of its allegiance, by plebiscite. This would be a desperate game indeed.

\* \* \*

MAXIM GORKY is again being exploited by enemies of the Revolution as having recently written letters appealing to intellectuals in foreign countries for assistance in preventing the Soviet Government from "maltreating" intellectuals in Russia. We have already pointed out that Maxim Gorky is at present working with the Commissariat of Education, but of course that would not preclude the possibility of his arriving at, and circulating, an erroneous judgment of the treatment of intellectuals in Russia. However, we must remind our readers of two facts: (1) the *New York Tribune* last year reprinted as recent attacks by Gorky many articles that he had written in 1917, when he really did actively criticize the Soviets; and (2), *Humanite*, of Paris, points out in a recent issue that forged letters alleging to come from Maxim Gorky are again in circulation, containing expressions calculated to give the impression that Gorky is now hostile to the Soviet Government. No man will be more mortified over this whole procedure than Gorky himself. For months—two years, to be more accurate—he has now been zealously supporting the Soviet Government, but the capitalist press will never reprint anything he says to favor it; his hostile works will share whatever immortality the capitalist press possesses.

## The Preliminary Peace at Riga

ON October 11 and 12 there was signed at Riga a preliminary peace treaty and armistice agreement between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine on the one hand, and Poland on the other, which was later ratified at Libau on November 2. The complete document is published in the present issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The protracted negotiations, as well as the carefully worked out terms of the treaty, bear witness to the fact that on both sides the necessity was felt to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion, and to obtain not merely a temporary suspension of hostilities, but also a way for the establishment of peaceful neighborly relations between the two countries so far as the general unsettled world conditions and the highly unstable political situation of Poland permit.

This unstable political situation of Poland, due among other things to an exceptionally embittered strife between the factions in the Polish governing classes, has almost frustrated the work of the Polish Peace Delegation some of whose members were working at cross purposes with the majority of the delegation, and particularly with the responsible head, Mr. Jan Dombiski. Happily, however, the majority of the Polish delegation realized perfectly well what the return of the delegation without achieving peace would mean for the immediate future of Poland, and—to use the words of Yoffe to a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*—“was more conciliatory than those with a knowledge of Polish character expected to find.” “It is fair to state,” says Yoffe, “that they never pressed too hard for conditions which they knew would cause a break in the negotiations.”

The foreign press—particularly the French—has hailed the Riga peace as a tremendous victory for Poland and a sign of a complete Soviet Russian collapse, notwithstanding the fact that the same press, reflecting of course the sentiments of the French Government, was doing its utmost to wreck the negotiations, fearing not without ground that the “collapsed” Soviet state would soon pay its kind attention to the other French counter-revolutionary puppets, Wrangel, Balakhovich, and Petlura.

As to the Polish victory. If compared with the Polish situation as it was in July when the Poles were suing for peace through the mediation of the Allies and had to submit to England's terms at Spa, the results achieved at Riga are undoubtedly a remarkable victory for Poland. However, a victory in war cannot be considered from the standpoint of shifting military advantages but from that of the initial stakes at issue. We must not forget that Poland went to war—so far as Pilsudski's and not the Allied designs are concerned—in order to create capitalistic buffer states of White Russia and Petlura's Ukraine, and completely to cut off Russia on its border from western Europe, and, thanks to Poland's geographical position and comparatively great military strength, to gain a predominant

position in a buffer combination that was to include Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and also Rumania. Owing to Soviet Russian diplomacy, Poland had to abandon during the war any idea of linking these states, while in the peace negotiations she was compelled—much against her liking—to recognize the sovereignty of Soviet Ukraine and the independence of the now forming Soviet state of White Russia. Polish diplomats endeavored for a time to reply to the Soviet demand for dealing with a united delegation of the two Soviet Republics with a counter move attempting to get recognition for some Petlura agents whom they had at hand, but they received an energetic answer from Chicherin after which they abandoned the Petlura game, and cared only to bargain out for themselves as much of Ukrainian and White Russian territory as the situation would permit.

There is no doubt that the treaty of Riga represents on the part of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine great concessions, which were made in order to avoid the prolongation of the war into the winter and to enable the two Soviet countries, after disposing in a short time of the counter-revolutionary bands of Wrangel, Balakhovich, and Petlura, to devote their vital forces to the work of economic reconstruction. Against the assumption of the liberal London *Nation* (October 14) to the effect that “Marxians” do not worry much over the cessation to the enemy of tens of thousands of square miles of territory, the Soviet delegation consented to the concessions after a hard struggle and—to use again the words of Yoffe—“the slightest demand over what was conceded would have made peace a sheer impossibility.”

Poland acquired a territory of 135,319 square kilometers, which is more than half of her ethnographic area of 251,300 square kilometers. She gets an additional four million population to her twenty-three in a country with a thin population, to which she may be able, under favorable circumstances, to direct a part of the Polish landless peasantry. Russia had to consent to let Lithuania settle her frontier line with Poland without Russian interference with the result that Lithuania is being pocketed now by Pilsudski's agent, General Zeligowski. Russia had to permit, also, the slicing of White Russia, part of which remains with Poland. Thus Poland was able to cut off Lithuania from Russia, and to create a “corridor” connecting her with Latvia with which she is now arguing about political concessions in Letgalia and particularly in the city of Dvinsk. Furthermore, by gaining direct communication with the eastern Catholic territories of Latvia she gets into direct contact with the small but influential Polish element of large landowners and thus obtains a political influence upon the territory. The “corridor” will acquire, after the conclusion of final peace with Poland, a great importance as a transit route to Latvian sea-ports, and French capitalists, who regard Poland as their ex-

clusive field of operation, are already devoting to it their eager attention; but it will deprive Russia of transit through the Lithuanian lands, thus cutting her off from a convenient land route to Germany and greatly hampering her in trade communication with Germany and the rest of Western Europe. In the south, Poland establishes a common frontier with Rumania at a sacrifice on the part of Soviet Ukraine of a large part of the Volhynia province with over a million of purely Ukrainian population, and of its claim to a union with Eastern Galicia. Moreover, the concession to Poland of the railroad points of Sarny, Baranovichi, and Rovno deprives Odessa of a convenient route to Petrograd, which will hamper the economic intercourse between the northern and southern part of the Federated Soviet Republic.

Compared with the advantages secured by Poland in article 1 of the treaty, other advantages are of a minor significance as are also the articles themselves. Article 2 is of little importance to Poland, but of great importance to Russia as it deals with the security of Russia from counter-revolutionary Russian or Allied activities in Poland. As a result of this point in the treaty, Poland must not tolerate on her territory any organizations that intend to wage war on either of the Soviet republics. This means that Poland must break completely with her till now allies, Savinkov, Balakhovich, Petlura, and others who had their headquarters in Warsaw, and who were receiving up to the last active aid from Poland or rather from France through Poland. It is more than probable that the Polish governing, and particularly military, circles viewed this stipulation as something that could be circumvented one way or another, at least for the immediate future. Knowing well of the coming Soviet campaign against Wrangel, who was threatening the Donetz Basin, they decided to use the time for their own purposes. General Zeligowski occupied Vilna with Polish regulars, permitting the formations of General Balakhovich to occupy White Russia and to move toward Minsk and Homel. He expected thus, besides taking Vilna from the Lithuanians with the express aim of incorporating the province to Poland, to form, together with Balakhovich, a link which could easily serve to harass the Soviet forces, and which, so far as the Poles were concerned, might be used to extort better conditions in the expected peace negotiations. A similar policy was thought of in the south, in Ukraine, where Petlura was helped to occupy as much of Soviet Ukraine as he possibly could. Some Polish diplomats, as for instance, Leon Wasilewski, member of the Riga peace delegation, had the insolence to declare that the Riga agreement did not bind Poland to refuse recognition to Petlura, and that Poland would continue its relations with him, although during the peace negotiations the Poles themselves admitted that the army of Petlura was a component part of the Polish army. However, this condition of affairs could not last long. The increasingly stronger protests of the Soviet Government against the hostile acts of Poland, the last of which came at the time

of Wrangel's complete defeat, have compelled the Polish Government to take heed. At present, judging from the news coming from Poland, it is safe to assume that the Polish governing circles will take care not to engage actively in any counter-revolutionary plots by whomsoever conducted, an order for the disbanding of Russian counter-revolutionary military formations having been issued shortly before the ratification of the treaty. Moreover, the trend of political events in Poland seems to indicate that the Polish ruling classes do not want to tolerate any semi-independent creations in the form of Zeligowski's "middle Lithuania" or Petlura's "People's Ukraine", but are determined to incorporate these regions as administrative parts of Poland, as may be judged from a recent debate and resolution in the foreign committee of the Diet. By such act, however, they assume a greater responsibility for the actions committed on these territories and the adjacent neutral belts for which they are equally responsible. Russia thus will acquire, in virtue of article 2 of the treaty, a measure of security from counter-revolutionary plots on Polish territory, which is not little if we consider the fact that Poland has become the center of all counter-revolutionary activities against Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. (We shall at present leave out of consideration the possible international complications resulting from the action of General Zeligowski's occupying Vilna by military force, which also may involve Soviet Russia, as we shall deal with that problem at some other date.)

Of articles 3 to 9, dealing with the reciprocal rights of citizens, exchange of prisoners, war costs, etc., article 4 is of importance to Soviet Russia and particularly to Soviet Ukraine. It grants to Polish citizens of Ukrainian (or Russian) race the rights of minorities in regard to cultural and religious matters. One must not forget that millions of Ukrainians will remain under Polish sovereignty. On the part of Soviet Russia or Soviet Ukraine the same rights granted to their citizens of Polish race do not demand any change in their general policy. Not so with present day Poland whose intolerance in matters of culture or religion has already become proverbial. To us it is a puzzle as to how the Polish Government is going to live up to this stipulation except that it will be under constant pressure from the Soviet Government. Already the fact that the medieval Polish constitution which is now being adopted, provides for an established Catholic Church conflicts with the idea of religious equality, not to speak of other administrative practices which deprive people of Ukrainian race not only of their cultural rights but of their livelihood as was the case with the Ukrainian railroad men thrown out of work in Galicia because of their race.

The final articles of the treaty beginning with article 10 concern matters of economic importance to both contracting parties. Most of the provisions are to be worked out in detail during the final peace negotiations that are taking place now. The Poles had to content themselves with general stip-

ulations with regard to compensation from the Russian gold reserves, considering it a gain that the settlement of reciprocal accounts promises to take into consideration the *active* participation of Congress Poland in the budget of the former Russian empire, as it is their contention that Russia had been drawing out of Congress Poland about forty million rubles in gold yearly. However, the problem is rather complex, and these figures will still have to stand some scrutiny. Less value is attached on the Polish side to the advantages from the Russian renunciation of any claim to compensation resulting from the fact of Poland's former subjection to Russia. The Poles know that whatever may be the actual meaning of such renunciation—as it stands at present it leaves open the question of Poland's responsibility for the foreign loans of the Czar's Government—Poland's friends, the Allies, will not be slow to reap the advantage thereof, as has already been the case with France, which to our knowledge extracted from Poland the obligation to pay four and a half billion marks as part of the Russian debt.

Of immediate vital importance to both parties are the articles referring to the reestablishment of commercial relations between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, and Poland. Russia needs communication with the West, while Poland will gain enormously from the Russian transit and will revive her trade which is now merely serving the exploiting interests of France, and is almost completely dead. Still more advantages may accrue to the industries of both countries. It must be remembered that the industry of Congress Poland constituted a large integral part of the total Russian industry, that in many lines, particularly textiles, it depended completely on the Russian market, and that Polish industrials and business men are splendidly acquainted with the nature and needs of the Russian market. According to some reports an understanding has already been reached with regard to immediate exchange of goods as well as in regard to industrial activities (the running of some sugar refineries) while the *New York Globe* reports that brisk trade is going on between Russia and Poland. It is unnecessary to point out the obvious advantages to Soviet Russia from such trade. But in Poland, also, the dissolution of Polish industry compels Poland to a closer economic union with Russia as only in this can she find a way of improving her highly demoralized economic situation.

We come to the question of the stability of the Riga peace arrangements. In discussing the general character of the Riga peace the *London Nation* of October 14, in an article entitled "Another Punic Peace", characterized the Riga peace as another scrap of paper of the same nature as are, in the opinion of that paper, all the peace agreements signed by the powers since Armistice Day, chief among them being the Treaty of Versailles. The liberal paper expressed further the belief that it "will require war, a very big and bitter war, to destroy the settlement of Riga."

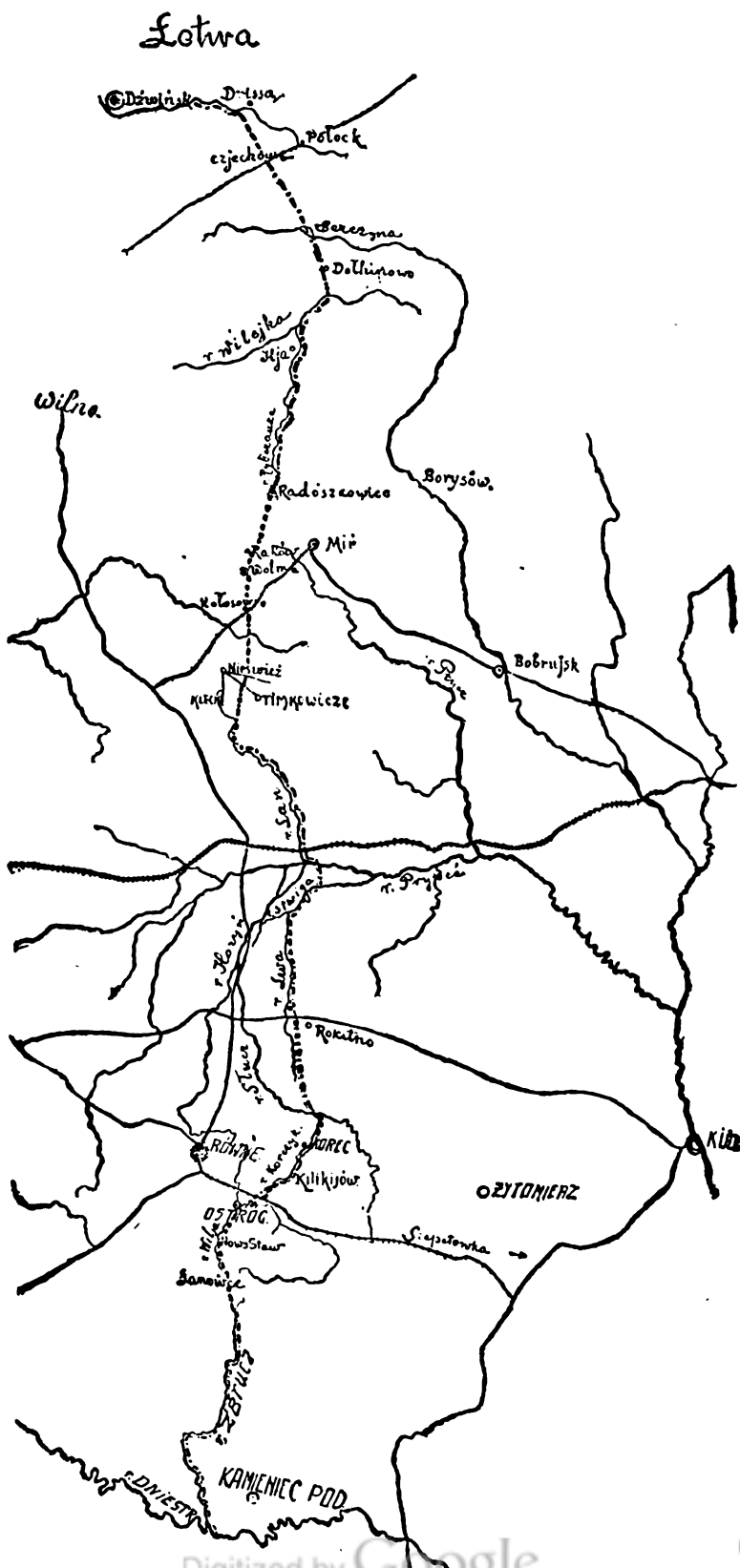
There is no denying the fact that the Riga peace

is, on the part of Poland, an imperialist peace *par outrance*. However, international complications excluded, we do not think that it will require a "war", and a "very big and bitter war", into the bargain, to destroy the pernicious consequences of this peace. The *Nation's* belief (and, so far as we know, it is also the belief of many other liberal papers) is formed, it seems to us, by two false impressions. One is that the Russo-Polish war was a war between two powers with conflicting tendencies of expansion, a war in which Poland came out victorious by virtue of her victory in the field; second, that only a new war, started apparently by Russia, can bring a change in the Russian-Polish relations.

The Russo-Polish war was not a war between "two" powers with conflicting tendencies of economic expansion. It surely was not such a war on the part of Russia, who was only defending herself, as is conceded by the whole world, even by the enemies of Soviet Russia, except perhaps by the Polish imperialists themselves. But even on the part of Poland, this war was not a war dictated by the economic interests of the capitalistic Polish state. It was merely a military adventure, due, first of all, to counter-revolutionary pressure from without; and also to the fact that, in the chaotic situation in which the Polish state finds itself now, there is not a single bourgeois party—we include the Polish Socialist Party in this list—which realizes clearly that the interests of Polish economic development are not in the east but in the west, and that expansion to the east may be in the interests of the conservative agrarian elements which unfortunately dominate the country, but that it will hamper rather than further the economic development of Poland, and what is more, that it may bring Poland to a complete breakdown sooner than it is expected. Poland has escaped this complete breakdown for the present, thanks to the peace concluded at Riga. The favorable outcome of the Riga negotiations was due, first of all, to the strong desire of Soviet Russia to avoid the terrible hardships of a new winter campaign, but also, in large measure, to the fact that Poland sent her peace delegates not to get a respite but to conclude peace, strange as this may sound in view of the constant Polish intrigues with the Russian counter-revolutionists. Not that the military situation of Poland at that time was such as to demand an immediate cessation of hostilities. The Polish army was no doubt in a highly demoralized state, but its worst moment had passed, and besides, the blockade of the western European proletariat was losing its initial momentum and Poland was again in receipt of arms and ammunition from her western "friends." Furthermore, Polish military and governing circles knew that Wrangel was developing at that moment his campaign into southern Russia—in fact this campaign helped the Polish military operations immensely. From the military standpoint, therefore, Poland needed only to work out a common military plan with Wrangel, and, by holding her own, to tie up on the western front

# Border Line Established at Riga

(From a Polish newspaper)



sufficient Russian forces to permit Wrangel to develop his campaign, leaving to him the greater burden of the war. They also knew that the first consequence of an armistice would be the transportation of large Soviet Russian forces to the Wrangel front, with the probability of his complete defeat (which has in reality been accomplished) which would eventually liberate again the Russian Red armies for pressure on Poland. When Poland, nevertheless, decided upon peace it was because there was no other way out. The economic situation of Poland was desperate,—although we do not consider that even this factor decided Poland in favor of peace. Bad as it was, and how bad it was and continues to be only those can know who are well acquainted with the country, the Polish governing circles could not see any economic relief in concluding peace. To some extent the situation after the war would, as they guessed, become even worse. After concluding peace, Poland at once was denied the credit which she enjoyed during the war, without which it is inconceivable that she can exist even for a short period.

The reason for making peace lay then not so much in the immediate military or economic situation, but in the internal and external situation that developed as a consequence of the war. With regard to the first we know now that the wide masses of the Polish peasantry and of the city laborers were eagerly awaiting the arrival of the Red armies in order to overturn the existing government and the old order of things, and introduce one of their own choice and liking. We are publishing this week an extract from the Polish paper *Swit*, appearing in Vienna, which has collected material relative to this matter (we have ourselves abundant material from newspapers arriving here from Poland proving this phase of the situation). Now a population with such spirit cannot be too much depended upon to support *ad infinitum* the sufferings of a war conducted against its own vital interests. Besides, the Pilsudski government was endangered not only from the left, but also

from the right. From that side there was brewing a dangerous *coup d'état*, a conspiracy, a *putsch* of the Kapp pattern, in which the leaders of the National-Democratic Party took part, with Roman Dmowski as the political head, while the Posen regiments of General Haller were expected to be its military executioners; to which end Dmowski established his headquarters at Posen, in the most reactionary part of Poland. The plot broke down before it started to take shape, but Pilsudski and his entourage became very much alarmed.

But the strongest reason for peace with Russia was the fact that Poland had become alarmed at the developments on her western border, and in Danzig. For Poland had to pay dearly, and for that matter is paying still, for the "friendship" of her allied protectors. In the time of her greatest stress England and France were determining, to Poland's great disadvantage, her claims in the west. Teschen-Silesia, with its rich coal fields, was allotted to Czecho-Slovakia, and in a meeting at Spa in July, Poland had to submit to English plans with regard to Eastern Galicia and Danzig. England was obviously also working against Poland's getting the rich upper Silesian coal fields, while France exported a trade agreement with Poland by virtue of which she was able to dump into Poland ammunition and unnecessary luxuries, such as wines, while Poland was under obligation to export the raw materials she herself needed. Besides, pressure was brought to bear upon Poland not to take anything which the Russian counter-revolutionists in Paris considered as the Russian "paternal heritage." This turn of events brought the result that all of Poland had become sick of Allied "protection" and intrigues, and decided to make peace in order to take care of the situation in the west. It is our opinion that Poland is at present, and will be for some time to come, averse to any new *einbroglio* in Russia, and that she will try to make the best of the Riga terms.

As for Soviet Russia, we think that however disadvantageous the Riga terms are to the economic life of Russia, she will not go to war in order to get better conditions. For Soviet Russia has a powerful advantage over her enemies in that history is working in her favor. Poland will not remain very long the country it is now, while Soviet Russia can afford to wait.

### Appeal to the French People

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Chicherin, made the following appeal to the French Government and to the French people:

"The Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government has once more proved its unchangeable love for peace by repatriating the last French citizens remaining in Russia, without awaiting the return of the last transports of Russian citizens from France. In spite of this the French Government, imbued with an irreconcilable hostility towards the Russian working masses and towards the revolutionary gains which represent the fruit of the

heroic struggle of the latter,—stubbornly continues the formation of new projects and the preparation of new attacks upon the liberty and even upon the very existence of Soviet Russia. After the French Government has been for three years striving to drown the Russian Revolution in a sea of blood, it is now doing everything to make a new attack upon Soviet Russia. Having formally acknowledged the criminal General Wrangel, this tool of German imperialist reaction, who has rallied everything that has been left of the old regime so hateful to the Russian people, the French Government now renders armed assistance to this counter-revolutionary rebel, who has risen against his own people, and against its Workers' and Peasants' Government. The French Government sends arms and ammunition continually and renders him every kind of support in order to assist him to attack Workers' and Peasants' Russia, and to menace it with the horrors of bloody counter-revolution. Information is received from all neighboring countries exposing the feverish activity of the representatives and agents of the French Government, which is directed towards inducing new enemies to attack Soviet Russia and to call out new wars directed against the independence and existence of this republic. Notable representatives of French Government circles have undertaken a special journey for that particular purpose of causing new bloodshed, and forcing the workers and peasants of the neighboring countries against their Russian brothers. Numerous French troops are concentrated at Constantinople where they are evidently awaiting the moment to join the Crimean counter-revolutionary rebels against Russia and Ukraine. Finally, at the present moment, the French Naval Forces in the Black Sea are obviously getting ready for a new attack upon Russia and Ukraine. French war vessels are not far from Odessa and everything points to the fact that their arrival is a harbinger of new aggressive intentions of the French Government in these quarters. Soviet Russia vigilantly guards the inviolability of its territory. It will render every possible aid and necessary support to its ally, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Russian Soviet Government, which represents the will of the working and peasant masses of Russia, protests with indignation against the hostile operations and attacks of the French Government. It appeals to the fraternal working and peasant masses of France to fight at all costs against the counter-revolutionary attempts of their government directed against Russia and Ukraine and the renewed intervention in the internal affairs of these countries. Soviet Russia hopes to obtain the fraternal support of the working masses of France to put a stop to the aggressive operations of the French Government against the working masses of Russia and Ukraine.

*A very interesting interview with Sereda, People's Commissar for Agriculture, by W. McLaine, will appear in the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.*

# Preliminary Peace Treaty with Poland

## PRELIMINARY PEACE TERMS

Drawn Up and Signed at Riga on October 11, 1920

The Republic of Poland as the party of the first part and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic as the parties of the second part, animated by a desire to put an end as soon as possible to the bloody war that had arisen between them, as well as to work out the conditions that are to serve as a basis for a durable and honorable peace, based upon mutual understanding, have decided to enter into negotiations with the view to concluding an armistice and ascertaining the preliminary terms for peace, and have appointed as their delegates:

*For the Government of the Polish Republic:*

Jan Dombiski, Norbert Barlicki, Dr. Stanislaw Grabski, Dr. Witold Kamieniecki, Dr. Wladyslaw Kiernik, General Mieczyslaw Kulinski, Adam Mieczkowski, Leon Wasilewski, Ludwik Waszkiewicz, Michal Wichlinski,  
and

*For the Governments of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic:*

Adolph Yoffe, Sergey Kirov, Dmitri Manuilsky, Leonid Obolensky,

who, after reciprocally presenting their credentials, which have been found to be satisfactory and in the required form, have agreed on the following:

### *Boundary*

Art. 1. In accordance with the principle of the self-determination of nations, both parties to the agreement recognize the independence of Ukraine and White Russia and resolve that the eastern boundary of Poland, that is, between Poland on the one hand and Ukraine and White Russia on the other, is to be the line along the Dvina River (Western Dvina) from the boundary point between Latvia and Russia up to the point where the boundary of the former Vilna province meets the boundary of the former Vitebsk province; further, the boundaries of the former Vilna and Vitebsk provinces up to the village and railroad station of Oryekhovo, which remain with Poland, thence again the eastern boundary of the former Vilna province up to the point where the three counties (*uyezds*) of Disna, Lepel, Borysov, meet; further, from this point up to the village of Mala Chernitsa, situated on the White Russian side; thence in a south-westerly direction across the lake on the Berezina River to the village of Zaryechitsk, which remains with White Russia; further southwest to the Vilya River up to a point east of Dolhinov; further the Vilya River up to a highway running to the south of Dolhinov; thence further to the south to a river (the name of the river is not marked on the map), (then) down the Vilya to the point of its confluence with the Rybchanka River, the township of Vilya remaining with Poland; (then) the Rybchanka to the south, up to the railroad station of Rodoshkovichi, the station and the township remaining with White Russia; further to the east from the township of Rakov, the villages of Volma and Rubiezhevichi, up to the railroad line Minsk-Baranovichi, at the locality of Kolosovo on the Polish side; further, to the south, half way between Niesviezh and Timkovichi; further to the south, half way between Kletsk and Timkovichi; further, to the south of the Warsaw-Moscow highway to the east of Filipovichi; further, the shortest road to the Lan River, near the village of Chudin, leaving that village on the Polish side; further, along the Lan River, up to its confluence with the Pripyat River; further, along the Pripyat River, seven kilometers to the east, thence to the south to the Stviga River, at its most westerly point, and thence up-stream along the Stviga to the point where the river crosses the boundaries of the former Minsk and Volhynia provinces; from there along the boundary line of the two provinces up to the boundary of the two counties of Rovno and Ostrog, and along that boundary of the counties up to its intersection with the railroad line to the west of the railroad station of Okhotnikovo and the township of Rakitna; further to the south, up to the Lva River

to its source, and thence to the confluence of the Korchik River with the Sluch River, further, up the Korchik River, leaving the township of Koryets with Poland; further, to the southwest, leaving Kilikiyev with Ukraine, up to Milyatin, which remains with Poland; further, to the south, across the railroad line Rovno-Shepetovka and the Horyn River up to the Vilya River, the town of Ostrov remaining with Poland; further, up the Vilya River to Novy Stav, which is with Ukraine; thence in a southerly direction, in general, across the Horyn River near Lanovtsi, which locality is left with Poland, and continuing up to the Zbruch River, leaving the locality of Byelozyerka with Poland; and then the line of the Zbruch River up to its confluence with the Dnyester River. In defining a boundary that runs along a river, the course of the main bed is understood in navigable rivers, and the mean line of the widest branch in unnavigable rivers.

The above boundary is described according to a Russian map on a scale of 25 versts to one English inch, which is appended to the present treaty and marked with red color (the appendix and the map). In case of differences between the text and the map, the text shall be decisive. Russia and Ukraine abandon all claims and pretensions to territories lying to the east of this boundary.

The detailed determination and drawing up of the above state boundary in the localities (on the spot) as well as the setting up of frontier marks is left to a special mixed boundary commission, which shall be convoked immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

Both contracting parties are agreed upon that insofar as within the territories lying to the west of the above marked boundary line there should fall lands which are in dispute between Poland and Lithuania, the matter of the apportionment of these lands should belong exclusively to Poland and Lithuania.

### *Non-interference in Internal Affairs*

Art. 2. Both contracting parties guarantee to each other mutual regard for the state sovereignty of the other and to withhold from any interference into the internal affairs of the other, both signatory parties being resolved to place in the peace treaty an obligation to the effect that they shall not form nor support organizations whose aim it is to wage armed struggle against the other signatory party, in order to abolish the political or economic order of the other party, threatening actively its territorial integrity, as well as organizations assuming the role of the government of the country of the other party. With the ratification of the present agreement both contracting parties oblige themselves not to support foreign military activities against the party of the other part.

### *Citizenship*

Art. 3. Both signatory parties assume the obligation to place in the peace treaty regulations regarding the free choice (option) of Polish, Russian or Ukrainian citizenship respectively, with the understanding that persons using their right of choice shall have without exception all such rights as are bestowed upon the citizens of both parties.

### *National Minorities*

Art. 4. Both signatory parties oblige themselves to place in the peace treaty regulations guaranteeing on the one hand to persons of Polish nationality in Russia or Ukraine all the rights that safeguard the free cultural development of the language as well as the observation of religious ceremonies that shall be secured to persons of Russian or Ukrainian nationality in Poland, while on the other hand guaranteeing to persons of Russian or Ukrainian nationality all the rights that safeguard the free development of the language as well as the observation of religious ceremonies which shall be secured to persons of Polish nationality in Russia and Ukraine.

### *Indemnities*

Art. 5. Both signatory parties reciprocally renounce all claims to the repayment of their wage costs, that is state expenditures for the carrying on of the war between them

as well as indemnities for the war losses, that is, losses that had been inflicted during the period of the present war on them or their citizens within the field of military operations, and that were caused by military operations or orders.

#### *Prisoners, Hostages, Amnesty*

Art. 6. Both signatory parties oblige themselves to install in the peace treaty regulations regarding the exchange of war prisoners and the repayment of the actual costs of their maintenance.

Art. 7. Mixed commissions are to be convoked as soon as the present agreement is signed, for the immediate handing over of hostages and the immediate exchange of civil prisoners and interned persons and as far as possible also war prisoners as well as for the organization of the return of exiles, refugees, and emigrants. Said commissions to have the right of supervision and assistance to war and civil prisoners, interned persons, hostages, as well as exiles, refugees, and emigrants, in order to regulate the questions connected with the immediate return of hostages and civil prisoners.

Both signatory parties oblige themselves to issue, immediately after signing the present agreement, orders necessary for the suspending of legal, administrative, disciplinary, or any other prosecution, started against civil prisoners, interned persons, hostages, exiles, emigrants, war prisoners, as well as the immediate suspension of the execution of all punishments meted out to such persons by any legal procedure. The suspension of the execution of the punishment may not necessarily cause the freeing of the person, but in the latter case such persons must be immediately handed over to the authorities of their state, together with all papers. If, however, such person should state that he does not wish to return to his native country, or if his home authorities should not consent to accept him, such person may be again deprived of liberty.

Art. 9. Both contracting parties obligate themselves to install in the peace treaty regulations in the matter of amnesty, to wit: Poland for the Russian and Ukrainian citizens in Poland, Russia and Ukraine for the Polish citizens in Russia and Ukraine.

#### *The Settling of Mutual Claims*

Art. 10. Both contracting parties assume the obligation to install in the peace treaty regulations relative to reciprocal settlement of accounts and liquidation and to base the same upon the following principles: (1) Poland shall bear no obligations or burdens that would result from the fact that a part of the territories of the Republic had formerly belonged to the former Russian Empire; (2) both signatory parties renounce reciprocally all claims to the state properties that are contained in the territory of the other party; (3) in settling the mutual claims and liquidating the accounts, the active participation of the lands of the Polish Republic in the economic life of the former Russian Empire; (4) both contracting parties oblige themselves reciprocally, upon the demand of the owners, to reevacuate and return in kind, or in a corresponding equivalent, respectively, the movable property of the state, connected with the economic and cultural life of the country, the movable property of self-governing bodies, institutions, physical and juridical persons, taken or evacuated by force or voluntarily, beginning with August 1 (new style), 1914, with the exception of war booty; (5) the obligation shall be fixed regarding the return to Poland of all archives, libraries, works of art, historical war trophies, relics, and the like articles of cultural achievement, exported from Poland into Russia since the time of the partition of the Polish Republic; (7) an obligation shall be fixed in the peace treaty on the part of Russia and Ukraine, securing to Poland and its citizens the greatest privileges of restitution of property and indemnification for the losses of the revolutionary period and the civil war in Russia and Ukraine. Both contracting parties are agreed that the above points do not cover all details relative to the settling and liquidation of accounts.

#### *Establishment of Relations*

Art. 11. Both contracting parties oblige themselves immediately after signing the peace treaty to enter into nego-

tiations relative to an agreement on commerce and navigation, sanitary means of communication, and postal and telegraph conventions, as well as with regard to compensatory exchange of goods.

#### *Reciprocal Transit*

Art. 12. Both contracting parties agree to install in the peace treaty provisions giving the right of transit to Poland through the territories of Russia and Ukraine and to Russia and Ukraine through the territories of Poland.

#### *Armistice*

Art. 13. Both contracting parties simultaneously conclude a special agreement with regard to an armistice, which constitutes an integral part of the present agreement and possess an equal obligatory power (Appendix 2, "The Armistice Agreement").

Art. 14. Russia and Ukraine declare that all obligations assumed by them as to Poland as well as the rights acquired by them in virtue of the present agreement apply to all territories situated to the east of the frontier line as determined by Art. 1 of the present agreement, which territories had constituted a part of the former Russian empire, and in concluding the agreement, were represented by Russia and Ukraine.

Art. 15. Both contracting parties oblige themselves immediately after signing the present agreement to start negotiations pertaining to the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Art. 16. The present agreement is prepared in the Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian languages, in two copies. In interpreting the agreement all three texts shall be considered authentic.

#### *Ratification*

Art. 17. The present agreement is subject to ratification and becomes valid with the exchange of the ratification documents. Insofar as the present agreement, together with the appendices, does not contain a different provision, the exchange of the ratification agreement and the preparation of a corresponding protocol shall take place at Libava (Libau). Both contracting parties oblige themselves to ratify the present treaty, at the latest, within fifteen days after it is signed. The exchange of the ratification documents and the preparation of the protocol shall take place, at the latest, within six days after the expiration of the term provided for the ratification. Both contracting parties make the reservation that the armistice agreement (Art. 13) loses its obligatory force if within the period provided for the exchange of ratification documents and the preparation of the corresponding protocol, such activities shall for any reason not be accomplished; but the resumption of military operations may in such case take place not earlier than 48 hours after the termination of the said period. Wherever in this agreement the time of the ratification of the present agreement is mentioned, this time means the time of the exchange of the ratification documents, in confirmation of which the plenipotentiaries of both parties have attached their signatures and affixed their seals to the present agreement.

### *AGREEMENT ON ARMISTICE*

*Drawn Up and Signed at Riga on October 12, 1920*

In accordance with Art. 13 of the peace preliminaries the following agreement on armistice has been concluded:

1. After the expiration of 144 hours from the moment of the signing of the peace preliminaries, that is, at 24 o'clock, Central European Time, on the eighteenth day of October, of the year nineteen hundred and twenty, both contracting parties are obliged to suspend all military operations on land, water, and in the air.

2. The armies of both contracting parties shall remain in the positions occupied by them up to the moment of the suspension of military operations in accordance with §1, with the exception, however, that the Russo-Ukrainian armies must be situated not nearer than 15 kilometers from the stabilized line of the Polish front at the time of the suspension of military operations.

3. The belt thus created, of 15 kilometers width, shall represent a neutral zone, in the military sense, which shall be under the administration of the party to whom said territory should belong by virtue of the peace preliminaries.



4. In the sector from the Nyesvyezsh region up to the Dvina River the Polish armies shall occupy the line of the national boundary fixed in Art. 1 of the peace preliminaries, the Russo-Ukrainian armies taking positions 15 kilometers to the east of that line.

5. All movements of the armies resulting from §§2 and 4 must take place with a speed of not less than 20 kilometers a day and shall begin not later than 24 hours after the suspension of military operations, that is, not later than 24 o'clock, Central European Time, of the nineteenth day of October, of the year nineteen hundred and twenty.

6. After the ratification of the peace preliminaries, the armies of both contracting parties shall be withdrawn to their national territory, with a speed of not less than 20 kilometers a day, and shall take up positions not nearer than 15 kilometers to each side of the national boundary line; the belt thus created of 30 kilometers width shall constitute a neutral zone in a military sense and shall remain under the administration of that party to whom the particular territory belongs.

7. Within the neutral zone, pursuant to §§3 and 6, no military detachments may be maintained, with the exception of Polish troops necessary for the occupation of the territory as provided in §4. The strength and location of these detachments must be brought by the Polish command to the knowledge of the opposite side.

8. Detailed regulations in connection with the execution of the present agreement are issued by commands representing both sides, of not lower rank than division commands, wherever necessary and after mutual agreement. To that end, immediately after the signing of the armistice agreement and the peace preliminaries, they shall send liaison officers with the necessary personnel to the division commands of the army of the opposite side. Both sides guarantee to the officers as well as the personnel diplomatic immunity, personal security, freedom of movement and communication with their authorities. In order to control the execution of the present agreement, as well as to settle possible conflicts and regulate other necessary matters, a mixed military commission shall be established, whose composition, place of functioning, competence, and executive organs, shall be fixed by mutual agreement of the high commands of both sides.

9. In vacating the occupied territories, in accordance with §§4 and 6, the armies must leave untouched all properties found in the place, such as government, public, and private buildings, railroads, and the entire rolling stock found in such places, bridges and station appurtenances, telegraphs, telephones, and other means of communication that are not the property of the particular army, grain stores on the fields and in the granaries, live stock and industrial and agricultural inventory, all kinds of raw materials, etc., which are the property of the state, self-governing bodies, as well as of juridical or physical persons. In withdrawing the armies no hostages must be taken, nor civil population evacuated, nor is it permitted to use against said populations any means of repression, expropriation, requisition, or forceful redemption of its property.

10. For the duration of the armistice, all communication by land, water, or air, between the two warring parties, is suspended; exceptions shall in special cases be determined by a mixed military arbitration as established by §8.

11. Military detachments and persons transgressing the regulations of the present agreement shall be considered as war prisoners.

12. The present armistice is concluded for 21 days, but each side has the right to recall it on a 48 hour notice; if before the expiration of the armistice term neither side should cancel it, the armistice is automatically prolonged up to the time of the ratification of the final peace treaty and each side has the right to recall by giving 14 days' notice, without regard to the above regulations, and in accordance with Article 17 of the peace preliminaries. The present armistice shall lose its obligatory force if within the period prescribed for the exchange of the ratification documents and the preparation of a corresponding protocol, these acts should for any reason not be performed, but the resumption of military operations may take

place not earlier than 48 hours after the expiration of the term for the exchange of ratification documents.

13. The present armistice constitutes an integral part of the peace preliminaries, in confirmation of which the plenipotentiaries of both parties have attached their own signatures to it.

### NEW RUSSIAN-JAPANESE AGREEMENT

The Vladivostok *Volya* of September 26, 1920, contains the following news item:

Vladivostok, September 25. After considering the situation created by the coming evacuation of the Khabarovsk district, the Japanese command and the Vladivostok authorities arrived, on September 24, at the following agreement, which is supplementary to the Russian-Japanese agreement of April 29 of this year.

1. After the evacuation of the Japanese troops from Khabarovsk and the surrounding district, the Russian armed forces shall not advance farther south than the river Iman.

2. The guarding of the railway and telegraph to the south of the railway station Ussuri (including the latter) shall be left to the Japanese command, and from Ussuri to Iman to the Russian railway militia.

3. The telegraph lines installed by the Japanese to the south of Khabarovsk and up to the station Ussuri shall be turned over by the Japanese to the Russian authorities, without compensation, as a token of friendship, but on condition that the Russian authorities guarantee free and prompt communication to the Japanese military mission in Khabarovsk, and without any charges.

4. The Russian authorities guarantee the safety of the lives and property of Japanese subjects, both military and civil, who may remain in Khabarovsk and its environs, or farther south.

5. The details concerning the railway and the telegraph lines shall be settled by the management board of Japanese military communications and the Council of Means of Communication.

### Bound Volumes for 1920

*Volume II, of which a number of copies, splendidly bound, are still to be obtained by persons desiring them, is sold at five dollars. Check or money order should accompany order. Volume I (June-December, 1919) is sold out and will not be reprinted. Volume III will be bound, with title-page and index, as soon as the issues have all appeared (January 1, 1921). Readers may place orders now for Volume III, and should send the cost of the volume — five dollars — with their orders.*

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 W. 40th St. New York, N. Y.

Original from  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## Notes to the British Government

### I

*Copy of Radio to Krassin from Chicherin, November 14, 1920. Note to Curzon from Chicherin, November 13, 1920.*

Foreign Office, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, November 13. Answering your message of November 3, which contained a reply to the Note of the Head of our Trade Delegation, Krassin, dated October 19, you pass completely under silence the fact that Mr. Krassin categorically declared that the Russian Government does not consider itself as being at war with Great Britain at the present time, but you refer instead to some unknown declarations of a Soviet Minister whom you refrain even from naming. This person is presumed to have declared that he hoped that our submarines in the Black Sea would sink an Entente vessel. In view of the absence of any precise indications of the person, place and time referred to, we are unable to verify how far the information on which your allegations is based is correct. Seeing that the British Government did not ask us for any explanation concerning this alleged speech of the Soviet Minister we cannot refrain from expressing our astonishment that the British Government puts forth this allegation as a ground for naval action against Russian submarines. The second ground put forth in your message is the alleged reference in Mr. Krassin's Note to the possibility for a Soviet submarine commander who would desire, to torpedo a British ship on the excuse of mistaken identity. As a matter of fact Mr. Krassin's Note spoke of the possibility of a warship not recognizing the nationality of a submarine, but did not contain the least reference to the possibility of a mistaken identity of a British warship. The principle argument by which your message seeks to justify hostile action against our submarines is the declaration that they are engaged in acts of open hostility against British interests, in the Black Sea. The Russian Government is at a loss to understand what British interests are referred to, seeing that no British possessions or protectorates are situated on the shores of the Black Sea; at any rate the British Government never notified us that any of these regions had ever become a British possession. In reality the only forces against which the Soviet army and navy are engaged on the Black Sea are the forces of Wrangel whom the British Government declared it would not support any more after his offensive against Soviet Russia. In view of your message of November 3 the Russian Government is compelled to ask the British Government whether Wrangel's interests are to be henceforth considered as being British interests. In case of a negative answer the Russian Government must consider your declaration concerning our submarines as being based upon a misunderstanding, and confidently expects that the British Government will cancel the order referred to in your message.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

### II

*Copy of Radio Received November 11, dated November 9, 1920.*

November 9. The Russian Soviet Government begs to draw the attention of the British Government to the utterly unsatisfactory state which the negotiations for the renewal of commercial intercourses and the reestablishment of normal relations between the two countries have now reached.

More than ten months have now elapsed since the Allied Supreme Council issued its invitation to the Russian Soviet Government to enter into negotiations for the resumption of economic relations, and it is now more than four months since a formal agreement initiated by the British Government itself laying down the conditions upon which trade was to be resumed and peace negotiations begun between Great Britain and Russia, was reached by an exchange of notes. Throughout this time Soviet Russia acted with a promptitude and in a spirit of accommodation and loyalty which clearly demonstrated its sincere desire for peace and

peaceful work. Attacked, harrassed, and conspired against by the Allied Governments ever since its accession to power just three years ago, the Russian Soviet Government nevertheless was ready to give peace and opportunity for reconstruction, not only to its own hard tried country, but also to the rest of Europe and Asia, exhausted after the inhuman devastations of late wars. Although Russia was being attacked by enemies furnished with weapons and funds and morally supported by Great Britain, who, moreover, found no effective word of rebuke for them, while actually negotiating with the representatives of the Soviet Government, the latter continues to exercise every forbearance, and to show in a practical manner the conciliatory spirit with which it was animated.

To its utmost regret, the Soviet Government has to record the fact that it was not met with the same spirit on the part of the British Government; it has, on the contrary, seen every imaginable obstacle put in the way of the smooth proceeding of the negotiations, and has been made to feel on numerous occasions as if the British Government, so far from being anxious to reach a satisfactory settlement of the questions at issue, was seeking a pretext to protract or to break off the negotiations entirely. The last mentioned point finds its illustrations in the hectoring tone of many of the British Government Notes; in the habit, absolutely unprecedented in the history of diplomatic negotiations between two sovereign powers, of serving ultimatums upon the Soviet Government in and out of season; in the many attempts made to influence the choice of the Russian delegates and to eliminate from the delegation all political representatives of the Soviet Government, in order to place it at a disadvantage in all political discussions which the British Government itself was constantly introducing into negotiations originally meant to be, in the first stage at any rate, entirely economic.

The obstructionist character of the policy of the British Government has been exhibited also in the numerous attempts made to delay the negotiations on every imaginable pretext. The first considerable delay was caused by the extension, quite novel in the practice of international law, by the British Government, in the case of Mr. Litvinov, of the conception of *persona grata* to trade and peace negotiations. Then delay was caused by the introduction into the economic conversations of a number of entirely irrelevant political questions, such as exchange of prisoners and political propaganda as to which the head of the truncated Delegation, Mr. Krassin, had either no information or no powers. Although a basic trade agreement had been concluded, the question of Poland, a wholly political question, was suddenly brought up and made the pretext for postponing all further economic conversations and even for preventing from returning to England Mr. Rothstein, a member of the Delegation, who had gone to Moscow with the approval of the British Government to report on the state of negotiations. The language used at that time by the British Government was one of ultimatum and threats, and had absolutely nothing to do with the objects for which the Soviet Delegation had been invited to London; yet, when the Soviet troops had evacuated Polish territory, and the conclusion of a preliminary peace between Russia and Poland was imminent, the economic negotiations were not resumed, and instead, the Chairman of the Delegation, Mr. Kamenev, was asked to leave England on the baseless charge of interfering in the internal affairs of the country. While continuing the blockade of Russia by withholding export licenses for goods destined for Russia, and even by seizing steamers with cargoes bound for Russian ports as in the case of the Italian steamer *Ancona*, the British Government nevertheless demanded from the Soviet Government the fulfilment of its obligations in the matter of the release of prisoners and of the cessation of propaganda, obligations which were to enter into force only after the conclusion of a trade agreement, and on the completion of the political negotiations which have unfortunately been broken off by the British Government with the exclusion of Mr. Kamenev from England. The British Government went

even so far as to suggest to the Soviet Government the coercion of the independent Republic of Azerbaijan for the release of some British prisoners for whose detention the Soviet Government has no responsibility. The Soviet Government has since, by using its good offices with the Azerbaijan Government, succeeded in obtaining the release of these prisoners but so far has heard nothing about the resumption of the negotiations for carrying into effect the trade agreement concluded as far back as July 7. Indeed, some recent statements in the House of Commons by British Cabinet Ministers leave the impression that new pretexts may be sought for further delaying the fulfilment of this agreement.

It is in no mere spirit of recrimination that the Soviet Government has thought fit to bring all these facts under the notice of the British Government. Now, as before, the Soviet Government is solely animated by a desire to restore peace to its own country, to the entire East of Europe, and to Asia, and in enumerating the above-mentioned incidents, it is only anxious to show that it bears no responsibility whatsoever for the monstrous delay in coming to an economic and political agreement with the British Government, whose duty it would now at least seem to be to prove to the Soviet Government, to the British people, and to the world at large, whether or not it is sincere in its professions of peace and economic reconstruction. Having taken all pains to meet the wishes of the British Government on various questions, having exercised great patience in the face of numerous acts of provocation, having lastly incurred the expense and inconvenience of sending to and maintaining in London for nearly seven months a Delegation whose members are urgently needed in Russia itself, where work of utmost importance demands the devoted energetic cooperation of every single Russian citizen, the Soviet Government considers that matters can no longer be allowed to drag on in the manner in which they have dragged on these last ten months, and that unless the British Government is prepared to enter into negotiations for a complete trade agreement, it will have regrettably to admit that its protracted efforts in spite of all its good will have failed this time as completely as they did on previous occasions, and will draw the necessary conclusions. It therefore asks the British Government to give a straight and prompt answer to the question whether it is prepared to accede to its suggestion for immediate negotiations for the above-mentioned objects. In view of the great issues at stake, the Soviet Government hopes to receive a satisfactory reply, and further expects that the trade agreement will be immediately followed or accompanied by negotiations for peace and restoration of normal relations through properly constituted bodies of fully authorized delegates appointed by each side at its own discretion, and that the British Government will agree that the conference should meet in London or some neutral city selected by mutual consent.

(Signed) *People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*  
CHICHERIN.

### III

*To Lord Curzon from the Russian Government per the Russian Trade Delegation, dated November 9, 1920.*

In Lord Curzon's Note to the Russian Government, dated October 9, the British Government insists on an immediate cessation of all alleged hostile actions and propaganda directed against the British Empire in the East, and bases this demand upon the understanding proposed by the British Note of June 30, and greed by the Russian Government in its Note of July 7. At the same time, the British Government declared that they "will hold the Soviet Government faithfully to a redemption of this pledge," and, that for their own part, "renew their own allegiance to the reciprocal obligations simultaneously entered into by them."

In order to avoid every possible misunderstanding, the Russian Government deems it necessary to repeat that the coming into force of the understanding of the notes of June 30 and July 7 is inseparable from and dependent upon the conclusion of a trade agreement between the Russian and the British Governments. This is made clear by the very text of the British Note of June 30, in which the

British Government demands a categorical reply from the Russian Government as to "whether Russia is prepared to enter into a trade agreement with the British Empire and other Powers on the following conditions," after which the Note proceeds to specify the conditions referred to, viz: a mutual cessation of hostile action and propaganda, an exchange of prisoners, etc.

It is plain, therefore, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the British Government itself, in its Note of June 30, regarded the obligations stated therein as contingent upon the conclusion of a trade agreement, and therefore considered that the clauses relating to propaganda, hostile actions, prisoners of war, and the recognition by the Russian Government of a certain class of private debts, were to be regarded as operative only if and when the trade agreement between the two countries should be concluded and should come into force.

Such was also the Russian Government's point of view to which it continues to adhere. Desiring to accelerate the coming into force of the conditions set out in the British Note of June 30, the Russian Government, in its Note of October 6, which was sent to Lord Curzon by Mr. Krassin, asked the British Government to fix the time for the resumption of trade negotiations, and at the same time declared its willingness to set free all British subjects detained in Russia, even without waiting for the conclusion of a trade agreement, though, as a matter of fact, it was under no obligation to do so.

The British Government has already declared,—and now repeats that it is willing to accept the understanding of June 30 and July 7 in its entirety and to carry it out with the utmost care and precision. The Russian Government further declares that it considers the aforesaid agreement to become actually operative only in its entirety, i.e., upon the conclusion of a trade agreement. The Russian Government does not consider that the British Government has at present, (i.e. before the signature of a trade agreement) any right to base upon the agreement of June 30 and July 7 any protest against actions or policy of the Russian Government in the East to which it may take objection. The Russian Government, for its part, could also submit numerous proofs of extremely unfriendly policy on the part of the British Government towards the Russian Republic during the last few months: but, it refrains from doing so pending the conclusion of the trade agreement.

The Russian Government is firmly convinced that the final removal of causes of mutual complaint and protest is possible only by further developing and translating into more concrete forms the clauses of the agreement of June 30 and July 7 which refer to abstention by both sides from hostile action and propaganda.

The Russian Government aims at the establishment of complete clearness in its relations with the British Government and at the removal of all possibility of ambiguous or incorrect understanding or interpretation of the obligations assumed by both parties.

However, the work of rendering these undertakings into concrete form cannot be carried out by the exchange of notes, but necessitates personal formal negotiations between plenipotentiaries and experts appointed by the two governments.

Unfortunately, the Russian Government is forced to point out that the carrying into effect of the agreement of June 30 and July 7 has been delayed by the action of the British Government in evading and postponing the necessary negotiations, by raising objections to the personnel of the Russian Delegation, and by insisting on the withdrawal or objecting to the admission of certain of its members. But, animated by an unchanging desire to secure the speedy establishment of stable and friendly relations, the Russian Government again proposes to the British Government that immediately upon the conclusion of the trade agreement they should commence the necessary negotiations with reference to the above-mentioned points concerning political agreement. The Russian Government does not doubt that these negotiations will lead to the results which are desirable for both sides, and is ready for this purpose to despatch a political delegation to England or to any other place which may be mutually agreed upon.

## IV

*Note to Curzon*

London Foreign Office, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, October 16. We understand from wireless messages of the British press service that the occupation of Batum by British forces is under consideration. The Russian Government is compelled to draw most earnestly the attention of the British Government to the serious consequences which would necessarily arise in case of the adoption of this measure, which would be considered by us as a direct menace to the security of our ally, the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic, and

of Russia herself. It would be impossible for us not to see in the occupation of Batum by Entente force an attempt to create for us a new front in the south and a first step towards kindling a conflagration in the Caucasus which would once more divert the Russian working people from their peaceful labor. Seeing that the Russian Government in such case will be compelled to have recourse to all the measures which can be adopted in order to avert such eventualities we express the hope that the British Government will refrain from such a fatal step, the consequences of which would wholly fall upon its responsibility.

CHICHEAİN.

## Kamenev on Lloyd George

**K**RASNAYA GAZETA prints a complete report submitted by the Chairman of the Russian Delegation in London, Kamenev, to a conference of the Moscow Soviets and the representatives of the Moscow Workers' Delegation. The report takes up the political negotiations with England.

"Shortly before our arrival in England," said Kamenev, "the British War Minister Churchill published a letter containing the following declaration:

"We hated Germany, our hatred against that country was great, but more still we hate the Red Army with its Communistic flag. We must exert all our strength to destroy it."

This was the mood of the imperialistic ruling class of England.

Lloyd George received us with the observation: "There is no such thing as a preliminary peace. Your army is crossing the ethnographic borders of Poland. Orders have been given to send out the English fleet and the transportation of munitions to Danzig has already begun." And then he added: "But we shall wait. In a week I shall speak in Parliament. Within this week our government will follow the advances of the Red Army."

After leaving Lloyd George, I said to Kamenev: "That is a declaration of war. But they have not the force with which to wage this war; otherwise, if they had, they would not wait."

Two days later Lloyd George again summoned me to him, and said: "Things look bad. Your army is only fifty versts from Warsaw." Simultaneously he proposed that we inaugurate armistice negotiations.

"If you want peace, then stop supporting Poland," I said. The English Prime Minister then became quite frank. "You ask for demobilization, but Poland has no munitions, no arms, and even if it should gather together all its soldiers it will nevertheless be helpless without our weapons and our munitions.

I answered: "Even if England renounces its support of Poland, this would not necessarily mean that France would do the same." "The French Prime Minister Millerand will not sign such a treaty," answered Lloyd George, "until he has first consulted us on the matter."

"What would happen if France, in spite of the fact that our conditions are accepted, will not cease supporting Poland?" "Even if France does not approve our treaty," answered Lloyd George, "Eng-

land will nevertheless wage no war against Soviet Russia, and will not support Poland either."

Then the Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, Field Marshal Wilson, arrived, and Lloyd George left with him, in order to work out the armistice conditions.

Lloyd George at that time was diligently working to put himself before the English Workers' Party as an European peace apostle. To my question when the armistice negotiations would begin he said, as he would speak Monday, it was desirable that the armistice should become effective on that day.

I pointed out that being a civilian, without the advice of a military expert, I could not assume the responsibility for a step that involved the fate of the Red Army.

"How long will it take for the armistice order to reach the front?" I asked the English General. "At least four days."

Lloyd George changed color: "But that is time enough for them to take Warsaw!" he blurted out, and he replaced the word "Warsaw" in his draft of the armistice conditions with the sentence: "that the Polish Government may remain in Warsaw." So undecided was then the attitude of the English Government!

Then Lloyd George consulted the French Prime Minister. I informed the latter in a note that our Government was waiting for the Polish representatives in Minsk and that their proposals and armistice conditions were therefore without any importance.

When Lloyd George appeared in Parliament, he took a somewhat different line: "The Russians are at the gates of Warsaw," he said in his speech, "which means a threat to the peace of Versailles. Europe must not be idle. We have given orders to our fleet to sail for Helsingfors and our fleet in the Black Sea will also hold itself in readiness."

After this speech Lloyd George was handed our armistice conditions. After he had read them and consulted the Ministers, he communicated them to Parliament and declared that the conditions had created a new situation and that England would refuse to render active help to Poland.

A telegram had also been forwarded to Warsaw advising that the conditions be at once accepted.

Simultaneously, a telegram to the opposite effect arrived from the French Government, saying that Wrangel was recognized the legal regent of South

Russia, and calling upon Warsaw to abstain from any negotiations.

The Entente was having bad luck. Our negotiations cut a breach in the common policy of England and France. We had sown discord between them.

Simultaneously a crisis arose in the English Workers' Movement. At the congress of all the workers' organizations of England, a Council of Action was elected, which set up, for the first time in England, a question that has already been solved in our country: *Parliament or Soviets*. And then there were transactions concerning the question of a war with Russia.

How the struggle of the Council of Action will develop it is now difficult to say, but the Council exists and when it held a secret vote among the mine workers on the subject of the strike it recorded a million votes in favor and only 200,000 votes against this strike.

Later, when our army was withdrawn from Warsaw, the tension between France and England relaxed. Lloyd George's views underwent a change. The fact that Lloyd George has banished me from England is only one episode in his struggle against the working class organization. He had chosen a moment in which he calculated that our failure would make the English workers waver, and he will again shift to our side when the parallelogram of forces changes.

## A New Conspiracy

Moscow, October 26.—To "*Freiheit*", Berlin; "*Rote Fahne*", Berlin! and to All!

One of the lessons of the latest Riga scandal, which is occupying the entire public opinion of Latvia at present, is that foreign diplomacy is continuing to labor at effecting a secret alliance with agents of the counter-revolution. The latter are attempting everywhere to recruit soldiers for Wrangel's army.

It is reported from Libau that on September 26 letters had been found in the possession of Count Pahlen—a not unfamiliar name, as he is a well-known agent of Bermond—bearing the address of the political commission of Wrangel at Warsaw, which letters were confiscated. The Political Commissioner in question is named Savinkov. The letter is signed by a certain Derenthal, who states that he is a secret agent of Savinkov in the Latvian Government.

Among other things, Derenthal says that soldiers are being recruited in Latvia for Wrangel's army, and are being transported on steamers from Latvia to Memel, under certificates as Polish civil refugees: Derenthal further recounts in his letter that Savinkov's representatives had a secret conference at Riga with representatives of the Latvian Government and with the Commander-in-Chief of the Latvian Army, at which the Latvian Prime Minister Ulmanis, the Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mejerowicz, and the representative of the Staff Command, General Radsin, were present.

Savinkov made an agreement with the Latvian Government to wage war against the Soviet Government jointly with Wrangel. For these services Wrangel promised to recognize the independence of Poland and Latvia, while Esthonia, Lithuania, and Ukraine are to have only autonomous administration. It is well known also that the original documents that had been taken from Pahlen and sent to the Staff Command, to General Radsin, have been destroyed by the Higher Military Command and the agents of Savinkov, in order to wipe out all traces of the matter.

In the night preceding October 16, a certain Falkowsky, employed by the Latvian Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Section for Foreign Information, crossed the German boundary. Falkowsky, a former spy of the Czar's government, carried with him sealed packages, bearing the seal of the Latvian Government. These packages were addressed to Savinkov. Falkowsky also carried with him a communication of the Latvian Government to Savinkov, which was signed by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and by the Commander of the Border Guards, in order to eliminate any inspection of the packages at the border.

These events led to the following resolution in the Latvian National Assembly:

"Does every individual among the members of the Government know about the above facts, and does the entire Cabinet of Ministers accept the responsibility for such a policy? We insist on a publication of the secret correspondence that has been removed from Count Pahlen's possession. We likewise demand a precise and exhaustive answer to the National Assembly.

(Signed) RUDEWITZ, ULIAS, RALWINSKY, SELLENS.

In connection with this communication, a series of articles appeared in the Riga press. This unparalleled scandal will probably result in a ministerial crisis.

In an article in *Izvestia*, dealing with this scandal, Steklov says that such events illustrate completely the internal corruption and decomposition of the foreign bourgeoisie. Such a treacherous mode of action, aimed at preventing a peaceful neighborliness between Latvia and Soviet Russia could only rebound to the disadvantage of the present Minister of Latvia.

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Room 304

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New York, N. Y.

## Wireless and Other News

### FORMER HUNGARIAN COMMISSAR IN PETROGRAD

PETROGRAD, November 4.—The former President of the Hungarian Council of People's Commissars, Varga, has just returned here from an investigating journey in Central Russia. He succeeded in escaping from Austria with a consignment of Russian prisoners of war. In a conversation with a representative of *Krasnaya Gazeta*, Varga reports concerning the horrors which followed the fall of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary. Murder, robbery, extortion, are the order of the day. All the prisons are overfilled. Regardless of the terror, there is nevertheless a workers' movement, even though it is weak. There are illegal Communist organizations. The situation of the workers is extremely hard. Varga has already traveled through a number of sections of Soviet Russia, in order to make himself acquainted with the life of the Russian proletariat. In Petrograd he is engaged in the study of the trade union organizations.

### COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY THREATS

The *Petrogradskiya Izvestia* says the following: "While the Western European press is continuing to spread all possible kinds of lies concerning Soviet Russia, the agents of foreign imperialism are preparing a new campaign against the Soviet power. Thus the leader of the Social-Revolutionists, Chernov, recently declared that now that there was peace with Poland there would be a new assault directed against the Soviet power under the banner of democracy. The Soviet Government has for three years withstood the imperialistic attacks and will await the new blow of its enemies with equanimity. There is no doubt that the Soviet Government will once more frustrate the plans of its opponents. Meanwhile discipline and vigilance are necessary. All obstacles in the way of reaching the final goal of the proletarian revolution must be removed."

### INSURRECTIONS IN MOSCOW FICTITIOUS

(*Rosta Official*).—An NCP telegram from Copenhagen to Stockholm newspapers on the subject of mutinies among the soldiers in Moscow, in which connection the Soviet Government is alleged to have arrested six or seven thousand people, is without any foundation. This report, brought by travelers in Riga, is one of the countless false alarms that are being spread by Russian counter-revolutionists, with the object of convincing the world that the Soviet Government is about to fall. In reality, as *Rosta* is in a position definitely to affirm, on the basis of direct information from Moscow, there is absolute quiet in that city.

### CONDITIONS IN GEORGIA

*Rosta*.—In an article appearing in *Pravda* Radek gives an account of the trip to Georgia recently accomplished by members of the Second International, with Kautsky, Renaudel, and Shaw at their head. He characterizes this expedition as a new political manoeuvre on the part of English imperialists in the Caucasus. This visit paid by members of the Second International to Georgia was coincident with the negotiations between England and the Georgian Government on the subject of a loan to Georgia. As security for this loan England demanded that Batum be given up to be used by her as a basis of operations against the Turkish revolutionists, thus hoping to get the Caucasus, including Baku, into her hands, in order by this means to cut off Soviet Russia from its supplies of naphtha. This far-reaching manoeuvre had to be prepared politically, and the practical carrying out of this plan was attempted with the aid of the Second International. The Second International, which has assumed a position that is hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat, sees nothing wrong in supporting the attacks of the bourgeois democracy.

### THE TRUTH ABOUT GEORGIA

MOSCOW, November 2, 1920.—Ramsey MacDonald is defending the Republic of Georgia in the *London Nation*, while the counter-revolutionary Government of Georgia is oppressing the working masses by the use of violence. The secret government police of Georgia permits itself the most cruel violence on the persons of all revolutionists. Communists are either shot or thrown into prison. Southern Osetia has literally been razed to the ground by punitive expeditions, because it had introduced Soviet institutions. Oppressed nationalities, such as the Adjanians and the Abkasians, are murdered in great numbers. At the very time that MacDonald was in Batum, a number of workers were arrested because they had wanted to organize a demonstration for the Third Internationale. The demonstration nevertheless took place and was only put down by force by the police, while MacDonald and his companions were being royally entertained by the Government. In Tiflis all demonstrations against the government and against MacDonald's party were put down by the most emphatic use of force, while MacDonald's presence was concealed.

Macdonald now openly demands that English soldiers be sent to the Caucasus, and surely he means that they are to be used against the Soviet Government. He demands that the English Government shall help Georgia, shall bring about an alliance with the Trans-Caucasian Republics, which would be equivalent to the suppression of the Azerbaijan Republic by the imperialistic powers.

### FREE CHURCH IN SOVIET RUSSIA

*Izvestia* reports that the Archbishop of Penza, Vladimir, has proposed to the Executive Committee of Soviet Russia the plan of a free People's Church.

The plan states among other things: The former church was only a means for stupefying and exploiting the people. The new church must take up the struggle against lies and exploitation. Christianity, to be sure, aims to attain eternal peace without bloodshed. But it recognizes the existence of the various classes and therefore also the class struggle. There is only one means of preventing wars in the future, a union of all workers under one flag. Let that be the basis of the free People's Church.

### COMMUNIST TEXTBOOKS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has decided to instruct several well-known Communist writers to prepare elementary text books for the schools of Soviet Russia. So, for example, Bukharin is to write on the materialistic conception of history and political parties during the proletarian revolution; Bubnov, on the history of the Communist Party; Styeklov, on the history of the labor movement in Western Europe and International; Stalin on the principles of Communist tactics, Vorovsky is to write a history of literature, Tomsky on industrial organization, Milyutin on the organization of economy in Soviet Russia, and so forth.

### TOBACCO INDUSTRY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, November 3.—*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* says the following on the tobacco industry: In the last few years Russia was supplied with tobacco goods chiefly by the makhorka\* factories. These factories got their raw materials from the provinces of Tambov, Riazan and Samara. In the spring of 1920 the tobacco stocks of all the Soviet factories amounted to 50,000 poods. In that season, the Kuban district was reconquered by the Red Army and communications were opened with the rest of Russia. In the year 1915 the Kuban district supplied more than one-half of Russia's needs of tobacco. The tobacco production of Crimea supplied eight per cent and Bessarabia six per cent. In the Kuban there have been accumulated stocks at the present time which have been yielded by the harvests of several seasons. Supplies at Yekaterinodar, Maikop, Novorossiysk, as well as in the Crimea, now amount to 2,000,000 poods. Since the Kuban district has been open for communication with Soviet Russia, there have been transported to Petrograd 120,000 poods of tobacco, covering the needs of six months; 500,000 poods have been transported north. The remaining stocks of raw tobacco may be exported.

\* *Makhorka*, a coarse tobacco smoked by the poor under the Old Regime.

### REPORT ON RUSSIA

BERLIN, November 7.—The Berlin Trades Council delegation which visited Russia last summer has just returned and made a report to the Central Council.

Their report is another proof that when real working men, and not intellectuals of middle-class training and origin, go to study Soviet Russia on the spot, their reports in the main are favorable. Thus, if Dittmann and Crispian, of the Right Independents, have their counterparts in certain I.L.P. members of the British labor delegation to Russia, Rusch, Czerni, and Schumacher have their counterparts in the British trade union members of that delegation.

Rusch, in his report, was careful to point out that the hunger and the fall in production were due to the constant mobilizations which the Soviets were compelled to make to beat off the international bandits let loose by the Entente on Russia. He gave evidence, however, that the lowest point was reached in the summer of 1919, and since then there had been a gradual rise in production in many industries.

The feeding of workmen in industries is being solved by allotting the land around factories to be cultivated by the workers.

He said he went everywhere without hindrance. He warned against a general emigration of German workers to Russia, saying that Russia needed not men and material, but a certain number of skilled artisans and technicians, which Germany could supply.

Schumacher in his report said that Russia had timber and wool ready for export, and that this winter the Russian cities were fairly well supplied with fuel, thanks to the opening of Baku oil and the improvement in the navigation of the Volga.—*Daily Herald*, November 10, 1920.

### REVOLUTIONARY TURKISH MISSION

GROZNY, October 30.—A mission of the revolutionary government in Turkey has arrived at Grozny, at the head of which stands Begir Sari. The mission made itself acquainted with the results of the activity of the Caucasian Labor Army and was immensely impressed with what had been accomplished. Begir Sari said that the Turkish people might be proud of possessing such friends as it had in the Caucasian Labor Army and the Georgian proletariat.

### KAMENEV RETURNS FROM THE SOUTHERN FRONT

Moscow, November 2.—The Chairman of the Moscow Soviet, Kamenev, has returned to Moscow from his visit to the southern front.\*

\* Mrs. Claire Sheridan, an English sculptress who visited Soviet Russia this fall and whose articles giving her impressions on Soviet Russia appeared in *The New York Times* in six instalments, beginning Monday, November 22, repeatedly mentions Kamenev's visit to the southern front and his return from that front.

# 1921

## SOVIET RUSSIA

in 1921 will attempt to place before its readers even more interesting material than it has been printing during 1920. All the regular features, such as Weekly Military Review, Editorials, Wireless and Other Notes, will be retained, and at least one will be considerably expanded, namely, "Books Reviewed". The latest official and unofficial articles of *Lenin, Trotsky, Lunacharsky, Sereda, Zinoviev*, and other statesmen and specialists in the various organs of the Soviet Government, will be printed as soon as they are received and translated. Also, as far as space permits, SOVIET RUSSIA will print the latest accounts by Americans and foreigners who have set down their observations of travel or work in Soviet Russia.

Among the other materials of all kinds that we have already arranged to publish in early issues of Volume IV, which begins January 1, 1921, are these:

**ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT, *Collapse and Reconstruction in Russia.***

*A masterly analysis of the economic crisis that was one of the causes impelling the Soviets in November, 1917, to seize control, as well as a review of the course taken by Soviet control of industries.*

**MAXIM GORKY, *The Literature of the World.***

*This important essay was written by the famous Gorky as an introduction to the new series of translations to be issued at low prices by the Soviet Government.*

**LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK, *Chemical Warfare and the New Attack on Russia.***

*The Military Reviewer of SOVIET RUSSIA predicts that savage methods will be used in the next military attack on Soviet Russia.*

**ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT, *The Structure of the Soviet System in Russia.***

*A clear summary of the outline of the administrative and political system in Soviet Russia, with definite statements of all interrelations.*

**ART UNDER COMMUNISM, by the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA.**

**PIERRE PASCAL, *Impressions of Soviet Russia.***

**IVAN OLBRACHT, *A Sociological Study of Present-Day Russia.***

**BOHUMIR SMERAL, *Conversations With Russian Leaders.***

We have not yet increased the price of SOVIET RUSSIA, in spite of the very much increased costs in printing and production. But it is not certain how long we can continue holding down our prices of subscription and single copies, and we therefore advise all who are thinking of subscribing to SOVIET RUSSIA to do so at the present low subscription rates: They are: for one year, \$5.00; for six months, \$2.50; for ten weeks, \$1.00.

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## Will the Blockade Be Lifted?

By J. E. JOTTE

*[The prospects of a possible relaxation or even an entire lifting of the blockade against Soviet Russia which are opened up by the announced intention of Great Britain and Italy jointly to take up trade with that country have again raised hopes that Soviet Russia may soon find herself in complete communication with all the countries of the world, and that her great population may thus be aided in their restoration to normal forms of life. This prospect has been offered before, and has been several times destroyed. Nearly a year ago, when Great Britain had signed a treaty with the Soviet Russian Government on the question of the exchange of prisoners between the two countries (February 10, 1920), it seemed very likely that this agreement would be followed by additional arrangements of great importance in the economic life of the two peoples. A Russian writer living in Germany at the time, J. E. Jotte, contributed the following article on the subject of the blockade to the February number of "Sowjet", a monthly then appearing at Vienna (but since transferred to Berlin). The mention of cooperative organizations in this article are not so much of importance now in connection with the impending trade with Russia, but are nevertheless illuminating as to the character of the new cooperative organizations in Soviet Russia. The attitude of the foreign powers which are mentioned in this article is, however, practically the same now as it was then. The great step in advance is the direct negotiations by Great Britain and Italy with the representatives of Soviet Russia, instead of with the representatives of the cooperative organizations. This implied recognition of the Soviet Government indicates that all hopes of weakening the government's action in Russia by encouraging separatist tendencies on the part of the cooperatives has been finally dropped. We print the following article as one view of the prospects of the blockade situation, and will in later issues publish further considerations, from other angles, of the same subject.]*

**T**HE Allied powers, concealed by a barrage of continuous asseverations that they remained irreconcilable toward Soviet Russia have nevertheless inaugurated a material change of position: the Supreme Council, unexpectedly and suddenly, has begun to prepare public opinion for the lifting of the blockade.

A few weeks ago the official press was spreading confident effusions as to the continuation of the Russian campaign which had, so to say, been recently agreed upon between Clemenceau and Lloyd George. The destructive defeat of Kolchak, as well as the thorough settlement of accounts by the Red Guards with the no less hated Czarist Denikin, probably was the immediate motive underlying the tiger's anxiety as to the ultimate fate of the French

moneys that had been invested in Russian bonds. His trip to London was very largely intended to move England to drop negotiations with Litvinov at Copenhagen. But, while they were temporarily broken off, their resumption followed almost immediately, in the guise of conversations (not to be binding) on the mutual exchange of prisoners, and now the Allies have, at the eleventh hour, discovered that their heart is warm, and that—as the official wires pathetically declare—they intend “to contribute to the alleviation of the terrible situation in which the people of central Russia find themselves, and to take up certain commercial relations.”

If we compare with this desirable change of affairs those voices that have for some time been

loudly demanding in the English trade unions that Soviet Russia be allowed to regulate its internal matters without interference, we may without difficulty detect in the decision communicated by the general mouthpiece of the Supreme Council the dominating undertone of the demand of the English workers' parties, translated into diplomatic language.

If, furthermore, the Supreme Council takes refuge in the very transparent statement that these measures will involve no alteration of its policy toward Soviet Russia, we may consider such a statement as without any importance and receive it with a smile of understanding. In spite of all contradictions, we are facing a not very skillfully masked but nevertheless real recognition of the Russian Revolution, of the de-facto Soviet Government, which must to be sure have caused the Supreme Council much pain, but which could not be longer avoided in view of the comfortable attitude of their trade unions at home.

Of course it would be hasty to assume that the external symptoms of the English standpoint—*et c'est le ton anglais que fait la musique des allies*—would necessarily justify an assumption that they really reveal its inner content. The fact that Lloyd George had to consent to this solution of the Russian question proves, to the contrary, that he will not fail to break it as soon as he can. But if he should simply ignore the insistence of the trade unions, should push it aside with platonic assurances, he would be faced immediately with a danger of the very uncomfortable consequences involved in a shift of the internal political parallelgram of forces to the left, an accelerated transformation of the national opposition into class opposition. The demand of the hour is therefore to avoid such a change by making tangible concessions to the trade unions on the Russian question. Since, as everyone knows, diplomatic adornments are the most indispensable paraphernalia of bourgeois capitalistic secret chancelleries, he is first of all concerned to veil the defeat he has suffered as neatly as possible; the impression must by no means prevail that any friendly relation is being taken up with the Moscow "terrorists". The saving subterfuge is therefore chosen of dealing through the consumers' leagues, who are still credited, owing to their far off past, with a welcome anti-Bolshevik character. This saves appearances and while the trade union shouters are thus silenced, English products are provided with a very advantageous commercial monopoly, thus killing two birds with one stone, without being obliged to relinquish the struggle against Soviet Russia by the mercenaries of foreign powers. But this is just the crux of the matter. For as long as England will be able to make use of the services of the Poles or even of the reactionary Prussian junkerdom which is now yearning for spurs and swords, it will spare no means of subordinating these ready instruments to its objects and sending them into combat against Soviet Russia. The Janus-counten-

ance of the English bourgeoisie will not be hidden from the Russian comrades. These machinations may be intended to have some influence on the course of events in Russia, but their influence will bring to their instigators a surprise that will be but little edifying.

Recalling the character of the consumers' leagues, which appealed to the English as being hostile to the Bolsheviks, we are tempted to ask why the Allies did not long ago try, through an extensive support of these bodies, to drive the fateful wedge between the Russian peasants and the Soviet Government which they now expect to see inserted. It seems very probable that influential circles only arrived at this view very recently, after having only a moment ago expressly rejected every exchange of goods with Russia, for motives of directly opposite nature. Under the pretext that the nationalization of foreign trade and the proletarian class organizations of the Russian people would not offer any guarantees for a "just"—as they term it—distribution of goods, and that these goods would primarily go to that class of society which is supporting the Bolshevik state, the Allies refused to make any use of the repeated offers of the consumers' leagues to act as intermediaries in the trade. The contradiction of this situation is all the more aggravated in that every one who knows the conditions is absolutely aware that there is no such thing as an opposition between the consumers' leagues and the Soviet Government. To be sure the former did at first vehemently oppose nationalization, and succeeded in bringing about pronounced frictions between the peasantry and the government. But we must never fail to remember that this disagreement goes back to the bourgeois period of the Russian Revolution, when the peasants, not yet split by latent class differences, were fighting by the side of the city proletariat, against *monarchy*, against the *landed proprietors*. The political and economic power then lay undivided in the hands of the wealthy big and middle peasants who, supporting the consumers' leagues by investing their capital in them, resisted nationalization with all their strength. But conditions have changed entirely since then. The class struggle has been carried to the villages and the founding of the *Committees of the Village Poor* and their exclusive authority in the exercise of political power has also been very successful in laming the opposition of the reactionary middle peasantry, who were represented in the consumers' leagues, in overthrowing the bourgeoisie, and in laying the foundations of the Socialist society by unification of all rights and duties. All private property was thus expropriated and transferred to the wealth of the workers, and this has eliminated the consumers' leagues as institutions exploiting the proletariat and practicing usury, and stamped them as the executive organs of the government, whose activities leave no further regulations of economic life to other authorities.

In this connection we must point out that Rus-

sian trade, both internal and foreign, has been nationalized—subjected to state control—and conducted, through the system of consumers' stores which are spread over the whole country, like a net, for the collection of finished products from the producers and for their distribution to the consumers. Membership in these consumers' organizations, within the district having jurisdiction, is obligatory. The distribution of products is carried out through these organs, on the basis of the quantities on hand, with the object of distributing equal quantities to each worker. Within the limits of the production yield that has been obtained, the government has thus far been unfortunately not in a position to attain the normal requirements of the individual, not to say exceed it. Because of Russia's backward industrial development, factory products of every kind are lacking, but there is an enormous supply of grain and fodder, hemp, and other products of the field. Agricultural products, in as far as they are not needed for satisfying the requirements of the peasants or for the feeding of the cities, are gathered by the government and accumulated for exchange of commodities with foreign countries by barter. The counter-revolution forces Soviet Russia to turn its attention chiefly to the armament industry, and devours 75 per cent of the industrial production. It cannot surprise us that in this complicated situation it has been difficult to supply the private needs of the whole people. If the counter-revolution is to be put down finally, the economic rebirth, the provisioning of the population with peace commodities, must be subordinated to the manufacture of military necessities.

It must not be denied that this difficulty has made some of the peasants sullen and hostile to the grain monopoly, as the latter cannot yet give them any complete compensation for their deliveries. Here the dictatorial power of the Soviet Government must intervene ruthlessly, declaring that exceptional wealth, in face of the poverty of the mass, is not permissible, and that every one should be obliged, in the interest of the general improvement of the public welfare, to submit to temporary restrictions and to deliver his surplus to the generality. As soon as imports from abroad will make up for the insufficiency of Russia's own industry, and it becomes easier to furnish the peasants with agricultural implements, textiles, and other utilities, in sufficient quantities, this temporary dissatisfaction will collapse of itself.

In this sense, the commercial relations between Russia and the Allies will afford an influx of new blood into the Communist organism. It is an empty imagining to suppose that there will be any parasitic enrichment of individuals or a booming prosperity for private trade within the cooperative societies or the peasantry, under the present institutions of the political superstructure, whose effective supervision will involve a severe control of imports and exports, on the basis of the laws made for the benefit of the whole. The centralized co-

operatives will discharge their function as commissioners of purchase, as sub-sections of the Soviet Government, under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council of National Economy. They are branches of the government and their official designation is therefore: Purchasing Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy (закупочный отдел совета народного хозяйства). Much confusion is caused in foreign countries by the fact that the branches of the Novo-Nikolayevsk (Siberian) union *Zakupsbyt*, and the Moscow *Centrosoyuz* are still doing business under the old firm names, but the reasons for such continued activities are to be found in forces easily understood as concomitants of the revolutionary process.

Let us leave to those who hate Communist Russia the short-lived joy of gloating in the alleged impermanence of the revolutionary accomplishments, in their conjectures as to the weakness of the Communist idea, and particularly, of the Russian Communist organizations. Those of us who have learned from our own experiences how tenacious and determined are the Russian comrades, should return again and again to the task of soberly singing their praises with the firm conviction that this will serve truth best.

#### NEW NOTE TO LLOYD GEORGE

November 24, 1920.

Mr. Krassin presents his compliments to the Prime Minister, and desires to remove what appears to be an unfortunate misunderstanding.

Mr. Krassin observes from the Parliamentary Debates (Volume 135, No. 143, Column 14), that on Monday, November 22, the Prime Minister, questioned by Commander Kenworthy as to the reason for the delay in handing the draft trade agreement to the Russian Delegation in accordance with the decision announced by him in the House of Commons on Thursday last, replied that "the fault is by no means so one-sided as the honorable and gallant gentleman seems to imagine."

From this it may be understood that in Mr. Lloyd George's belief the Russian Government or the Russian Trade Delegation is placing some obstacle in the way of the immediate presentation of the draft agreement.

Mr. Krassin can only presume that Mr. Lloyd George has been misinformed on the point, and therefore hastens to assure him that, so far as the Russian Government and the Russian Trade Delegation are concerned, there is no reason for any further delay whatever.

Mr. Krassin has been expecting to receive the draft agreement ever since the Prime Minister's statement of last Thursday. He is ready to receive it now, and he must make it perfectly clear that the entire responsibility for any further delay in its presentation and for any consequences that may arise from that delay, must rest entirely upon the shoulders of Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues.

The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George,  
10 Downing Street, S.W.1.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**T**HE brilliant victory of the Siberian Red Army over the bandit Semionov at Chita, between October 20 and 25, has completely changed the situation in Eastern Siberia.

On the night of October 21, the local revolutionary forces of the Verkhne-Udinsk and Amur districts, in cooperation with a part of the Soviet Army, concentrated east of Lake Baikal, suddenly attacked Semionov's headquarters in Chita, from three sides, namely from the north, west, and south; and finally defeated his forces under the command of General Kappel, the well-known leader of a part of Kolchak's army. As is well-known, Semionov himself fled to Japan. This was a decisive and final blow to the last Russian reactionary stronghold in Siberia, and since then communication between Eastern Siberia and Moscow has at last become possible.

Eastern Siberia includes all Siberian territory east of Lake Baikal, and before the revolution consisted of five provinces, namely: Transbaikalia, The Amur Province, The Maritime Province, Kamchatka, and the northern part of Sakhalin. Later on, under the pressure of political events in that part of Russia, this geographical division was considerably altered. Transbaikalia was divided into two separate districts, namely: The Chita District where Semionov established his government with the help of Japan, and the Verkhne-Udinsk District, where a form of government in structure similar to the Soviet form of government was established. The Amur Province remained unchanged, and Blagovieschensk became the headquarters of the revolutionary government of this Eastern Siberian Republic. The Maritime Province, which now includes Kamchatka and the northern part of Sakhalin, is administered from Vladivostok by a government which, though looking towards Moscow, is of "democratic" character, due to the influence of Japan, whose army practically invaded the whole province.

Hoping to keep the Red Army from penetrating farther east in Siberia, by means of Semionov's armed hands, the Japanese imperialistic government used every effort to support the Vladivostok cabinet in order to establish in the Maritime Province a Russian democratic republic which would grant to Japan all concessions in North Sakhalin, as well as in Kamchatka. This was the political objective of Japanese diplomacy, which Allied strategy had to support.

The presence of Semionov's bands in Chita, and the Japanese troops in the Maritime Province and Manchuria, prevented the Russian Soviet Government from consolidating the new-formed Eastern Siberian republics into one body. Chita is situated just east of Karimskoie, the railway junction of the Trans-Amur railway and the Chinese Eastern railway. Therefore, holding Chita, Semionov made

it practically impossible for the delegates of the Verkhne-Udinsk Republic to reach Blagovieschensk and Vladivostok. On the other hand, the delegates of the Government of the Amur Republic were barred by the Japanese, who were holding the Ussuri railway; they were also unable to come in contact with the Vladivostok Government. It is not necessary to explain why, under such circumstances, military cooperation of these Russian republics was out of the question. Finally, in order to put an end to this abnormal state of affairs in Eastern Siberia, which made it impossible to continue the struggle against the eastern invaders, the Soviet Government decided at all costs to crush Semionov's armed forces, and finally to capture Chita. All the delegations of the Eastern Siberian Government, which reached Moscow after a long journey through Peking, expressed the desire of the population to create a Far Eastern Republic which should work in full harmony with the Soviet Government.

Already in June, 1919, the prestige of Semionov's Government amongst the local cossacks and native population was completely destroyed. His quarrel with the Japanese authorities permitted the Red Army to inflict upon his hands a series of important defeats; but he was still able to hold Chita, hoping with financial and moral support from Wrangel to resume his military operations as soon as the Crimean Baron was victorious in South Russia. It is true that before Semionov recognized Wrangel's government, he tried on several occasions to approach Moscow, offering to submit to the Soviets in exchange for the recognition of his government, but naturally all his efforts were in vain. The Russian Soviet Government could not negotiate with a Semionov. His fate had to be that of Kolchak and the other leaders of Russian reaction.

When Semionov's rule in Transbaikalia was brought to an end, the military forces of the Amur Province were greatly strengthened by joining the advancing Red Army. We must not overlook the fact that the numerous partisan detachments, which were the main cause of the general destruction of Kolchak's army, and practically forced the Allies to abandon their plan of armed intervention in Siberia (the Allies started their evacuation of Siberia on April 20, 1920), after the unfortunate revolution in Vladivostok in December, 1919, and February, 1920, had retired to the hills, cutting their way through the numerous fronts of the Japanese into Amur Province, where they formed a large and strong Red Army.

The situation became dangerous for the Japanese. The Vladivostok Government, under Japanese control, became inactive, and could not undertake any decisive movement to the north to protect and establish an administration in the northern

part of the newly enlarged Maritime Province, including Kamchatka. The Vladivostok authorities frankly told the Japanese that they could not count upon their own army, which was in sympathy with the Soviets, and therefore, the Government of the Maritime Province was unable to guarantee concessions, should they be granted to Japan, especially in the most remote part of the republic, Kamchatka, for instance. On the other hand, the Japanese being practically the masters of all the territory of the former Maritime Province, as it was under the Czar, were also unable to send their expeditionary forces so far away from the Ussuri railway and Nikolaievsk on the Amur became the extreme northern point of Japanese occupation. If they had moved farther north, they would have been easily cut off and annihilated by the partisans of the Amur Province. On the other hand an invasion of Kamchatka, without being granted concessions by the Russians, could hardly be undertaken by Japan, which knows that such a movement would not be approved by the Allies.

Since the complete failure of Semionov's efforts to establish a buffer state between Soviet Siberia and Eastern Siberia, Japan has realized that the days of her sojourn even in the Maritime Province are numbered.

The hope that a strong "democratic" government designed in Tokio, could be established in the Russian Far East, was abandoned even by the most optimistic Japanese statesmen. There was now at their disposal only a very reactionary group of Russian Czarist officials, who had established a sort of government in Harbin, under the dictatorship of General Horvath, and his assistant Ustrugov. General Horvath, for many years the head of the Chinese Eastern Railway, had a very strong financial standing, and acted independent of the Japanese, thus taking a hostile position to the latter, especially when Semionov was openly supported by them. On the other hand, the existence of the Harbin reactionary government was very uncertain. The great number of workers and lower employes of the Chinese Eastern Railway, already at the beginning of 1919, showed their pro-Soviet tendencies, and under the leadership of Comrade Pumpiansky, they practically represented a very solid revolutionary body ready to act at the first favorable opportunity. Besides this, the Soviet Government officially informed the Chinese Government that it had annulled all treaties existing between the old government of imperial Russia and China, and consequently the Chinese Eastern Railway and the whole zone of Russian influence in Manchuria, still occupied by reactionary Russian generals and Japanese, was to be returned to China. It was no secret that the workers' organization in Harbin was trying to establish a close connection with the Vladivostok and Verkhne-Udinsk governments, and that the overthrow of the Horvath dictatorship was only a matter of time. Therefore the Japanese military command considered it useless to try to establish friendly relations with Gen-

eral Horvath, and preferred to annex the Chinese Eastern Railway by force, in which they almost succeeded. This required a great military movement of Japan and ended in a strong concentration of Japanese troops along the whole line of the Chinese Eastern Railway which, in the presence of an uprising in Korea against the invaders and the very confusing political situation in China, as well as the continued state of revolution in the occupied Maritime Province, aggravated the inner political situation in Japan and finally caused serious troubles for the Tokio Government. The Japanese military party, which drew up a plan of annexation of the Shantung Province of China, as well as of Korea and all Eastern Siberia, as far as Lake Baikal, was now confronted with such an impenetrable wall that it had to admit that the scheme could not be realized. An army of several million men would have been required to accomplish such a project, and even then Japan might have found herself in a dangerous position, escape from which would scarcely be possible. On the other hand, the Japanese strategists, when they helped the present Vladivostok Government to establish itself in the Maritime Province, expected that that government, like Semionov's government, while financed by Japan, would be a blind tool in Japanese hands, thus protecting the important military and naval base into which the Japanese command expected to transform Vladivostok; but the members of the Provisional Government of the Maritime Republic were not so easy a prey to Japanese bribery as was Semionov, and this greatly disappointed the invaders. Mr. Medvedev, the president of the Russian Cabinet in Vladivostok, supported by a group of determined assistants, like General Boldirev, Mr. Vinogradov, Zimmerman, and Nikiforov, though far from having Bolshevik tendencies, nevertheless understood the significance of the Russian Revolution and with all their might tried to consolidate all the Eastern Siberian republics into one federative state, with the idea of freeing the Maritime Province from the Japanese yoke, and then submitting to the Siberian political center—Irkutsk—which, as we know, is under the full control of the Soviets. This wise decision was the result of a clear understanding of the fact that Eastern Siberia cannot exist as an independent political entity, fully depending, economically and strategically on Western Siberia, and, consequently, on Russia. There was no other choice for the Provisional Government of Vladivostok than that between bearing the Japanese "protectorate", and joining the Soviet Republic as a federate state, and, quite naturally, they chose the latter.

The consolidation of the republics of Eastern Siberia and the connections which lately were established from Verkhne-Udinsk with Mongolia and China by Yourin and Krasnoshchokov, and finally the appointment of Comrade Litvinov as accredited representative of the Soviet Government in Peking, only confirm the fact that the policy of Soviet Russia in Siberia and the Far East is becoming

more and more determined, and that we may expect some very important events there with the coming of spring. The Russian Siberian Red Army, after its liquidation of all the remaining fragments of the counter-revolutionary organization left by Kolchak, and now united with the Red Amur Army, as well as that of Transbaikalia, and being in close connection with the Mongolian tribes of China and possibly on the eve of an actual Russo-Chinese alliance, represents a very important military force, which the Japanese cannot neglect. This force, without any support by special reserves from European Russia, would be able to free the Maritime Province from the Japanese, even in case of later eventualities on the Polish and Rumanian fronts.

The Japanese know this well, and the best illustration that this is the case has come in the form of an opinion expressed by one of the most reliable Japanese statesmen, Baron Magata, of the delegation to the League of Nations, now in Geneva. His statement appeared in the *New York Evening Post*, of December 8, and is of great significance. I know the Japanese too well to suppose that a Japanese official of important standing would publicly express thoughts which would contradict the policy of his government, specially at a time like today, and let us not overlook the fact that Baron Magata in reality is one of the chief authorities of his country on economic and financial questions.

"I don't know about the Armenian suggestion," he said, "but Russia now is rapidly improving and has been doing so for the last year . . . If this keeps up at the present rate, the League of Nations at the next session will be justified in asking Russia to join.

"Russia is organized like an army for other than military matters. For example, she is educating herself, she is fighting illiteracy. If in a village of one hundred people ten can read and write and ninety cannot, one of the ten fortunate ones must take nine illiterates and teach them. That sort of thing is going on all over Russia. It is organized on a basis of military discipline. Those who can read must teach those who can't. It is not left to chance.

"Japan has been criticized for aiding Admiral Kolchak and trying in other ways to stabilize Russia, especially Siberia. It is vital to Japan that Siberia become tranquil and settled and we simply have been striving to find some tangible center in that country with which responsible dealings could be had.

"The lamentable fact has been that the Czarists have forced themselves into association with the Kolchak and other movements, thus bringing them into disrepute in the eyes of the outside world. Japan has no interest in the restoration of the Czarist regime. We are ready to recognize and deal with any government that can maintain itself on sound principles. There are many Russian diplomatic agents in Japan today. We simply recognize them as representing Russia without knowing or caring under what particular regime they are sent to us.

"I am convinced no attempt at military intervention by outside powers will help solve the Russian problem. Russia must settle her own problem and she is beginning to do that. Other nations must devise ways of helping that the Russians themselves will not resent. She cannot pay her foreign debts now. She can do nothing now that requires money until she can work and organize herself. French and other creditors must wait some years, but I believe they will be paid. Except for such part of it as has been sent abroad to make purchases, Russia's specie is intact. I don't know where it is, but it is hidden safely

somewhere. This specie can't be destroyed. But Russia must have tranquility before she can pay.

"It is a mistake to insist upon her paying before being willing to render such feasible aid as she can accept without hurting her sensitiveness."

I am not prepared to discuss this statement of the Japanese Baron, which I simply offer to the readers of *SOVIET RUSSIA* as a characteristic example of a complete change of Japanese policy towards the Soviet Government, which we may expect in the near future in case such a new feeling exists in the ruling spheres in Japan. But this change is due entirely to the recent successes of Soviet strategy in Europe, as well as in Asia, and to the supremacy of Moscow diplomacy over its western and eastern enemies.

In short, I see that Japanese diplomacy has already capitulated to the Soviets; the normal consequences of such capitulation would be the peaceful withdrawal of the Japanese troops from the Maritime Province and an early recognition of the Soviet Government by Japan, if Baron Magata is sincere in stating that "it is vital to Japan that Siberia become tranquil and settled." And the sooner this happens, the better it would be, not only for the Russian people, but for the Japanese themselves, as well as for the rest of the world.

[*SOVIET RUSSIA* in its next issue will reprint from a European newspaper a map of the present territories ruled by the Soviet Government, as well as of all the neighboring states. This map will aid the reader in forming an idea of the various regions mentioned in Col. Bek's military articles.]

#### RUSSIAN DELEGATION AT BRUNN

BRUNN, October 20, 1920 (*Rosta*).—The delegation of Russian labor consists of Lebedev, member of the Central Body of Textile Workers, and Kulikov, member of the Pharmaceutical and Sanitary organizations. These men came seeking information in Brunn. They undertook to study the Czech methods of organization and welfare of the working class. The labor element in Brunn took the occasion to demonstrate their full sympathy to the Russian delegation. On the railway station, in spite of the late hours, were gathered 150 deputies of the workers' council which had just been in session.

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## Interview with Sereda

*People's Commissar for Agriculture*

By W. McLaine

WHEN we found Comrade Sereda in his office in the Agricultural Commissariat, we explained to him that we wished to have as complete a statement as he could give us—within the limits of an interview—about the agricultural program of the Soviet Government. This he declared himself quite willing to do. He was a little tired—partly because of the fact that the previous day an Italian deputation had been closeted with him for six hours—but he was nevertheless very glad to see us and answer our questions. Having—in response to my query—told us that he was an agricultural statistician before the revolution, he began his story.

“For Russia, the agrarian question is fundamental because the mass of the people are peasants. It was the important question during the revolution, and indeed it decided the revolution. The Bolsheviks needed the support of the peasants and by their cry of ‘Peace and Land’ they secured that support. All the revolutionary parties at that time were saying: ‘The land for the peasants,’ including Kerensky’s party, but the latter took two landowners into his cabinet and in addition, wished to wait until the Constituent Assembly had formally decided for land nationalization before any action should be taken. The Bolsheviks said, ‘Take the land now, and the law that is promised will simply confirm your acts.’ The peasants did not accept the Bolshevik view at once, but the Kornilov rising helped them to decide. From that time they began to support the Bolsheviks in great numbers.

“The peasants wanted the land to be sub-divided, but the Bolsheviks did not. The peasant wished to realize his age-long desire for a plot of land, but the Bolsheviks wanted up-to-date methods of large scale farming. However, as it was evident that the peasants did not appreciate the importance of new methods it was considered best to compromise and wait until the peasant was educated on the matter and did appreciate it.

“The land was taken and justly divided. It was not nationalized from above, but allocated by means of land Soviets formed in the villages by the peasants themselves. The result was that the peasants formed a camp against the bourgeoisie. They joined the army and they helped to determine the course of the revolution. They formed their village Soviets—Soviets with a definite task to perform—and so became acquainted with the practical working of the Soviet system.

“It was soon seen that the economic interests of the workers and peasants were identical. Together, they had control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The smaller bourgeoisie came in and supported the government, and everything was completed.

“The class war did not show itself in the villages during 1917. The great mass of the peasants were

semi-proletarians and those with little land, and large numbers of these were at the front. Taking advantage of their absence, many of the richer peasants began to take more land and stocks for themselves, but with the ending of the war the soldiers began to return and a new mass movement began. Soldiers’ Councils were formed in the villages, and land and stocks were redistributed. The Bolsheviks supported the movement because it was of no value to break down the domination of the bourgeoisie in the towns and see a new bourgeoisie grow up in the country. The unjust land division made the food crisis worse. The rich peasant had stocks of food and wished to retain them, but a general corn tax order from the center—a tax claiming all over and above what was needed to support the producers—eased the situation. The struggle in the villages was of course reflected in the politics of those who took part in it. The rich peasants sided with the Social Revolutionaries and cried ‘Down with the Bread Monopoly and with the regulation making the government the sole agent.’ They were against the Brest Peace, against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and against Soviets.

“The poor peasants formed Committees of the Poor, and organized and defeated the rich peasants.

“The old system had left four grades of peasant: (1) those who were practically landless agricultural laborers; (2) the small peasants; (3) those with a little more land; (4) the rich peasants. The Uniform Soviet that came into being as a result of the victory over the rich peasants was composed of the representations from what had been the first three sections.

“The Soviet Government, from the first, desired to socialize agriculture, and propaganda work for this was soon commenced. Quite early, there was a movement in the direction of cooperative farming, mainly on the part of those peasants who were near to the towns and were more familiar with collective ideas.

“The peasant is by nature and heredity an individualist, so that when a peasant voluntarily agrees to cooperate with his fellows it is no less than a complete reversal of his life philosophy. We have already done much to popularize the communal idea. We send out our experts to teach and to lecture, we issue posters showing how crops should be sown and how land should be cleared of trees or of stubble; schools have been opened, and model farms show by actual practical demonstration how agriculture should be organized. ‘From each according to his ability’ is to be our guiding motto, but until we are really free to develop our resources, ‘to each according to his needs’ must serve as our working philosophy.

“We have given seeds and machines to the various kinds of peasant organizations, and we recog-

nize that the essential thing is to get production increased. To this end we have been, and are, prepared to recognize any kind of cooperative organization—provided that there is no exploitation of the workers or in the sale of the product.

“All private property in land has been abolished. The land has been divided to standards varying in different districts according to the amount of work required to develop it. Anyone can have land.

“Our policy is determined by two desires; first, a desire to raise the productivity, and second, a desire to secure collective working.

“The old large estates are being turned into Soviet farms. On these the workers are really employes of the state. Experts are trained and the farms become centers of education for the surrounding district. Some one and a half million dessiatins of land are now being cultivated in this fashion, though of course the war has hindered our progress.

“The workers on these estates are interested in productivity. They had no stimulus under the old system, but premium bonus systems have been arranged, and propaganda amongst them convinces them of the importance of their work to the state. There are foremen and managers on the estates, and workers' committees participate in the management.

“Another method of agricultural organization that is popular is that of the commune. This is different from the Soviet farm, in that the peasants agree to come together to work in common, and share the product in common. All land is not the same, and if a commune is established it does away with any possibility of one peasant having a better piece of land than another. The communes have very largely been organized by town workers who have gone to the country.

“The artel is not so much a cooperative undertaking as the commune proper—it is a commune in the making. The artel is usually—though all are not the same—an association of consumers rather than of producers. It enables seeds to be secured in bulk, and machinery to be used in common. In our 33 governments there are 3,000 communes and 3,500 artels. All communes are under political control, and any doubtful ones are dispersed. Some communes have become nationalized and are now state farms. The workers in the communes are taught to regard themselves as national trustees, and a National Union of Communes and Artels fits in the work with the national scheme.

“The land laws apply equally to foreigners who come to settle in the country, as they do to Russians. A group of German workers have come and are working communally, and a body of Italians are expected to come. A special department of the party has been organized to work in the villages, to distribute literature and to organize meetings. Free advice and assistance is given to all.

“Technically, the revolution found Russian agriculture in a very bad state, corn was thin and short in stalk, stocks were poor, and the three field

system was in general operation.\* We have tried—and to large extent succeeded—in improving the methods of cultivation by all kinds of means. We have divided the country into districts and put each district into the control of agricultural scientists; we have abolished the three-field system, we have opened machine centers for the loaning of machinery, and we have our Soviet machine repair shops where farming machinery is repaired free of charge. Several exhibitions have been organized at which the farmers may see, and hear about, tractors, machine ploughs, harvesters, etc. All thoroughbred stocks have been nationalized and have been placed in special breeding stations to which the peasants may bring their animals. The number of thoroughbreds has been decreased because most of them were in the south, and many were killed by the counter-revolutionaries. Special attention is being paid to cattle-breeding and horse-breeding, and recently a mission was sent to Tashkent to bring back thoroughbred horses for breeding purposes for agriculture and the army.

“We are also encouraging dairy farming and bee cultivation by the peasants, and home industries, such as weaving, woodworking, bonework, etc.

“We require great quantities of agricultural machinery. Before the war, these came from Italy, America, England, and Germany. Now, some is coming from Sweden. We hope to get a great deal from Italy because the production of war munitions in that country has developed the engineering industry to such an extent that it can supply much more than is required for Italian use or for the ordinary pre-war Italian export trade.

“In several districts we have electrified agriculture, by using peat for fuel, and many villages are now fitted with electric lighting. The peasants eagerly support us in this work and greatly appreciate the value of the new lighting methods. In Siberia and in the Urals we have organized great bonanza farms with electric tractors.

“In conclusion, I think that what we are doing for agricultural development here will be of great importance to the world. As more and more countries become industrialized, those that still remain largely agricultural will have to be the sources of supply for an increased number of people, and in that capacity Russia must function for many years to come.”

#### THE BESSARABIAN QUESTION

BUCHAREST, October 20, 1920 (*Rosta*).—The Rumanian Government has received a new radiogram from Chicherin. The Soviet Government proposes a free plebiscite in Bessarabia. The Rumanian Government has as yet made no reply. Take Jonescu had declared that a *de facto* plebiscite had taken place in the last two parliamentary elections in which the entire Bessarabian population had participated. It is expected that this time the Rumanian Government will answer Chicherin's note.

\* The “three field” agricultural system was the form of agriculture used in Britain during the middle ages. It continued to exist until the agrarian revolution of the mid 18th century swept it away.



## The Peace with Finland

In an interview given by Kerzhentzev, a member of the Russian Peace Delegation in the negotiations that terminated in the conclusion of the peace with Finland, to *Krasnaya Gazeta*, Kerzhentzev said among other things the following:

"The peace negotiations between Russia and Finland lasted altogether four months. Both sides were operating with the utmost caution. The Finnish Delegation had already put in two months before the peace negotiations, working at Helsingfors as a special commission. To this commission there belonged a number of functionaries of bourgeois society, among them two former ministers of state, the former minister of war, and the former minister of finance, together with a number of other specialists on questions that were to be taken up during the peace negotiations.

"At times the negotiations were in a fair way to be broken off. The change for the worse in our military situation on the western front made the Finnish delegation particularly hostile to any concessions and aroused in Finland a veritable campaign against the conclusion of peace. In general, the conditions we obtained in the peace negotiations, in spite of the fact that we were forced to make certain material concessions to Finland, may be considered as satisfactory for us. At any rate, the peace is founded on an agreement that binds both sides, and therefore Finland will doubtless observe it honorably, and really fulfill its conditions.

"The chief point of contention was in territorial questions. Finland wanted to have the Pechenga region, up to the Murman Railway, two communes in Eastern Karelia (Repola and Porajarvo), and also desired a plebiscite in all of Eastern Karelia, to decide whether the Karelians wished to attach themselves to Finland. In all, Finland obtained an increase of territory amounting to nearly 70,000 square versts.

"By the treaty of peace, we relinquished to Finland a small portion of Pechenga, whereby Finland obtained access to the Arctic Sea, but we ceded less than we had previously offered to Red Finland. Simultaneously we secured for ourselves free right of transit through this region, as far as Morge, together with the fishery rights on that portion of the Arctic Coast that was assigned to Finland.

"On the other hand, the Finns dropped their demands as to Eastern Karelia, and returned to us the two communes, which had for two years been occupied by Finnish troops. Similarly, Finland consented to limit its territorial waters and to recognize the Russian territorial waters in the tract of Kronstadt to the extent of considering the southern channel into the Finnish Gulf as belonging to Russian territorial waters. Furthermore, Finland agreed to neutralize all the islands in the Finnish Gulf, to dismantle the batteries at Ina and Pumala, as well as to limit the coast defences in the immediate vicinity of Kronstadt. Economic conditions have been regulated on the basis of the *status quo*, in other

words, the two states have agreed mutually to relinquish their credit and other demands on each other. The property of the Finnish State in Russia passes to Russia, and *vice versa*. We are not obliged to pay anything to Finland.

"For a resumption of economic relations, measures have been planned to regulate commercial intercourse as well as connections between the railway and telegraph systems, the transit of goods from Finland, etc.

"Among the legal points, our proposal for amnesty, which was planned to include a rather considerable number of the Finnish comrades as well as Communists who had fled from the country, aroused particular attention.

"Finland agreed to resume diplomatic relations with us at once."

These are in a few words the general outlines of the main points in the peace treaty. Among the points that are of special interest to Petrograd Kerzhentzev mentioned the article in which Finland bound itself to facilitate the passport, railroad, and other conditions on the Karelian ness, which will make it possible for inhabitants of Petrograd to enjoy the advantages of the Finnish villa country. He also called attention to the article which places half of the accommodations in Halila Sanitarium at the disposal of the inhabitants of Petrograd and the environs.

"From the impressions I received from conversations with the Finnish representatives," said Kerzhentzev, "I gathered that Finland will be very glad to take up commercial relations with us very soon. It has great supplies of paper and agricultural products, while Finland, on its part, needs grain and raw materials. I believe that Petrograd will receive the greatest benefits from orderly and neighborly relations with Finland. The peace that has just been concluded will of course be of immense importance for the prosperity of Petrograd."

*"All citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations. . . ."*

Section 10, Article II, of the Code of Labor Laws of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

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## Civilization and Savagery in Russia

By A. C. FREEMAN

IF anyone really wishes to find out what the Soviet Government stands for and what its enemies stand for, he should by all means look up *The New Republic* of December 8 and *The Nation* of the same date. And there he will find the contrast between the new Russia and the old presented with truly dramatic vividness. *The Nation* contains an account of pogroms in Poland and Ukraine. *The New Republic* contains Mr. Brailsford's brilliant description of the social, educational, and cultural achievements of the Soviet Government.

The Poles, as they like to tell us, are a romantic people. They are fond of envisaging themselves as the bulwark of western civilization against oriental barbarism. Just how well they acquit themselves in this role is indicated by the following instances of the treatment which they mete out to the helpless Jewish population within their own borders and within the parts of Russia which came under their power:

"At Drohiczin the Jews were hunted into the river and about fifteen shot in the water. At Vyskov the local Christian population had been asked to massacre all those Jews against whom they had any complaint to make. Near Lukov, twelve Jews from Miendzyrzecze were shot without trial and before their death were ordered to dig their own graves. At Vlodava Jews were buried alive. At Boim near Kaluczyn sixteen Jews who were entering the town were shot and had to dig their own graves before death."

Even these exploits of the self-appointed champions of civilization and Christianity are surpassed by the atrocities committed by Denikin's troops in the Ukrainian town of Fastov, and described with appalling realism by a doctor who witnessed them. Denikin, it will be remembered, was hailed as a great democrat and patriot who was to deliver Russia from "Bolshevik tyranny." He was given the Order of the Bath by King George and generously outfitted with tanks by the British Government. This is what his troops did in Fastov:

"After the departure of the Bolsheviks the Cossacks came back and then began the torture of the Jews, terrible attacks, robbery and massacres. In many houses they made the children sing while they beat the parents to death.

"Sometimes the Cossacks forced the parents to kill their own children. This was the case with Meyer Zabarock. In some cases the Cossacks took the young girls out into the gardens or woods and after the most bestial humiliations finally murdered them. Many of the girls who survived received venereal infections caught from the Cossacks.

"I know a young woman who was raped by a Cossack in the same room where her murdered father and husband were lying and while her little baby was crying in its crib. I have been told by people worthy of belief that they saw people forced to set fire to their own homes and then driven with rifle butts into the flames. The names of some of these families were Volkensky, Volodarsky, Zavoroucha, Meisenberg, Bendarsky.

"I had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of many Denikinists. They told me quite frankly that there were two groups in the army. One held that it was necessary to kill all Jews in Russia in order to extinguish Bolshevism, for Bolshevism was based on the Jews. The others were of the same idea, but held it inexpedient to

massacre all the Jews because of public opinion in Europe. They thought it better to kill off the adult supporters of the families and leave the rest to die off by starvation and disease."

In this whole horrible recital of bestial savagery there is a single redeeming note:

"In conclusion I wish merely to acknowledge the fact that the attitude of the Soviet authorities has been most correct and that the Soviet authorities have been most generous in the help they have given: the food, the medicine, and the money and means for the burial of the corpses."

It should be observed that the tender mercies of the Poles and the Russian counter-revolutionists have not been reserved for the Jews. Russian workers and peasants have been slaughtered just as ruthlessly in every district which has been unfortunate enough to be invaded by their marauding bands.

From these outbursts of ferocity, deliberately instigated by leaders who enjoyed the full "moral support" of the Allied governments, it is a relief to turn to Mr. Brailsford's inspiring account of what the Soviet Government has accomplished in the fields of art and education. Here are some of his most significant observations:

"To my mind the most inspiring thing in Russia is that the Socialist revolution, instantly and instinctively, began to realize the ideal of universal education, which the interests and prejudices of class have thwarted in the rest of Europe. Every fair-minded observer has given the Bolsheviks credit for their prompt efforts to send an illiterate people to school. Their ambition is much bolder. They intend that none of the comforts, none of the pleasures, none of the stimuli, which awaken the powers of a child born in Europe in a cultured middle-class home shall be lacking to the children of the humblest Russian workers.

"I saw near Petrograd a big boarding-school formerly reserved for the children of the nobility. Today about three in four of its inmates are the children of manual workers. They were, in their bearing and manners, as refined as the children whose parents belonged to the 'intelligentsia', as eager to study, and as keen to enjoy the pleasures of art and knowledge to which an admirable staff of teachers introduced them. They were learning handicrafts as well as sciences and languages, and whether they exercise a trade or a profession when they leave school, they will be cultivated men and women, capable of disciplined thought and aesthetic pleasure.

"The guiding idea of the Soviet Republic is to give the children a preference in everything, from food and clothing to less tangible things.

"I saw two of these 'children's colonies', in the Sokolniki Park outside Moscow, and in Tsarskoe Selo, the Russian Windsor, now known as Dyetskoe Selo (children's village), outside Petrograd. In the former the children were housed in the wooden pleasure villas built by Moscow merchants as summer residences in this big park, much of which is unspoiled forest. Many of the villas were assigned to ailing or tuberculous children, and these latter, sleeping more or less in the open even in the winter, make wonderfully rapid cures.

"It may be honestly claimed, I think, for the Soviet administration that it has a better record in its relations to art and culture, generally, than any other government in the civilized world. Let me mention as one characteristic touch, that in my many wanderings on foot in dilapidated Moscow, I noticed only two buildings which had been

renovated and repainted: one was the university and the other a workmen's college. Artists, musicians, dancers, authors, actors, professors and scientists do not suffer, save mentally, from the class feud, and all of them, who have any recognizable qualification, receive rations and salaries—subject doubtless to the usual irregularity.

"What struck me most was the universal popularity of music and the theatre. Every club and trade union center has its own entertainments, sometimes musical, sometimes theatrical. The proletariat is a lavish and exacting Maecenas. Walking up the Tverskaia in Moscow one warm Sunday evening, when windows and doors were open, I seemed to hear music everywhere. Now it was a brilliant performance of a Chopin nocturne. A little further on I recognized a familiar theme from one of the later Beethoven quartettes. Next a choir was singing some unknown Russian chorus, and across the way I watched the crowd streaming in to a play of Andreiye's in a trade union club. Sitting one evening at an excellent concert in the former Noble's Hall at Vladimir, a working man turned to me and said in his picturesque way, 'We used to live in the scullery and the drawing-room door was shut. We never knew what was behind it. The revolution broke down the door; and now all this glory is ours.' That is one reason why starving Russia endures in patience."

Of course, as Mr. Brailsford points out, the Soviet Government has been able to realize its program very imperfectly. It would like to build and equip more schools and hospitals; to print more books; to give the children of Russia more and better food. It has been prevented from doing these things solely because of the blockade and the wars which have been forced upon it. What it has already done in the face of almost insuperable difficulties is a forecast and a guaranty of what it will do when it is left free to carry on its beneficent work in peace. Even its present record of achievement, in the education and care of children, certainly challenges comparison, in broad humanity and farsighted wisdom, with the best that has been accomplished in other countries.

These powerfully contrasted pictures of life in Soviet Russia and life in Denikin's Russia make the issue involved in the struggle between the Soviet Government and the counter-revolutionists absolutely clear. It is the issue of civilization against savagery. Compare the hideous shambles of Fastov with the colony at Dyetskoe Selo (formerly Tsarskoe Selo), where all Russian children, without distinction of race or class, are given an equal opportunity to develop, morally, intellectually, physically, and are taught the ideals of brotherhood and internationalism.

In the light of these articles it is not difficult to see why Soviet Russia has survived and triumphed in the face of economic pressure ten times greater than that which shattered the mighty German Empire. The lot of the Russian proletariat has not been easy during the last three years of war and blockade; but, even if it had been much harder the revolutionary workmen of Moscow and Petrograd would never have given up their trade unions, their concerts and theatres, the schools and kindergartens of their children, all the symbols and results of their new liberty,—and bowed their heads beneath the yoke of a Denikin and a Kolchak. In theory and practice the Soviet Government represents the best ideals of generations of heroic revo-

lutionists, just as its counter-revolutionist enemies have emulated the worst crimes of Czarism.

## Trade Union Delegation in Norway

*Social Demokraten*, Christiania, Norway, of Thursday, September 2, prints a photograph of the Russian Trade Union Delegation taken as it arrived at the Christiania railway station. The news item accompanying the photograph ran as follows:

The Russian Trade Union Delegation consisting of fourteen members, representing various trade unions, arrived at Christiania on the train from Trondhjem. At the station there had gathered among others the members of the Central Committee, Tranmael, Scheflo, Stang, Chr. H. Knudsen, in addition to Secretary Knut Engh, chairman of the Christiania Workers' Party, Christian Aamodt, and the chairman of the Joint Trade Union Organization, Edward Mork.

Immediately after their arrival the delegation, accompanied by a number of Norwegian comrades, drove to "Gimle" (a prominent restaurant in Christiania), where lunch was served. In the afternoon a reception dinner was held at Ekeberg. The delegation consists of the following persons:

Theodore Sergejev, head of the Delegation, and member of the All-Russian Union of Transport Workers.

A. Lozovsky, a member of the Presidium of the All-Russian Committee in the Council of Trade Union Organizations.

A. Anselovitz, president of the Petrograd Trade Union Council.

N. Lavrentyev, member of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Organization of Metal Workers.

N. Lebedev, member of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Trade Union of Textile Workers.

D. Antoshkin, member of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Government Employes.

A. Kiselev, president of the All-Russian Miners' Union.

### Bound Volumes for 1920

*Volume II, of which a number of copies, splendidly bound, are still to be obtained by persons desiring them, is sold at five dollars. Check or money order should accompany order. Volume I (June-December, 1919) is sold out and will not be reprinted. Volume III will be bound, with title-page and index, as soon as the issues have all appeared (January 1, 1921). Readers may place orders now for Volume III, and should send the cost of the volume—five dollars—with their orders.*

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 W. 40th St.

New York, N. Y.

## SOVIET RUSSIA

*Official Organ of the*

RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU  
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

ARMENIA is declared by the Allied press to be in need of help. The newspapers speak of the necessity of foreign diplomatic mediations between Armenia and the Turkish Nationalists, although a *New York Times* correspondent, as previously quoted in these columns, had already indicated that Armenia was more likely to seek her salvation by applying for mediation to Soviet Russia, than to expect it from the Allies. Yet the talk continues of rendering aid to Armenia, against the Turkish Nationalists. There has even been mention, in the American press, of a suggestion to the American Red Cross that it make preparations to spend twenty million dollars in Armenia, and twenty million dollars is a sum which certain officials of the American Red Cross declare it is impossible for the organization to spend. Georgia is aided by England directly, with a loan to be advanced on the recommendation of J. Ramsey MacDonald, Thomas Shaw, and other Second International Socialists. There is evidently to be "something doing" in Armenia, and that pretty soon, for while various hostile agencies have been preparing to organize Armenia into a basis of military operations against Soviet Russia, the people of Armenia have taken the matter into their own hands and declared their country to be a Soviet Republic. Georgia and Armenia will therefore probably be the next countries to suffer—as Esthonia, Poland, Lithuania, Finland, Latvia, White Russia, have already suffered—because the Allies feel that they must use small buffer-states as sources of manpower and as "sanitary" zones against any nation in which the working people have cast out the exploiters and set up a dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Allies will try to sit with particular vigor on small states that have established Soviet republics of their own.

Armenia for several decades has been the scene of much suffering. Situated astride a peculiar mountainous plateau, between Transcaucasia on the north, Asia Minor on the west, Mesopotamia on the south, and Persia on the east, its population of about four million (occupying a territory of about 80,000 square miles—about equivalent to the area of the State of Kansas) have had the dubious privilege of dwelling at the very crossroads of the paths of military glory that were pursued by Great Britain, Russia, and Germany. The world knows

to what this condition has exposed the Armenians. They have been the catspaw for every international plotter in Europe. Under the guise of defending these unfortunate people in the practice of their Christian religion, every big commercial intrigue in Europe, for decades, moved its government to advance "assistance to Armenia" as the means of blocking the similar efforts of rivals in other great imperialistic nations. The Czarist Government made itself the "protector" of the Christianity of Armenia's inhabitants, although the Armenians have a church of their own, quite distinct in its practices from the Russian Orthodox Church, and therefore excluding the Armenians from the protectorate claimed by Russia over the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire (a protectorate that could extend, in church matters, only to the Greek Christians in Turkey, who felt no kinship, however, with the Russian neighbor across the Black Sea). Great Britain vigorously resisted this Russian claim; Russia's "protection" of the Armenians would prevent Great Britain from extending similar "protection", and thus Great Britain might be kept back from at least one of the approaches to Turkestan and the Caucasus. Furthermore, if the Turkish massacre of Armenians could assume large enough proportions to justify annexation of Turkish Armenia to the Caucasus, such complete occupation of Armenia by Russia (which already held fully half of the Armenian population in the Southern Caucasus, "Russian Armenia") would have enabled Russian armies, in case of need, to pour freely all over Asiatic Turkey and break a path to the Mediterranean, giving Russia a valuable warm-water naval base at the port of Alexandretta. The unfortunate situation of the population was further aggravated by the fact that, in addition to being wedged in, without a seacoast, at the intersection of the lines of imperial ambitions, it straddled the boundaries of three of the most backward and undeveloped countries in the world: Russia, Turkey, and Persia, for Armenia, like Poland, was not a political entity, but a "divided" area, with Armenians living in Turkey (1,500,000), Russia (1,200,000), and Persia (50,000). To further her design to capture all Armenia for her military needs, Czarist Russia had already, in her exactions from Persia, obtained the actual rule over the Armenians living in that country, although theoretically they remained subject to Persia. England had, in "the strangling of Persia", unwillingly consented to grant Russian primacy in the Armenian field. But England was by no means eager to see Turkish Armenia in Russian hands, since this would have enabled "an imperialistic Russia to conquer Mesopotamia and Syria, thus threatening both the Persian Gulf and the Suez Canal. The same dangers to England would have been involved in an Armenia forming part of a German-controlled Turkish Empire."\*

For the German Empire also had its finger in the pie. The Berlin to Bagdad (and beyond, to the

\* Lathrop Stoddard and Glenn Frank, *The Stakes of the War*, New York, 1918.

Persian Gulf) Railway was a project that could only be secured from a frustrated realization by a Turkey that was strong and undivided, and territorially large enough to enable armies to operate to the north against possible Russian invaders. It was therefore very desirable, from the standpoint of the Kaiser's Germany, that Turkey should retain Armenia as a zone of defense on the north. Had Germany succeeded in retaining her supremacy in Turkey after the "end" of the World War, Armenia would have continued subject to the Ottoman Empire, and exposed to whatever massacres Turkish fanatics might desire to inflict on its population, which would then not have needed to be stimulated by uprisings fomented in Armenia by agents of the Czar's Government.

But a worse fate seems to be in store for Armenia than conquest by a single great power. Armenia may have been singled out for the attentions of the "League of Nations" in its efforts to find a new wall against Soviet Russia.

\* \* \*

FROM a hall in Geneva where frequent speakers are applauded by many delegates, comes news that the "democratic" governments in the "League" (London *Daily Herald*, November 23) are expressing as much concern for the "fate" of Armenia as was once simulated by the diplomats of those great "autocracies" that have now for the most part disappeared. Even lesser nations send representatives who are interested in Armenia. A Serbian delegate on November 22 "proposed to telegraph to all the governments of the world, which would, no doubt, politely express profound sympathy." Lord Robert Cecil and M. Lafontaine joined in a sympathetic discussion, and the French delegate omitted all mention of efforts being made by his government to win over the Turkish Nationalists, estranging them from Soviet Russia, at the price of granting them a free hand in Armenia.

The Soviet Government sent out on November 10 from Moscow the official information that it had offered to mediate between Turkey and Armenia. The Turkish Nationalists had already been so successful in establishing their rule all over the eastern end of Asia Minor, that Armenia was very hard pressed in its efforts to assert some sort of national independence. So critical, indeed, had the situation of the little country become, that an intercession on the part of the Soviet Government, with its powerful neighbor, the Turkish Nationalists, was quite necessary. In its official message of November 10, the Soviet Government further points out that it had not the slightest intention to annex Nakhichevan, Zangezur, Juffa, and Karabag, but was sending out its armies to those border regions, merely in order to protect them until the various questions at issue between Armenia and Azerbaijan might be settled. For, like all new states, both Armenia and Azerbaijan regard all territories concerning which there is the slightest doubt, as their own.

This was by no means the first communication

which the Soviet Government was obliged to address to Armenia, in order to emphasize its desire for peaceful and permanent relations in that part of the world. To guarantee free communications with the Turkish Nationalists, communications vital to the welfare of both the Soviet Government and the Turkish Nationalists, the Soviet Government had already been compelled, on October 25, to send to the Armenian Government an ultimatum demanding the following concessions: (1) that the Armenian Government grant to the troops of Soviet Russia, of the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic, and of the Turkish Nationalists, free utilization of the Armenian railroads; (2) that the Armenian Government refuse to recognize the Sevres Treaty and break off diplomatic relations with the Entente powers; (3) that Armenia submit its dispute as to boundaries with Turkey, to the Soviet Government; (4) in case of an acceptance of this ultimatum, and a fulfilment of its conditions, the border territories of Zangezur and Karabag, at present occupied by Soviet troops, should be ceded to Armenia. It was at first reported that the Armenian cabinet had rejected these conditions, but there is now every reason to believe that, with the exception of certain inconsiderable border strips, the entire territory of Armenia has set up a government of the Soviet type, and that this government will not only be ready to accept mediation with its neighbors, as offered by the Soviet Government, but will form an open alliance with the Soviet Government, following the example set by the Soviet Government of Azerbaijan.

Meanwhile, as Armenia has set up her own Soviet Government, and as the League of Nations officials have faith in the truth of the report to that effect, the newspapers print Geneva dispatches explaining how very difficult it would be, under the altered circumstances, to continue the negotiations with Arabunian, Armenian representative at Geneva, for admitting Armenia to the League of Nations. Armenia is now ready for a real solution of its nationality question. As a Soviet Government, there will be no reason for its government to oppress any but the oppressors; the Armenian people are now engaged in the process of eliminating their exploiters. No arrangement of the League of Nations, no balance of power "protection" of a "Christian people" could have attained this end.

\* \* \*

WE mean to keep our promise not to make further mention of Mr. Wells' articles on Soviet Russia, but do not assume that our readers will insist that we omit to deal with the lucubrations of Mr. John Spargo in his voluminous answers to Mr. Wells. Very characteristic of Mr. Spargo's method is the manner in which he quotes—in his article "H. G. Wells in the Russian Shadow", *The New York Times*, December 5—from the columns of SOVIET RUSSIA. He excerpts the following, which he considers particularly damaging to the Russian experiment in Communism, from the articles of Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt, which, as our

readers will recall, appeared in SOVIET RUSSIA in eight instalments, ending last month:

There is at any rate no Socialism at Moscow as yet. There also is no communism. \* \* \* There is but the Communist Party. \* \* \* The people are exhausted by suffering. There are plenty of beggars. Hope for happiness in this world seems to have gone. Religious feeling is growing. People expect happiness in the future, in heaven. The churches are filled from morning till night. Religious processions are often to be seen. \* \* \* The factories are idle. Industries are dead. The workmen are hypnotized and they are waiting for something to happen."

Our readers will remember the general tone of Dr. Goldschmidt's articles, and may judge for themselves whether this method of quoting detached sentences, as if they were all from one paragraph, is an honest method. Not long ago Mr. Spargo used this same peculiar mode of securing apparent support from the lips of those favorable to the Soviet Government by quoting what seemed to be words of sharp criticism against that government, from a book called "Bolshevik Russia", by Etienne Antonelli. Mr. Harold Kellock, reviewing the Spargo book containing the "quotation" from Antonelli, pointed out in *The Freeman* not long ago that Mr. Spargo had carefully refrained from quoting the sentence immediately following, in Antonelli's book, which completely reversed the seemingly hostile statement to one decidedly favorable to the Soviet Government. Far be it from us to ask Mr. Spargo to revise his literary method: changes of this kind would perhaps require him to work more slowly and to turn out fewer volumes. They succeed each other now with such rapidity that it is impossible to keep track of them, and it almost begins to look as if Mr. Spargo expected to be rewarded more for the quantity than for the quality of his books.

THE October-November issue of the *Russian Cooperator*, published in London, has come to hand. This publication of the former officials of the Russian cooperative organizations complains of the decrees of the Soviet Government concerning the nationalization of cooperative societies. Such complaints coming from advocates of cooperation pure and simple would be quite intelligible; coming from persons, however, who claim to be Socialists, these grievances betray a misconception of the position of a Socialist republic towards cooperation.

Under the capitalistic system, consumers' and producers' cooperative societies have been viewed as steps in the direction of socialization of trade and industry. In a socialist republic, however, such as Soviet Russia, cooperative organizations represent a remnant of the individualistic economic system. A consumers' cooperative society is nothing but a joint stock company composed of a large number of shareholders. As far as the outside public is concerned there is no difference between a department store owned by a corporation consisting of a hundred stockholders and one owned by a million shareholders. In either case it is not a public, but a private business, for the benefit of its

owners. The Soviet Government, having set itself the task of socialization of industry, quite consistently with its general policy decreed the nationalization of a chain of a few scores of thousands of department stores and mail order houses operating throughout the vast territory of Russia,—for that is what the All-Russian Cooperative Society actually was before its nationalization by the Soviet Government. From the point of view of an advocate of private ownership in industry this decree was indefensible, but if one accepts the Socialist principle underlying the socialization of banks, railways, express companies, and other distributive agencies, what objection can there be to the socialization of a widely ramified system of retail stores? The decree of the Soviet Government by which the cooperatives were nationalized extended to every member of the community the benefits which had formerly been the privilege of those of its members only who were shareholders of the local cooperative society.

THE following item in the characteristically pregnant style of the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* is taken from the November 4 issue of that paper:

The *Chugai Shogyo* tells an extraordinary tale of fifty Bolsheviks attempting to capture the Russian Volunteer Fleet steamer Simbirsk at Nagasaki. The Japanese police were called in, and the Bolsheviks were compelled to "withdraw." There are now thirty Japanese on board. It might be a parable in miniature of Russia.

ANOTHER item, from the same issue of the same weekly, proves that rumors circulate as swiftly and as irresponsibly in Japan as elsewhere:

Five famous Bolshevik statesmen, at present holding high positions under the Soviet Government of Russia, will be visiting Japan in a few days, states the *Hochi*, which claims to have learnt this news from a semi-official source.

According to the paper, the Soviet statesmen left Vladivostok for Tsuruga a fortnight ago. The police, states the paper are keeping a strict lookout for them, but they have not yet been located. They are supposed to be aboard a steamer at either Tsuruga or at Shimonoseki.

FILMS of recent events in Russia would probably be just as interesting to American movie-fans as to the same class in other countries. Mr. Wells says he brought back to England with him a five-reel film of ceremonies and events in connection with the Baku Congress but that he intends to exhibit it very discreetly and to hardened audiences only. We confess we have heard of many reels of Soviet Russian films that have been brought to America at various times during the last two years—in fact, we know of some—but have never had an opportunity to see any on the screen. It naturally makes us envious of Norwegian theater-goers when we read this advertisement in a Christiania daily:

"Great Russian Meeting, Park Theater, Sunday, November 7th, 10.30 A. M. Music, Lecture by Karl Johansen, and Projection of the well-known Film from Soviet Russia."

## Sowers in Seedtime

By JOHN S. CLARKE

"What is that you are whistling?" I asked, "a last verse of 'The Internationale'?"

"No," he replied with a wry smile, "a new verse of the Red Flag."

We were curious and he obliged us with the words:

The people's flag is palest pink,  
It's not so red as you might think;  
We've been to see, and now we know  
They've been and changed its color so."

—Mrs. Philip Snowden on Russia.

Over-confidence, vanity, an exaggerated self-importance and love of power are defects of character which mark the Britisher, and especially the British militarist, as distinct from other men. Often they lead him along those paths "where angels fear to tread," with the result that if that same "providence" which safeguards drunkards and "weans", permits him to "muddle through" to the goal he is after, he gets the credit for qualities of mind and character which he doesn't possess. More often than not, however, he only succeeds in making a fool of himself. The Britisher is, par excellence, Shakespeare's:

"Man, proud man, dressed in a little brief authority!  
Most ignorant of what he is most assured—  
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,  
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven  
As make the angels weep!"

One cannot help remarking while living in Russia that whatever the clever educated Bolshevik thinks of the men of other nations, he is fairly satisfied on one point—that the Britisher is, nine times out of ten, a hopeless clown.

At Petrozavodsk I was shown the natural stage setting of a neat little comedy enacted there some few months before. About two miles westward from the station the ground rises abruptly, and on the crest of the rise there is a wood. Behind this wood the army, advancing on Petrozavodsk, bivouacked one eventful night, and its British and White Finnish commanders gazed through their glasses upon the peaceful looking little town sloping down to the clear blue water of Lake Onega. As they sat at a boxing match, "everything was up bar the shouting"; the prize was before them, there was no reason to worry or to hurry. They sent word, accordingly, that the "official entry" would take place on the following morning. Instructions were given to the effect that the church bells were to be rung, and that a respectful order had to be observed by the populace during the triumphal entry. Alack-a-day! Petrozavodsk was never taken. Something went "agley" with the attackers' best laid schemes—the "something" being the stupid obstinacy of the Red Army reinforcements already entrenched to the north and south, and occupying every strategic position in the town itself.

God's Englishmen and Scotchmen, with their Finno-Russian allies, consequently were, by obvious malice aforethought on the part of their stubborn

enemies, denied their little circus, for instead of entering the town they re-entered the wood and began to run, and, for all I know to the contrary, they are running yet. The "taking" of Petrozavodsk is one of the humors of the North Russian campaign.

On the station platform there stands, mounted on a pedestal, an aerial torpedo, brazenly embellished with British broad-arrows. It was dropped on the spot, but proved itself to be a most disappointing "dud". It stands there a perpetual reminder of the perfidy of a people who fought a war in the cause of "self-determination". Gallant men lost their lives, certainly, in the defence of their town, and their bodies now rest at the head of the main street in a little railed-off enclosure. The graves are kept neatly trimmed, and the names of the fallen are inscribed in white lettering upon scarlet pennons which droop o'er the sward above them. Petrozavodsk is very old, but it is clean and its wooden buildings are arranged upon a definite plan, forming streets, brutally paved and tiring to both man and beast. There are stone buildings, too. One very conspicuous with its high-walled, high-gated quadrangle, stands upon a knoll overlooking a stream, and commands the most elevated part of the town. This is the grey-walled, red-tiled prison. Many years ago, Telsiev, the revolutionary, comprised in the trial of Niechayev, was imprisoned in this building. This was long before a railway from Petersburg was even thought of. In those days escape from the dungeon itself was the least embarrassing difficulty a prisoner had to contend with. Many, many versts of wild, inhospitable country had to be traversed before safety and civilization were won, and with hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger of recapture with its flogging and chain-wearing penalties, as constant companions, Telsiev succeeded in escaping from prison, and the man who engineered his escape was the poet-revolutionary, Demetrius Clemens.

The story as told by Stepniak is as follows:

"Clemens went there with false papers, as an engineer employed to make certain geological researches in Finland. He presented himself to all the authorities under the pretext of asking for the necessary information, and succeeded in fascinating all of them. For a whole week he remained at Petrozavodsk, and was the town-talk, people rivalling each other in entertaining him. Having quietly organized the escape of Telsiev, he departed in company with him, so as not to subject him to the risks of travelling alone. Notwithstanding this, Clemens played his part so well that no one at Petrozavodsk in the least suspected that he had anything to do with the matter. A year afterwards, in fact, one of his friends was passing through the same town, and the Ispravnik asked him whether he knew a certain engineer named Sturm (Clemens' false name), and after having told the most marvelous stories respecting his stay at Petrozavodsk, added: 'A very worthy man. He promised to pay us a visit when he returned from Finland, but we have not seen him since. More's the pity. Perhaps he returned by sea.'"

And, we might add, perhaps he didn't!

The present occupants of the more comfortable apartments of the prison are soldiers of the Red Army; of the cells—counter-revolutionaries and “speculators”, but not many of them.

I spent two whole days at Petrozavodsk. The first occasion was with Gallacher, our American friend, and courier. We were all famished for want of food, and it was impossible to buy even an apple. We begged the courier, a Russian Finn, to find where the local Soviet offices were, but when it eventually dawned upon him that it was food we were after he became a trifle shamefaced. Doubtless he boggled at the idea of soliciting food for visitors in a town where food was so fearfully scarce. Accordingly we wandered about for hours before anything was done, our stomachs meanwhile sagging further and further inwards. At last I struck the office of the local Communist newspaper, and Gallacher dragged the courier upstairs, and with his assistance, supplemented by the prehistoric gesture-language in which weird manipulation of the mouth and stomach played the chief part, we made known our wants.

There was plenty of merry, musical laughter at our predicament from the comrades male and female, but in less than no time we were given a note requesting the officials at the Communal Eating-house to provide us with dinner.

Once outside the newspaper office Gallacher, whose crustiness all morning unfortunately had been of the inedible kind, looked purple-faced at the courier, and informed him in most emphatic diction that as an authority on Bolshevism he might be a creditable asset to the Russian State, “but as a grub-finder,” said he, “you’re a God-damned failure!”

The courier, not being able to understand a word of the harangue, took it as a grateful man’s compliment and smiled delightedly, which made the unreasonable William grow purpler.

Reader, have you ever lived in the desert for two weeks on stale bread and margarine with periodical nibbles at a piece of cheese to give a touch of variety and piquancy to your appalling monotonous diet, and, after dreaming at night and visualizing in daytime scenes of “glorious banquets spread,” in which roast beef and Yorkshire pudding, mince pies and haggis, potatoes and greens, ham and eggs, etc., danced on the table before you, have you then been handed a note authorizing a cookshop to give you a “dinner”? Perhaps you are not a “gross materialist”. Perhaps you are a vegetarian. We were not, and when we ravenously followed our guide through the streets an onlooker might have noticed upon our faces “the smile that won’t come off.”

And it didn’t come off, either—till fact once again exploded the fancy created by a golden anticipation. Alas! my poor brother Gallacher! His sweet smile haunts me still.

On entering the restaurant we were handed a metal check, which had to be given up on receipt of the meal. This consisted of very watery fish soup; hideously black bread of pudding-like con-

sistency and which, judging from the flavor, appeared to have been immersed in Epsom salts’ solution; and boiled rice with a portion of evil-smelling fish. We did not eat it, for our hunger disappeared after the first few mouthfuls. When it was learned that we were British an excited, interested crowd of diners hastened to our table and engaged us in a kind of rag-time conversation. A young woman of marked refinement acted as interpreter, and plied us with question after question concerning the attitude of British Labor on Russia, the possibilities of a French military alliance with Poland, and the comparative class-consciousness of British and French workmen. To the best of our ability we told them the blunt, cruel, heart-rending facts—that there was no immediate possibility of a social revolution in either France or Britain, but that British labor, quiescent as it was, was much more militant than French labor—the French proletariat being more under the influence of the Chauvinists. A painful episode occurred during the interrogation. A Bolshevik propagandist entered, and, seating himself beside me, began to question me in halting broken English on the conditions of life in Britain. “Have you real *white* flour?” he queried, “and sugar?—and meat?—and jam?” At each affirmative reply his eyes appeared to protrude a little further from their sockets, until they welled up and exuded the glistening tears of longing and hope deferred. Then he smiled and embraced me, and said without one trace of emotion, “Some day you will not have these—for a time—but *you will have freedom*, then you will come to us.”

Picking up his portfolio he went away—to spread the gospel in village and farmstead, out under the open sky, with an enthusiasm born of unselfishness and nourished on victory, walking mile after mile to do it, unwearingly and gladly.

Welcomed? Yes! for the peasantry of the north love the orator. Never before have they been treated with such distinction as to have sent to them—to themselves, peasants, *muzhiks*—trained, educated, and gifted orators whose impassioned words stir the soul and invest it with a new-born dignity.

Potent indeed is the propagandist of the north, for here, above all other districts of Russia, have the imaginative qualities of the people been preserved—fostered by the tumultuous elements that breed unorthodox gods. Here still flourishes *Domovoi*, the demon of the household, never seen except by the biggest liar in the village; *Ovinnik*, the demon of the barn, who sits in the darkest corner and bides his time to set it afire; *Leshi*, the demon of the wood, who is taller than the tallest tree, yet hides himself under a leaf in order to seduce the virgins; *Polevoi*, the field spirit, who comes forth at midday and breaks the tools for sheer mischief; *Vodianoï*, demons of the waters, who haunt the lakes and swamps to drown evil persons who forget to wear the cross, and whose companions in mischief are the *Roussalki*—female “fairies” who tear the fishermen’s nets, and who are really beautiful girls who have drowned themselves because



crossed in love. Folklore in plenty is picked up in Russia, but most of all in the north. Slowly but surely such superstitious fancy, encouraged by parasites and aided and abetted in the old days by vodka, is being displaced by the equally charming but more truthful pictures of science and its myriad wonders. For monsters who break machinery and tools, knowledge of how to care for and thus prevent accidents to, and of how to repair them is being substituted. For grovelling superstition—practical science; for pious fear—self-reliance; for primitive parochial Communism—the World Revolution and World Communism. Such is the titanic task of the propagandist—but he is winning all the time.

Miserably wretched indeed was the lot of the Russian peasant under the old regime. He has been the theme of hundreds of story-writers, essayists, poets, dramatists, and itinerant journalists. His disgusting appearance, his pronouncedly objectionable smell, his verminous condition, his immeasurable stupidity and sordid ignorance, have been labored by sympathetic and unsympathetic observers alike. The most abandoned aborigine living in that never-never land beyond the tangled jungles of the Congo, the Niger, or the Zambesi is better off economically, physically, and morally than was that poor deluded famine-stricken beast of labor the Russian *muzhik* under Czardom.

Here is a pen-picture of his *izba* or "biggin" by Dr. Kennard, who, during a medical career practiced in Russia visited over fifteen hundred peasant patients:

"There lies the door, a massive piece of timber four feet high, surmounted by a solid beam; a triangular piece of iron the handle. Pushing this door open, we step over the threshold, at the same time bending low for fear that our brains shall be dashed out against the lop-sided trunk overarching the narrow entrance. Clang goes the door and we find ourselves . . . enveloped beyond ankles in farmyard slush . . . Between our legs rushes in head-long flight some animal we take to be a pig, while others and a terror stricken goat and alarmed fowls scatter themselves this way and that. Puddles of insanitary messes reflect a dull light while from the same pools of filth rises an unutterable stench.

Wait!—that door at the side leads apparently into another apartment, if we can speak thus respectfully of this insanitary den. We push and push again at this solid wooden structure, rather larger than the corresponding outside one; but our efforts are of no avail till aid from the inside is afforded us, and the door bursts open, exposing us to such an atmosphere that drives us back into the darkness of the outside room—rolls of vapour; impregnated with the most unutterable odors; superheated, dense, vitiated, unventilated streams of air rush through the outlet afforded by the open door, enveloping us in such an indescribable stench that we can do nothing more than gasp in horror, and cover our noses with our hands in vain attempts to shut out the evil smell! We are permeated through and through by the death-laden gust of abomination, and are filled with a feeling of unutterable repulsion that temporarily deprives us of power and courage to proceed."

Such is only one aspect of the life endured by these children of the cimberian night of unbridled autocracy. The mortality from disease spread by the loathsome body-vermin was enormous; the drunkenness appalling—and studiously encouraged

by the State, which derived a tremendous revenue from the sale of its monopoly vodka—and the illiteracy lamentable to contemplate. Only from two to four per cent of Russia's eighty-eight millions of peasants could read or write.

The propagandists of the Russian Communist Party, veritable evangelists of the light, for "there is no darkness but ignorance," are altering all this as surely as the blackened skies are put to flight by the blood-hued "hunter of the east."

Illiteracy is being driven forth like an Ishmael for every man's hand is against it as the most sinister enemy of the human race. I have before me, as I write, a dozen posters carried by the Communist missionaries, each containing but a few words addressed to all who are able to read them, and making an appeal that is not made in vain. Free translations of some of them read: "Illiteracy is the sister to destruction!" "Nobody must be ignorant!" "Literate! It is your duty and obligation to teach the illiterate!" "Education is the road to Communism!" and so on.

Special schools and universities have been opened by the Soviet Government for peasant instruction, not only in the three "R's" but in domestic hygiene, agricultural science, and social refinement. I have a photograph of an old peasant student at work in his own room at the Moscow college for peasants which speaks volumes for the righteousness of the old proverb, "It is never too late to mend!"

Very large and graphically illustrated posters teaching correct methods of agriculture, soil preparation, manuring, crop-rotation, bacteriology, etc., are carried to every isolated farmstead and village community by the propagandists. The specimens before me has excited the admiration of several British printers for its exquisite colored-litho work. Compare such pictures, freely distributed by the present government, with the type of picture (not counting the *ikons*) scattered broadcast by the Czarist Government. Kennard, himself, describes two of them:

"Pictures adorning the walls of a peasant *izba* invariably include an old dust-begrimmed, moth-eaten representation of Alexander II, the Emancipator of the Serfs, and also a cheap engraving, distributed broadcast throughout Russia by the government of the reigning Czar. Sometimes may be seen great flaring, vulgar designs, generally in brilliant red, depicting the devil dealing out judgment to peasants after death for all their sins, those sins being generally pictorially represented. Another will show a room, on the wall of which hangs a large portrait of the Czar. In front of this kneel in reverent attitude peasantry crossing themselves, a mass of peasantry, but one—the Wicked One—will be seen standing in an attitude of defiance. What is the result?

"To the right of the picture will be seen another dreadfully impressive scene, which does not fail to have its due effect on the unfortunate Russian peasant. In that picture is seen a large foaming cauldron, by the side of which stands the devil in brilliant red, holding a long three-pronged fork in his hand. With this he is prodding some unfortunate object which sits in the cauldron being slowly boiled; the object is seen to be the unfortunate *muzhik*, while a legend in large letters reads 'eternal fire!' These

pictures, too are distributed by an enlightened (?) Government."

We saw the products of such "teaching", scores upon scores of them; the look of low cunning and animal fear still lurking in their eyes; the round shoulders and shuffling gait marking their submission to an authority accepted without question; the brand of the savage fetish-worshipper stamped upon their dull and unintelligent brows. Human beings bred to degeneracy and wedded to misery by a deliberate and calculated system of government bureaucracy, wielded by the medieval and bloody autocracy—that Mrs. Snowden spends an entire chapter of her book in pitying because its blasting, pestilential breath has been strangled from its rotten body. They spoke of the peasantry as the "dark people", and dark people they were, living a dark existence in the twentieth century which to them was darker than the dark ages of Britain. The warped and twisted minds mechanically reflecting the ideology of fourth century barbarians are being treated by the physicians of a twentieth century Marxian science. The eagerness with which they snatch at the minutest crumbs of knowledge, and the visible improvement already manifested through the recognition of the earth-foundation facts which are displacing sky-haunting phantoms, are auguries of the ultimate success of such treatment.

So this augean stable is being cleansed; systematically and thoroughly the pestiferous filth

which, bred by and accumulated under a vicious and degrading despotism of a thousand years, perverted the mind and distorted the body of the Muscovite peasant, is being destroyed by the harbingers of a glorious futurity. All honor to them! Not theirs the privilege to labor in capitals where the thunder of their oratory and the miracle of their deeds are spoken of by the multitude until the uttermost ends of the earth hear of them. Nay, theirs to toil in obscurity with the spectres of want and depression stalking forever by their sides, kept at bay by the godly jewel of an unselfish optimism cherished by them in their unconquerable hearts. Their flag is pink, pale, pale pink. Wonderful that it is so! They found it a sickly, treacherous, Kerensky yellow, and in three short years by herculean toil, rapt endeavor, and incomparable devotion to Right, they have changed its color to pink, nor will they rest until by indefatigable exertions they have made it red—red as the noble blood they are ever ready and willing to shed for it.

"All that they have done but earnest of the things they shall do," for they are but the sowers, sowing in a cataclysmic seedtime, in a soil corrupted by bad husbandry of past ages and rank with inherited weeds, but they know, and the knowledge is their priceless reward, that from the noble seed they scatter shall spring, and grow, and blossom the sacred trees from which all humankind shall one day pluck the now forbidden fruit of Freedom.

## Kalmykov's Last Days

(From a recent issue of a Siberian newspaper.)

THE Russian mission at Peking, which has now been abolished by a presidential decree, issued a collection of interesting documents relating to Attaman Kalmykov's stay on Chinese territory after his flight from Khabarovsk. Although the documents were apparently selected with a view to clearing the mission as a whole of any suspicion of complicity in the last deeds of Kalmykov, nevertheless the whole story, the circumstances surrounding it, and the part played by the Kirin Consulate, are not at all uninteresting.

The documents depict as follows Kalmykov's sojourn in China and his death.

On February 19, the Kharbin Consul Popov informed Kudashev, on the basis of a report from the border commissar Kuzmin, of Kalmykov's flight from Khabarovsk to Chinese territory. In connection with this telegram Kudashev wired to the diplomatic official Kurenkov, at Vladivostok, that "Kalmykov's arrest could take place only at the request of the judicial authorities, and documents corroborating the charge would have to be presented." Kudashev added the following remark: "Of course, the case must bear a purely criminal aspect and not a political one."

The impression is then conveyed that the mission had no other documents relating to Kalmykov, before April 28. Only on that date the consul at

Kirin, V. A. Bratzov, wired to Peking, to Kudashev, that "Attaman Kalmykov and Kolchak's adjutant, second rank Captain Bezuar, are in Kirin under arrest, a fact which is kept secret by the Chinese."

In reply to Kudashev's suggestion to ascertain the facts of the case, Consul Bratzov sent a long report on May 2, from which we quote the most essential parts:

"The Commissar for Foreign Affairs informed me that the arrest took place by order of General Bao-Gui-Tsin. With the permission of the chief of staff of the troops, I met the prisoners yesterday in the local headquarters of the gendarmerie. I found that the prisoners were: Major-General of the Ussuryi cossack troops, Ivan Pavlovich Kalmykov, and Captain of the first rank of the Russian Navy, Vassili Viktorovich Bezuar. The circumstances of their arrest, as they told them to me, are as follows. After the retreat from Khabarovsk, Kalmykov crossed the Chinese border with his force, and arrived, on February 27, at Fugdin, where he voluntarily surrendered his arms to the Chinese authorities. He met with a very friendly reception. On March 7 Kalmykov was informed that he had permission to leave for Kharbin, and on March 8 Kalmykov, his adjutant Klok, General Sukhodolsky, and Bezuar, received an invitation from the commander, General Li, to a dinner

which, as Kalmykov understood, was being given on the occasion of their leaving.

"About 3 o'clock in the afternoon these invited guests arrived at the residence of the commander, who did not receive them, and were shown into an empty room, without any sign whatever of a coming dinner. A few hours passed, and no dinner was offered them. During this time General Li came in for a minute, greeted them coldly, wrote something on a piece of paper, and left at once. About 8 o'clock in the evening, Chinese gendarmes came in and began to search the "guests". On Kalmykov's inquiry: "Are we under arrest?" the gendarmes replied in the negative, explaining that they were only being guarded. At 9 o'clock General Li came and stated that by orders from Kirin, Kalmykov and his companions must be detained, owing to a request from the Bolsheviks. Kalmykov explained to General Li that an account for the gold which he carried away would be given to the Russian ambassador at Peking or to the All-Russian Government, or, if necessary, to an international commission. According to Kalmykov, he had buried the gold in a safe place. On March 25, General Li announced to the prisoners that they would be sent to Kirin. A few days before this—on March 21—General Sukhodolsky died of an acute mental derangement. On March 27, Kalmykov and Bezuar were sent under guard to Kirin, whither they arrived on April 16. The prisoners were placed under extremely harsh discipline, very much more severe than the regime in concentration camps. As to Kalmykov's force, a part of it melted away, and the other part was sent to Lakhasusa and turned over to the Bolsheviks."

In a report to Kudashev, of May 16, Consul Bratzov, among other things, states that "Kalmykov's state of health, particularly his nervous system, is very feeble. He is always in an excited state, which takes such an acute form that he positively cannot stand the sight of a Chinese." On May 22 Kudashev, quoting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informed Bratzov that the Chinese consider Kalmykov as an interned combatant who has taken refuge in a country which has declared its neutrality toward Russia. As to Captain Bezuar, the Chinese promised to release him, "since this will not place the Chinese in so difficult and disagreeable a position as would the release of Kalmykov."

While Prince Kudashev began taking steps to obtain the release of the prisoners, he received the following statement from the Norwegian ambassador at Peking, dated July 9:

"In 1918 the Swedish Red Cross despatched an expedition to Siberia, on whose staff, among others, were the Norwegian subject Dr. Obshaug and the Swedish subject Dr. Hedbloom. In the month of May these persons were placed under arrest by order of Kalmykov, but they were later released at Kharbin, and 273,000 rubles were then taken away from them. In October of the same year Kalmykov once more put them under arrest, charging them with espionage, took from them

1,600,000 rubles which belonged to the Swedish Red Cross, and after this they were hanged by order of Kalmykov in the same car in which they had been held under arrest. The order for the execution was handed to the guard of the prisoners by Ensign Salamakhin and Corporal Evreyinov. The execution was carried out by a Serbian (a deserter), whose name was Ulenek, one of the guard, and by another person whose name is not known. The corpses were carried away in an automobile, and some distance away they were thrown into a ditch near the road and the ditch was filled up. The automobile was driven by Military Cadet Kazygirey, of Khabarovsk, who it is said, is now at Vladivostok." The Norwegian Consul stated further that he had taken steps to have Kalmykov punished.

Apparently, the action of the Norwegian Consul much complicated Kalmykov's case, but on July 16 Consul Bratzov sent to Kudashev the following telegram: "Kalmykov disappeared while he was visiting the consulates. The Chinese demand his surrender. The consulate is surrounded by troops. Gendarmes have been placed in the consulate. Please send instructions to Kuanichentzy."

In his reply to this telegram, Kudashev among other things stated: "I have just succeeded in persuading the Chinese Government to leave Kalmykov at Kirin, instead of surrendering him to the judicial authorities of Vladivostok, where he might also be persecuted on many other charges, and besides under the present tense state of mind it would be hard to guarantee his personal safety even for the short period before his surrender to the judicial authorities."

In a communication to Kudashev, of July 21, Consul Bratzov stated that "Kalmykov's hiding place is not known to the consulate." Kalmykov's disappearance was narrated as follows in the report of the *Dutzun* of Kirin: On the 13th (of July) Kalmykov asked permission to visit the Russian Consulate. He was accompanied by an adjutant, a diplomatic official, and gendarmes. Because Kalmykov stayed too long in the toilet, Chinese officials entered it, but they found no one there. In reply to a report of this occurrence an order was received from Peking to do everything to find Kalmykov, and to kill him if he should offer resistance.

It should be noted that Kalmykov and Bezuar visited the consulate every week, where they enjoyed the orchard, "drank tea", took away books, and in general were well looked after.

On July 29, Consul Bratzov, in reply to an inquiry from Kudashev, sent him a detailed report of the circumstances of Kalmykov's disappearance. This report is a masterpiece of pretense and insolence. From this standpoint, the report is interesting in itself, but we shall quote from it only the part which has a direct bearing on our subject.

Speaking of the attention shown to Kalmykov and Bezuar, the Consul, among other things, writes: "Your Excellency will perhaps kindly bear in mind that *I had no reason whatever to consider Kalmy-*

*kov and Bezuar as criminals*, and I had therefore treated them with corresponding attention, *following to the letter your instructions* to mitigate the fate of Kalmykov (and hence also of Bezuar). Of course, had I known that Kalmykov was a serious criminal I would not have received him in the consulate."

Then Consul Bratzov and Vice-Consul Luchich—who, by the way, was a friend of Bezuar—spread a story that Kalmykov was taken away by the Japanese. The Chinese did not believe this story, and apparently were not very friendly to the consulate. Thus, in a telegram dated July 22, Consul Bratzov writes: "The position of the consulate is humiliating. I have been placed under a house arrest. I beg you to take immediate steps for our protection."

Kudashev, however, acted very cautiously. He sent the Mukden Consul Kolokolov to investigate the whole affair. In addition to the official investigation, Kudashev requested Bratzov to come to Peking for a personal explanation. But Bratzov was forced to reply: "The Chinese do not allow me to leave. The consulate is completely cut off, as if it were blockaded."

The memorial of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs of August 10 mentions, among other things, that before Attaman Kalmykov went to the consulate it was falsely asserted there that Bratzov, who was absent from Kirin, was sure to be back by the time of Kalmykov's visit to the consulate. When Kalmykov, on July 13, left for the consulate, the Vice-Consul had just received a telegram from Chanchun from the Consul, which stated that he "will return today and commissions (the Vice-Consul) to receive the guests for him." Yet, after looking up the telegram and after a personal examination of the consulate's interpreter, Mr. Luby, Consul-General Kolokolov, it was ascertained that the telegram was sent on the 11th. Thus, Consul Bratzov first claimed that he would return, arranging thereby that the attaman's visit to the consulate should take place, and then tried to disclaim responsibility, pleading the excuse that he had not returned. In addition it was ascertained at the telegraph office that Bratzov had sent from Chanchun the following telegram: "Will arrive tonight with money. Please take measures to help unhindered leave."

This telegram, it seems, definitely convinced the Chinese of the complicity of Consul Bratzov and Vice-Consul Luchich in Kalmykov's disappearance, and for this reason both were held at Kirin for trial.

On August 30 the consulate at Kuan-chen-tsi sent to Kudashev at Peking the following telegram: "Information received that Attaman Kalmykov was arrested by the Chinese authorities in the building of the consulate at Kirin. All Chinese employed at the consulate were subjected to an examination and a beating for their complicity." Bratzov himself reported on August 30 as follows: "On August 25, Chinese troops entered the consulate. The same day they found Kalmykov in one of the con-

sulate buildings. The activity of the consulate has been suspended by the Chinese authorities, and the keys taken away. Luchich and myself have been placed at his residence under surveillance of Chinese officers and soldiers."

Bratzov further asked what he should do. On September, he received the following reply from Kudashev:

"Your criminal negligence in not carrying out my categorical orders has led to your present situation. You compromised the whole Russian representation in China, you have put in a hole everyone connected with you. Of the consequence you will learn in due time."

This ends the documents. A special postscript adds that according to reports from Chinese sources, "Kalmykov was killed on the way to Chanchun by the soldiers who accompanied him while he was trying to escape. Captain Bezuar is still at Kirin."—*Novosti Zhizn*, of Kharbin, October, 21, 1920.

## In Revolutionary Russia

By CLARA ZETKIN

(From a recent issue of "Die Rote Fahne", Vienna.)

THE most gigantic revolution known to history is taking place in Russia today. Only the very innocent in politics can conceive a possibility of the overthrow of capitalism and the first steps in Communism, without error and confusion, without missteps and mistakes, without experimenting and groping in the dark. It would be against human nature if even the proletarian masses did not grumble and find fault, and sharply criticize on occasion some of the measures undertaken by the Soviet Government, if they did not severely condemn some of the happenings and phenomena under the Soviets. However, this is the significant thing: The most cruel cares and hardships have not destroyed the firm faith of the Russian proletariat as a whole in the great work of the Revolution, in the superiority of the Soviet regime, or shaken their most exalted and devoted trust in the great leaders. The Russian proletariat does not blame the Revolution or the Soviet regime, nor "the aims and methods of the Tartar 'Pseudo-Socialism,'" for all its suffering. Quite the contrary: they are consciously bearing this suffering as a part of the inevitable sacrifices in their revolutionary struggle for freedom from the yoke of capitalism. They know that they are not suffering privations under the scorpions of capitalist exploitation, that their hunger and toil is not making the rich richer, but is lifting a new, great world, free from slavery and exploitation, out of the seething chaos of today.

It is this conviction which gives to the Russian working masses their unexampled historic greatness, their creative force. It is not a weary, slavish

resignation, not a thoughtless yielding, not an indifferent spirit of lassitude. It is the suffering and enduring of action, martyrdom which consciously becomes heroism. It is the revolutionary fighting spirit, the revolutionary spirit of resistance. Those hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants who rally to the defense with every new mobilization, are proving it beyond a doubt, as they willingly undergo new privations, hardships, and dangers in order to defend Soviet Russia against a world of enemies. It is the highest revolutionary spirit of embattled self-assertion, which makes the Russian proletariat grit its teeth and desire: Soviet Russia shall live, even though we die for it.

What pathetic wooden souls those shrewd scientists and ripe old experts are who were able to pass through revolutionary Russia without being touched in the slightest by the revolutionary spirit which made of the Russian masses the militant vanguard of the disinherited millions of the whole world. This spirit not only pervades the streets and squares of Moscow and Petrograd, when the masses, men, women and children, unite in jubilant demonstrations, under the flowing red banners and to the strains of the Internationale; but to all who are not willfully blind this spirit is visible in every manifestation of the people which speaks of their determined and enthusiastic struggle to build up a free Communist Russia.

There is, for example, the Field of Mars, where the victims of the Revolution and the veteran revolutionaries killed by the counter-revolution, Volodarski, Uritzki, and others, lie buried. A great, wide field. For the last May Day celebration the ground was tilled and planted with 60,000 trees and shrubs, voluntarily and without remuneration, by the Petrograd proletarian men and women, who had suffered all the horrors, the hunger and the cold of the frightful defensive battle against Yudenich. The Mars Field is to be a beautiful park. There is not a cipher too many. I mean literally sixty thousand trees and shrubs, planted as a voluntary work of love for a park, whose cooling shade, soothing green and merry twitter of birds will some day benefit the children and grandchildren of these enthusiastic May Day workers. Such large scale plans and large scale deeds can only be carried out by a people certain of their future, filled with the revolutionary spirit and the highest idealism, not by an apathetic mass, yielding to brutal terror, nor a clique of exploiters and robber barons, whose motto is: After us the deluge.

And what unbending, iron revolutionary will speaks through the Communist Saturday and Sunday work! This voluntary, unremunerated work which soon came to be regarded as due to the party as a matter of course, and matter of party honor, was inaugurated by thousands of the best and staunchest Communists. Today uncounted thousands all over Russia devote their Saturdays and Sundays to work in the factories, the hospitals and public institutions, or they go out into the forests to assist in the cutting and transportation of lum-

ber. This voluntary mobilization of a workers' army has no parallel in history. What strength and joy emanates from these workers is apparent from the jubilant tones of the Internationale, which is sung in shops and yards, at work and on the street, by groups of workers returning home. Proud and glad, they stride along, these men and women:

"The women so frank and the men so free,  
As though of a royal race."

And they are a royal race, returning from self-imposed tasks. A race that has written its own brief of nobility with a firm strong hand in the struggle and work of the Revolution.

## Chicherin: A Silhouette

Luciano Magrini, the well-known Italian correspondent, spent several months in Soviet Russia, studying its organization and relations. He is publishing in the Milan daily: "Secolo", a number of lengthy articles, containing pertinent and realistic descriptions of the Soviet system; also characterizations of persons holding the executive power of the Bolshevik state. Among others he gives a sketch of Chicherin:

Two men, writes Magrini, both Bolsheviks, but of entirely opposite temperaments, are occupying the highest offices in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Chicherin, a model of simplicity, is busy with foreign politics: while Karakhan, a refined and elegant gentleman of Armenian birth, devotes himself to foreign politics related to internal affairs.

Chicherin, a man of austere and unbending faith and strict principles in politics and morals, is an unswerving Communist. A few years ago he rejected the right to a considerable inheritance in order to remain true to his principles. He dresses very moderately, and washes his own dishes after a frugal meal. It is not new to see him on the steps of the ministerial building, carrying papers from one bureau to another, only because he does not want to be served by others.

Chicherin can be seen at his work at all hours of the night in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. All the officials in that department are compelled to follow the example of the chief, and work at night. During the day Chicherin sleeps; he works regularly from 6 in the evening to 9 in the morning. He carefully notes everything that is going on in the world, preparing his numerous notes with unusual political skill. If any one asks for an interview with him, it is set for two or three o'clock in the morning.

Magrini interviewed Chicherin in his office at 2 A. M. It is a large room, containing three tables littered with paper and newspapers. During the conversation, a rat appeared in the middle of the floor and began to play with a paper. Chicherin, turning, noticed the frightened fleeing rat, and continuing his talk, said with a kindly smile: "Poor animal, it also has the right to live!"

## Wireless and Other News

### NOTE ON SUPPORT TO PETLURA

RIGA, October 31 (*Rosta*).—The Chairman of the Russian-Ukrainian Peace Delegation, Obolenski, has sent to the Chairman of the Polish Peace Delegation, Wasilewski, a note in which he points out that Petlura's troops are continuing hostilities after the signing of the armistice agreement. The Polish armistice commission at Berdichev, in the session of October 23, admitted that Petlura's troops constitute a portion of the Polish army which is under Polish command. The Polish Commission refuses to answer the question put from the Russian side as to whether the Poles would undertake to have Petlura's troops withdraw within Polish boundaries, and, should Petlura's troops not consent to this measure, force them to do so by disarmament. The Polish Peace Delegation further refuses to indicate the whereabouts of Petlura's staff, which is necessary to come into contact with; the Polish Peace Delegation made the statement that it did not know the place to which the staff had recently been transferred. Since the Peace Delegation immediately thereafter received instructions from the Polish Supreme Commander, which declared that Petlura's front was not to be included in the armistice conditions, Poland was thereupon asked whether this answer implied a breaking up of Poland's relations with Petlura and whether Petlura had ceased to be an ally of Poland. The Polish Colonel Boldeskul refused to answer this question. Obolenski declared that all this made the carrying out of the armistice conditions and the determination of the neutral zone impossible. Russia and Ukraine must therefore make the Polish Government responsible for any harm that may accrue to the interests of Russia, Ukraine and White Russia, and pointed out how unreliable was the attitude indicated in this evasive method of answering questions touching upon the execution of the armistice conditions upon which the destinies of peace depend.

Obolenski protested against this state of affairs and demanded that appropriate measures be taken.

### WORKERS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

*The following little items show that French and English workers support Soviet Russia:*

PARIS, October 21, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—The executive committee of the United Syndicates of the Seine has resolved at a meeting to oppose the furnishing of weapons and munitions to the enemies of Russia.

LONDON, October 21, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—The Workers' Council of Action has just issued a manifesto declaring that only resumption of trade with Soviet Russia can put a stop to rising prices in England. The Council will do everything to effect peace between Russia and Great Britain.

### NOVEMBER SEVENTH CELEBRATION

MOSCOW, November 9.—On November 8 there was held in Moscow a reception of foreign diplomats, which was inaugurated by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, in connection with the third anniversary of the Revolution. In the People's Commissariat the following representatives of foreign powers appeared: Hilger, representative of the German Government; Bekir-Ami, representative of the Turkish Mission; Minhaverol-Memalek, Persian Ambassador; Mamed-Balf-Uhan, Minister from Afghanistan; Mokhadze, Commissioner from the Georgian Government; Wesman, Lettish Minister; Baltrunchaytis, Lithuanian representative; Dr. Pohl, representative of the German-Austrian Government; Skala, representative of the Czecho-Slovak Government, and many other members of foreign governments. The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, greeted the foreign representatives, and in his speech expressed the wish that by the time the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution should take place, all the nations of the world might be ready to show more understanding of the peaceful policy of Russia.

### "WHITE" CONSPIRACY IN SIBERIA

STOCKHOLM, October 19, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—In Siberia an extensive White conspiracy has been unearthed having for its object the blowing up of bridges, mills, and railways, and to practice terror against the Bolshevik administration. A similar plot was discovered in the Urals among men formerly belonging to Kolchak's army.

### EXPLOITATION OF BATUM?

MOSCOW, October 21, 1920.—The British Government, in a note to the Government of the Georgian Republic, demands the right to use the city and harbor of Batum for an indefinite period.

### NEW PHILOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

MOSCOW, October 21, 1920.—A philological institute for western languages was inaugurated in Petrograd.

### ALL RUSSIAN LITERARY CONGRESS

MOSCOW, October 21, 1920.—The first All-Russian congress of proletarian writers was opened yesterday. The delegates were welcomed by the famous poet Valery Bryussov and by Poliansky, chairman of the International Bureau of Proletarian Culture.

### AIR FLEET BUILDING IN RUSSIA

STOCKHOLM, October 21, 1920.—According to *Pravda* the Soviet Government is expediting the rapid construction of the air fleet. Aviation plants are accorded precedence in raw materials and in labor supply.

### RUSSIAN FOREIGN TRADE

MOSCOW, October 21, 1920.—On account of the imminent resumption of commerce with the west, and the pressing need of raw materials, the Soviet Government has established a department of timber export with Lieberman at its head. Lumber will be a staple export in the near future.

STOCKHOLM, October 20, 1920 (*Rosta*).—*Svenska Dagbladet* is informed from Helsingfors that the Commissar of Foreign Trade considers the following wares can be exported in the first place: bristles, tobacco, quantities of horse-hair, horse-shoes, leather, iron and manganese ore, tanned horse-hides, sheep-skins, rye, ox-tails, wool and rabbit-skins.

November 2.—Since the beginning of August the following additional quantities of gold have been shipped from Reval, according to data furnished by the Soviet Government, for its account: To Sweden (for transmission in Sweden and to other countries): 2,500,000 crowns on August 1; 2,600,000 crowns on August 2; 2,000,000 crowns on September 2; 2,500,000 crowns on September 9; 8,000,000 crowns on September 23 (5,000,000 of which were for America); 10,000,000 crowns on September 30 (all for America); to France, on September 17, 17,000,000 crowns; on October 4, 15,000,000 crowns. Negotiations are still in progress with England on the subject of the sale of the flax now still stored at Reval. A consignment of 200 tons should already have been sent to England. In addition to the already reported consignment, further consignments have already been sent to England. On September 2 also, 2,751,000 poods of santonin in 40 cases left for Sweden, apparently destined, not for England, but for America. Finally, about 300 carloads containing 800 poods each of veneers have been sold by Russia to England and are being forwarded to that country by way of Reval.

STOCKHOLM, November 4.—In connection with the commercial treaty concluded with England by Krassin, in accordance with which Russia is to receive woollens to the value of 2,000,000 pounds sterling, two great firms in Yorkshire have been established as large stock corporations under English law: The All-Russian Cooperative Stock Company, and The Russian Company, Ltd. On Krassin's suggestion the English Government has deposited in the Reval National Bank 250,000 pounds sterling for these two firms.

### UKRAINE AND GERMANY

BERLIN, November 9.—The *Deutsche Ukrainische Zeitung*, appearing in this city, reports that the Government of Soviet Ukraine, in view of the fact that all of Ukraine is now under the control of the Soviet Government, and that Porsch, the representative of the Petlura Government, can therefore not be considered as the representative of Ukraine, has decided to maintain a permanent Embassy in Berlin. As has already been reported, the new representative is Mazurenko.

### FOR THE RED ARMY

OMSK, November 2.—The "Week of the Red Soldier" has been a complete success. Many gifts have been received; in money alone 5,500,000 rubles; 300 women have reported at the Omsk Hospital as voluntary nurses.

The Moscow *Pravda* reports that on October 10, a collection for the Red Army was held at Moscow, the results of which were very satisfactory. There were received 10,400 shirts, 4,565 undergarments, 4,752 sweaters and leather jackets, 1,546 half pelts, 4,305 pairs of socks, 2,518 pieces of linen, besides spoons, teapots, cups, etc.

SMOLENSK, November 8.—Workers of the Tailors' and Shoemakers' shops have voluntarily prolonged their labor already by two hours per day. During their working hours they are engaged exclusively in turning out winter clothing for the Red Army.

### CHEMICAL MANUFACTURES

The Collegium of the Commissariat for Public Welfare has elaborated a plan for the erection of a number of factories to produce superphosphates, as the collegium recognizes the urgent necessity of improving the productivity of the soil by supplying it with fertilizers. Professor Zamoskav has determined that Russia possesses immense deposits of the necessary minerals for producing superphosphates. It is reported that superphosphate factories are already established in Petrograd, Nizhni-Novgorod, and Kineshna. It is now proposed to build several factories for the production of saltpeter. One of these is approaching its completion and a yield of 10 to 14,000 poods of potassium nitrate is expected. The lack of dyes has led to the decision to erect a small factory in which the ochra supplies in the district of Kuznietsk (Government of Saratov) are to be used.

### ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

MOSCOW, November 2.—After having been idle for two years, the Martin furnaces at the Izhoriski Works in Petrograd have again resumed their activity. The first 900,000 poods of steel are to be ready by November 10.

### EXTENSION OF TANNERIES

MOSCOW, November 2.—The tanneries in Petrograd have recently extended their activities considerably. The staff of workers has been increased by 5,000.

### WORKERS OF ORENBURG FETED

MOSCOW, November 2.—The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has given to the workers of Orenburg a flag of revolutionary honor for their heroic defence of the city in the spring of 1919, when the workers of Orenburg organized their own regiments and saved the city from Kolchak.

### THE FOOD SITUATION

STOCKHOLM, October 22, 1920 (*Rosta*).—It is reported from Moscow on October 22 that the Russian peasant has learned the difference between Kollchak and Denikin and the Soviet Government. In the Kuban region Wrangel's recent invasions have won over the cossacks to the Soviet Government. Hence the food campaign of Russia proper has been characterized by a great advance over the previous year. The reports for August and September indicate this. The provisioning act has just gone into effect; yet in the past month 30 million poods have been delivered, i.e., about four times as much as last year. Why then, one may ask, these urgent appeals of the Communist Party and of the government, why this mobilization? Simply because it takes a great many people to gather 400 million poods. Besides, it has been decided to intensify provisioning to the highest degree, and to terminate it by December, so that all the means for completing the program of victualing are on hand in time. Finally, the problem of provisioning is made more difficult because this year, for the first time, the country can supply not only grain and potatoes, but also butter, vegetables, eggs, cheese, honey, and poultry. The state, growing in strength, is fast

becoming the sole purchaser. This is the real cause of our mobilization and our appeals which our enemies allege to be signs of our weakness, but which actually indicate our power and strength.

### COTTON CROPS

MOSCOW, November 6.—The last cotton harvest is satisfactory, so that the cotton spinneries around Moscow will be sufficiently supplied with raw materials from the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkestan. From August 20 to September 20, 1920, about 1,000 car-loads of cotton were discharged to Samara. Since the opening of the year over two million poods of cotton have been transported by way of Persia and Turkestan to the spinneries. At present Russian spinneries have enough cotton for one year.

### RESULTS OF OVERTIME WORK

PSKOV, October 19, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—By voluntary overtime work the Communists and non-partisans of the Pskov railroad shops have, in the course of the last three weeks, repaired and put in running order eleven locomotives.

## Soviet Russia in 1921

will place before its readers even more interesting material than it has been printing during 1920. All the regular features, such as Weekly Military Review, Editorials, Wireless and Other News, will be retained, and at least one will be considerably expanded, namely "Books Reviewed". The latest official and unofficial articles of Lenin, Trotsky, Lunacharsky, Sereda, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and other statesmen and specialists in the various organs of the Soviet Government, will be printed as soon as they are received and translated. Also, as far as space permits, SOVIET RUSSIA will print the latest accounts by Americans and foreigners who have set down their observations of travel or work in Soviet Russia.

Among the other materials of all kinds that we have already arranged to publish in early issues of Volume IV, which begins January 1, 1921, are these:

ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT, *Collapse and Reconstruction in Russia*.—MAXIM GORKY, *The Literature of the World*.—LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK, *Chemical Warfare and the New Attack on Russia*.—ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT, *The Structure of the Soviet System in Russia*.—ART UNDER COMMUNISM, by the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA.—PIERRE PASCAL, *Impressions of Soviet Russia*.—IVAN OLBRACHT, *A Sociological Study of Present-Day Russia*.—BOHUMIR SMERAL, *Conversations With Russian Leaders*.

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### JANUARY FIRST NUMBER

SOVIET RUSSIA for January 1, 1921, will have a special eight-page supplement on glazed paper, with pictures of the destruction wrought in Southern Russia by Denikin, together with the results of constructive work by the Soviet Government. In several cases, the photographs, some of which were taken by Professor Lomonossov, formerly of the Soviet Bureau in New York, show the ruined bridges left by Denikin, side by side with the temporary structures built by Soviet engineers to take their places.

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## Problems of Peaceful Reconstruction

By N. LENIN

[The following is a speech delivered by Lenin at a trade union congress, early in 1920, at a time when hope awakened in Soviet Russia that the country would be permitted to take up its peaceful tasks of reconstruction. Although apparently dealing with several Russian problems, it nevertheless develops one chief idea, namely, the necessity for the working class of Russia to cope not only with the political problems of the Russian state, but also, if not mainly, with the tremendous economic task of putting the country on a sound economic basis. This is the standpoint from which Lenin discusses the aims of trade unions in Russia, showing the complete fallacy of those who do not see beyond the immediate moment, and who would apply old, obliterated standards to the trade unions in Russia. With his remarkable ability of combining the sense for actualities with historical perspective, Lenin points out that only the working class of Russia can develop the necessary unity of purpose and solidarity of action, and that the trade unions are the agency destined to work in this direction, putting aside all "particularistic" aims and purposes. By so doing, they will easily overcome the contradictory tendencies in the Russian peasantry and make them also an element working for the benefit of Soviet Russia.]

**COMRADES:** Permit me first of all to greet, in the name of the People's Commissars, the Third All-Russian Congress of the Trade Unions. Comrades: The Soviet Government is just now living through an especially important moment in many respects, for there stand before us complex and most interesting problems. And just this particular moment imposes upon the trade unions very responsible tasks in building up Socialism. I should like, therefore, to dwell no less upon the single resolutions of the conference just concluded than on the changes of the Soviet policy which bring the activity of the trade unions into special connection with the work of Socialist construction. Comrades: The specific character of the present moment is the transition from war, which up to now has been taking up undividedly the care, attention, and strength of the Soviet Government—to peaceful economic construction.

At this point I must emphasize the fact that the Soviet Government, and, together with it, the Soviet Republic, is living through such a period not for the first time. It is the second time that we

are obliged to place peaceful economic work foremost. The first time in the history of Soviet Russia that we experienced such a moment was at the beginning of the year 1918. After the short but violent attack of German imperialism, while the old capitalistic army was in a state of complete dissolution, and we had no army nor could we create any at a moment's notice, the Brest peace was forced upon us. Then also, at the beginning of 1918, it seemed as if the war problems would recede and we were to go over to peaceful economic construction. At that time I rendered a report before the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and on April 29, 1918—almost two years ago—the Central Executive Committee adopted in connection with my report a number of theses. Among those theses there were also such as dealt with labor discipline. In general this period was similar to the present. To insist that the decisions of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government are but a consequence of the present debates is a gross mistake, and such an opinion would be apt to throw a false light upon the whole activity, the decisions,

and the relations of the Communist Party, as well as of the Soviet Government, to this problem. It is useful, therefore, in order to understand the merits of the question and properly to approach its solution, to make a comparison between the situation in the year 1918 and now. At that time, after the short war with German imperialism, there stood before us the problem of peaceful economic creation. Civil war had not yet begun. Thanks to German aid in Ukraine, Krasnov was putting in his appearance in the Don region. We were not attacked in the north, and the Soviet Republic was in possession of a tremendous territory, as it lost only what the Brest peace had torn away. The situation was such as to call forth an expectation of a long period of peaceful economic construction. It is under such circumstances that the Communist Party put, on the order of the day, exactly the point which the All-Russian Executive Committee emphasized in its resolution of April 29, 1918: propaganda, earnest admonition, and putting greater stress upon the necessity of labor discipline. It is also to be noted that dictatorship, even of a single person, is not contradictory to Socialist democracy. One must bear this in mind in order rightly to understand the decisions taken at the party conference, and the problems that stand before us in general. Not only does this solve the questions brought forth now, but it is intimately connected with the very foundations of the present epoch. Anyone who doubts this, should draw a comparison with the situation two years ago; he will understand then that the moment compels us now to turn all our attention to the problems of labor discipline and the labor army, although two years ago there was yet no talk of a labor army. In drawing this comparison we come to the right conclusion that trifles have to be disregarded and only what is fundamental and of general importance must be emphasized.

The whole attention of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government should be concentrated on the work of peaceful economic construction, around the problem of dictatorship and individual administration. Our experiences during the two years of bitter war demand of us authoritatively a decision on the question which we already raised in 1918, when we had as yet no civil war or any experience. For that reason not only the experiences of the Red Army and the victorious civil war, but something immeasurably deeper, closely connected with the dictatorship of the working class, have compelled us now, after the civil war, just as was the case two years ago, to concentrate all attention on labor discipline, which is the corner-stone of the whole economic structure of Socialism, a touch-stone at which our conceptions of the dictatorship of the proletariat part. After the overthrow of capitalism, every day of the revolution removes us fundamentally farther from that obsolete conception of the former internationalists who, petty bourgeois through and through, thought that a decision of the majority as to a retention of private property with regard to the ownership of land, means of

production, and capital, a decision of a majority within the democratic institution of bourgeois parliamentarism, could decide the question itself, where, as a matter of fact, only a bitter class struggle can bring a decision.

The significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its actual practical implications, began to unfold before us at the time when, after the conquest of the power, we turned to practice. And at this point, it became apparent that the class struggle had not come to an end, since the victory over capitalism and the land-owners had not destroyed this class. It struck it to the ground, but it did not destroy it. I shall point only to the international solidarity of capital, which is much stronger and more firmly entrenched than that of the working class. Capital—if one considers it as an international power—is even now not only in a military way, but also economically, stronger than the Soviet Government. This fact should be taken as a starting point, and it must not be overlooked. The forms of the struggle against capital change; at one time they bear an open international character; at another, they are confined to one country. The forms change, but the struggle goes on and the fundamental law of the class struggle, as it was brought forth in former revolutions, finds its confirmation in our revolution. The more sacrifices the proletariat makes in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the more the working class learns, and the revolution grows directly during this struggle. The struggle does not end even with the overthrow of the capitalists, and only after this overthrow in one country has been fully attained, does it achieve practical importance for the whole world. Did not indeed, at the beginning of the November Revolution, the capitalists consider our revolution as a curiosity? "What do we care about their Asiatic perversities," was said in an apparently derisive way. In order that the revolution attain its world historical importance, it was necessary, that in one more country a revolution should take place. Only then did the capitalists, not only the Russian, who at once called together their entire clique, but also those of all countries, convince themselves that this was a problem of international significance. Only then did the opposition of international capitalism develop its highest strength, only then did civil war break out in Russia, and all the victorious countries come to an agreement to render aid to the Russian capitalists and land-owners. Not only did the opposition of the defeated class grow after its overthrow but it even drew new strength from the relation of the proletariat to the peasantry. All who have studied Marxism ever so little, who base Socialism upon the international working class movement as the sole scientific foundation of Marxism, know that Socialism means doing away with the classes. But what does that mean? Not only must the capitalists be overthrown, but it is incumbent upon us also to remove the class difference between the workers and the peasants. The peasantry consisted of toilers who for decades and centuries had been kept under the

yoke by the landowners and capitalists, and who therefore cannot forget for a long time to come that they owe their liberation from this servitude to the workers. One could discuss this matter for decades and write great tomes about it, and this has been the reason for the formation of many party groups. But now we see that these differences of opinion had to yield to the force of facts.

The peasants remain property owners with the retaining of the commodities system. Every instance of free sale of bread, of clandestine trade and speculation, means restitution of the commodities system and consequently of capitalism, so that with the overthrow of the capitalists we simultaneously freed also the peasantry.

But the overthrow of capital as such was opposed by the petty bourgeois class, which in Russia was undoubtedly in the majority. The peasantry remained in their production as property owners and are creating new capitalistic relations. These are the fundamental traits of our economic situation, and hence originates the unwise talk of equality, freedom, and democracy, by those who do not understand the actual situation. We are conducting a class struggle, and our aim is the abolition of classes. So long as there are workmen and peasants, Socialism cannot be realized, and an uncompromising struggle develops at every step. We must consider in this situation, how, with the aid of only a single class, with support in the government, one should manage such an enormous apparatus as the power of the state with all its compulsory means; how to attract, under such circumstances, the peasant workers, and overcome their resistance or make it harmless.

Thus the class struggle continues and the dictatorship of the proletariat appears to us in a new light. It appears here to us less as an application of the compulsory resources of the entire state machinery, or as exploitation. This must be stated beforehand. To be sure, those are right who maintain that we shall not get far upon such a basis. But we have besides another aim wherein the role of the proletariat stands out as that of an organizer who carries out the capitalistic discipline. We must be able to place economy upon a new and higher foundation, and to appropriate for ourselves all the achievements of capitalism. Otherwise we shall be able to construct neither Socialism nor Communism. Not exclusively by means of state compulsion can we attract to our side the peasant when he took the field against his old we have an aim of an educational and organizational nature, but we are conscious of why it is much more difficult than the military aim. The military aim we are able to solve in some respects more easily, namely, by strenuous effort and self-sacrifice. It was easy and comprehensible for the peasant when he took the field against his old hereditary enemy, the land-owner. He did not need then to reflect upon the connection between the power of the workers and the necessity of abolishing free trade. It was easier to overcome the Russian White Guardists, the land-owners and capital-

ists, with their supporters, the Mensheviks. But this victory will be difficult for us, for economic tendencies are not to be overcome in the same manner as are military tendencies. A long road opens here before us, which must be conquered step by step. Here are required the energies of the proletariat as an organizer; here it is possible to win only after the proletariat has brought to realization its dictatorship, as the highest organized moral force for all toilers, also the toilers of the non-proletarian masses. In the measure that we have successfully solved and shall further on solve the first and most important aim: the destruction of the exploiters who openly aim at the overthrow of the Soviet Government, in that measure shall we be able to turn also to the other complex aim, namely, to bring to completion the task of the proletariat as an organizing force. We must organize a new work, we must create new forms of attracting to work, of submission to labor discipline. Even capitalism had solved this aim for decades. The greatest mistakes are made here at every step. Many of our adversaries show, on this question, a complete lack of understanding. They declared us to be Utopians when we maintained that it was possible for us to take hold of the power. On the other hand, they demand of us now that we complete the organization of labor in a few months. That is nonsense! One can, in a favorable political moment, supported by the enthusiasm of the workers, maintain power, perhaps in spite of the whole world. We have proved that. But the creation of new forms of social discipline is a work of decades. Even capitalism needed thirty years in order to transform an old organization into a new one. If one expects of us, and talks it into the workers and peasants, that we can rebuild the organization of work in a short time, this is theoretically complete nonsense and practically very harmful, for it prevents the workers from clearly understanding the difference between the old and the new aims. This new aim is first of all one of organization, and in that we are weak, considerably weaker than any great power. The ability of organization develops during a period of heavy machine industry. There exists no other material historical basis. There is no harmony between the interests of the proletariat and the peasantry. Here the difficulty starts for us.

On the other hand we have the moral aim to prove to the peasantry that it has no other way out: either it must resolutely march together with the workers and stand by the proletariat, or it will come again under the old yoke. There is no middle way, except only for the Mensheviks, but their downright folly is spreading everywhere, including Germany. The theory and the experience of the Second and Third Internationals offer the peasantry no understanding for this. These masses, who number millions, can comprehend it only as a result of their own experience and daily life. It was of fundamental importance that the peasants should understand the victory over Kolchak and Denikin. Only the contradiction made it clear to them what the dictatorship of the proletariat meant,

with which one has been frightening the peasantry and purports to frighten them even today. You may notice even now that the Mensheviki and the Social-Revolutionists scare the peasantry with it. But the peasants cannot in fact occupy themselves with theory. They only see that both lie, and they see the struggle which we are carrying on against speculation. It must be admitted that the Whites also, and the Mensheviki have made some progress in agitation, which they owe to the political division of our armies. The peasants saw the banner upon which was written, not "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", but "Constituent Assembly, Democracy", etc. But in *practice* they saw that the Soviet Government was better for them. And here is our second aim: the dictatorship of the proletariat must be a moral influence, there must be no compulsory methods with regard to the peasantry. This question will be solved by the economic antagonism within the peasantry. The two years of civil war have welded the workers together, they are consolidated, while the peasantry is falling more and more apart. The peasants cannot forget the capitalists and the land-owners, they know whom they once had to deal with. On the other hand, the present-day peasantry is of such nature as to draw the interests of its various strata apart; it is not compact. For not every peasant lives under good conditions, and there exists there in no way the right of freedom and equality. The peasants are half workers and half owners; but the realization of our aim demands a uniform will, in order that in every practical question all may work together as one man. The uniform will must not be merely a phrase or a symbol, we demand that it become a fact. The uniform will found its expression during the war in the fact that every one who put his interests, the interests of his village, or those of his group above those of the community was stigmatized as a coward and shot, and such judgment was justified because of the moral consciousness of the working class that it must obtain victory. We spoke of such executions quite openly; we said that we did not hide the compulsion, that without compulsory means against the retrogressive part of the proletariat we could not get out of the old social order. This was a uniform will which in practice had shown itself in the punishment of every deserter, in every battle and during every march in which the Communists marched ahead, as a good example. At present it is necessary to carry out this uniform will in labor, in our industry, in agriculture, at a time when we dispose of an immense field with numberless factories. By compulsion alone we cannot carry out this aim, and in the face of such a gigantic purpose it becomes clear to us what a uniform will means in everyday work. Take, for example, the writes brochures and affixes a signature, in order to become known. The thing must be thought over, it must be carefully weighed, what this slogan means in everyday work. Take, for example, the year 1918, when there was not yet such a spirit. Already then there was apparent the necessity of

individual administration, of recognition of the dictatorial plenary powers of one person for the carrying out of the Soviet idea; therefore all manner of talk about equal rights is nonsense. We conduct the class struggle not on the basis of equal rights. The proletariat wins because it consists of hundreds of thousands of disciplined men, who are animated by a uniform will.

The proletariat can overcome the peasantry, which has not the single will that welds together the proletariat of the factory. The peasantry is economically split, because it is composed in part of workers and in part of owners. Their property binds them to capitalism. "The dearer I sell the better." "And if for that reason hunger visit the land, I shall sell still dearer." The peasant worker, on the contrary, knows that the working class freed him from the yoke of the landowner. We have to do here with a struggle of two souls, generated by the economic situation of the peasantry. This must be emphasized: that we can win only if we follow a steady course. All who work will always be workers to us. But the peasant owners we must combat. If we have struck down gentlemen so highly educated as the controllers of international politics, such highly experienced and rich men who have a hundredfold more cannons and dreadnoughts than we, it would be ridiculous if we should not be able to solve the aims of our class and those of the peasantry. Here discipline and true, strong solidary will win. The will of hundreds of thousands can be embodied in one person. The Soviet system creates this uniform will. No other country in the world knows so many conferences of workers and peasantry. In this manner class consciousness develops. No empire could in generations give as much to the people as the Soviet Government has already given. And upon this broadest possible basis rests the Soviet constitution and the Soviet power. Based upon the strength of the workers and peasants, its decisions assume an unheard of authority. But this alone does not suffice us. We are materialists and do not allow ourselves to be content with mere authority. No, first of all exert yourselves to bring such decisions into reality. But here we see that the old bourgeois element is stronger than we. We must admit this openly. The old middle class habits of shifting for oneself, of free trade, all these are stronger than we. The trade unions originated out of capitalism as a means for the development of a new class. The class is an idea which forms itself during the struggle and by development. One class is separated from the other not by walls; no Chinese wall separates the workers and the peasants. When the proletariat became a class it was strong enough to take hold of the whole machinery of the state and to challenge the whole world to a fight and to conquer. Thus, all craft and trade organizations became backward. There was a time, even under capitalism, that the union of the proletariat advanced beyond the old craft and trade organizations.

It was a progressive movement: the proletariat

could not unite otherwise. It is absurd to think that the proletariat can unite at once to become a class. Such a process of uniting may take decades. No one opposed such sectarian, shortsighted views as bitterly as did Marx. The class grows under capitalism and at an appropriate moment it seizes the power of the state. All craft and trade organizations then become reactionary; they have played their role, they lead backward, not forward. Not because there are there, as it were, particularly bad men, but because bad elements and opponents of Communism find here a basis for their propaganda. We are beset with people of the petty bourgeois class who permit free trade and the capitalism of small husbandmen and owners to be born anew. Karl Marx opposed energetically the old utopian Socialism and demanded a scientific treatment of the matter. "Learn on the basis of the class struggle how the class grows and aid it in maturing." The same Marx opposes those leaders of the working class who fall into these errors. I spoke recently of the movement in England in the year 1872. The United Council censured his statement to the effect that the English leaders were bought by the bourgeoisie. Marx naturally understood this not in the sense that these or other persons were traitors. That is nonsense. He speaks of the bloc formed by a certain portion of the workers of a certain union with the bourgeoisie, the latter supporting the workers directly and indirectly and aiding them, so far as legal forms are concerned, assisting their press and bringing the workers into Parliament. The English bourgeoisie did in this respect accomplish veritable miracles, surpassing all other countries. Marx and Engels, from 1852 to 1892, for forty years, exposed this bourgeoisie. For the bourgeoisie must everywhere seek coalition by more or less new methods; but it is active in all countries. Everywhere in the world the transition of the trade unions from slavery to a creative role is revolution. Our workers cried: the increase of the work output is for us a burden, you are fleecing us. They not only maintained this, but it was their innermost conviction. We have been existing already for two years and what is the meaning of it? It means hunger for the working class. This has been statistically proved. In the years 1918 and 1919 the industrial workers all over the country received only seven poods of bread, while the peasants of the provinces, rich in grain, got seventeen poods yearly. The proletariat has won, and thanks to this victory it suffers a greater hunger than the peasant, who under the Soviet Government has much more than under the Czar, and also much more than he needs. Under the Czar the peasant had at most sixteen poods of bread; under our government he has seventeen poods. This we all know; statistics show it. Every one knows what it means when the worker hungers. The dictatorship of the proletariat condemned the latter to two years of hunger, but this hunger has proved that the worker can sacrifice not only his trade interests but also his life. And if the proletariat has been able to bear this hunger

for two years, it is for the reason that it has found support in all the toiling classes, and that it has assumed these sacrifices for the sake of the victory of the power of the workers and peasants. To be sure, the division of the workers along trade lines has continued, and there are many of the trades which were necessary for the capitalists which we cannot use. But we know that the workers of these trades suffer a greater hunger and that this cannot be changed. Capitalism is destroyed, but Socialism has not yet been built; this situation will continue for a long time, and at this point we must face all those misunderstandings which are not mere accidents. They are the outcome of the historical contradiction between the trade unions as a means of uniting along trade lines in the time of capitalism and the class union of the workers who seized the state power. Such workers take all sacrifices upon themselves because they vaguely feel and even give expression to the fact that the class interests are above the craft interests. But the workers who are not equal to such sacrifices are in our opinion traitors and are banished from the midst of the proletarians.

This is the basic problem of labor discipline and individual administration, with which the party management has been dealing. All its decisions are certainly known to you, and you will hear more details from those who address you. They all agree to the fact that the working class has grown and become strong, that it has seized power and is fighting against all, and that this struggle is now more difficult than it was before. During the war the struggle was easier, but now it behooves us to organize and to educate morally because the proletariat in our country is not very numerous. The war has effaced it. As a result of our victories the administration has become more difficult. This should be understood by all. When we speak of dictatorship, it is not a mere whim of centralists. One must admit that it is harder for us now to rule. The proletariat has decreased in numbers, while the territory conquered by us has, on the contrary, become larger. We have conquered Siberia, the Don territory and Kuban. There the proletariat represents only an infinitesimal percentage of the population. We must face the workers openly and talk to them plainly. We need more discipline, more individual administration, and more dictatorship. Without this we should not even dream of a great victory. We have an army of three million and the 600,000 of whom I spoke should be but a vanguard for those three million, who must march forward unshaken. We shall try out this labor army and the trade unions, and shall learn at every step by experience. But it must be understood that we have no other army for victory. Six hundred thousand vanguard troops and an army of three million, in which there are many *Kulaki* (village sharks), but few proletarians. It follows therefrom that a new relation must be created between proletarians and non-proletarians. The new aims are not to be solved by compulsion, but through organization and authority.

This is the basis for the firm conviction expressed at the party conference, which I wish to emphasize here once more. Our slogan is: to approximate individual administration, more labor discipline, strenuous effort, work with military resolution, steadiness, self-sacrifice, and the sacrifice of one's group, craft, and individual interests. Without that

we shall not win. But if we carry out as a man the decisions of the party with three million workers, and later on with many millions of peasants who feel the moral strength of men who have sacrificed themselves for the victory of Socialism, we shall then, together with them, be decidedly and most certainly unconquerable.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

SEVERAL days ago I noticed in the press an order issued by Comrade Sokolnikov, the Chief Commander of the Red Turkestan Army, in which he directed a part of his troops to occupy all the passes of the Plateau of Pamir along the border of Afghanistan.

This new movement of the Red Army closer to India has a great political and strategical significance, and though it passed almost unnoticed in this country, it produced not only a great sensation in Great Britain, but even caused real alarm among British statesmen. For they know what it means!

It must be noticed that the Plateau of Pamir, the highest plateau in the world, rising 12,000 feet above sea-level, and situated in the southern part of the province of Fergana, in Russian Turkestan, lies just between Tibet, India, and Afghanistan. This part of Russian Turkestan is sparsely populated. No more than 30,000 nomads of the Kirghizian race live in the valleys of Pamir, and usually at the end of the summer they move for the winter into the valleys of Alai. For nine months Pamir is cut off from the rest of the world by snow.

Almost without vegetation, rocky and sandy, surrounded by the highest mountain chains, covered with eternal snow, which reflect their dreamy summits in numerous lakes sparsely bordered by yellow-green grass, the Pamir appears a dead, stony desert, with the wind the only master, and rightly bears the name given to it by the nations: "Bam-i-Tuniah", which means the "Top of the World".

This part of our globe became known to the civilized peoples of the west through the celebrated Italian explorer, Marco Polo, who in 1254-1323 A.D. crossed the whole continent of Asia. Henceforth, Pamir was the object of many explorations, especially by Russians. Kostenko, Fedchenko, Svertzov, and the two brothers, Groom-Grzmailo Potanin may be placed in the first rank among these explorers. The Russian Geographical Society also encouraged foreigners to develop the exploration of that mysterious country, and a German orientalist, Mittendorf, as well as the Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin, and the British Lord Berdmore were allowed to work in the Pamir.

In 1891-1895 the Russians annexed Pamir entirely, and established on the banks of the river Murghab a fort with a permanent garrison. With the outbreak of the revolution in 1917 this fort was deserted by its original garrison and was occupied by

the natives, thus opening the gates into Russian Turkestan to the British Indian army, which was in readiness to take that route from Kashmir simultaneously with their prepared movement through Afghanistan, debouching from Khayber pass as well as penetrating into Transcaspia from Persian territory. This plan failed completely, thanks to the friendly relations which Moscow succeeded in establishing with the Afghans. In the middle of 1919 the Afghan Army defeated the British aggressors, and stopped them along the whole line of the Afghan frontier, thus protecting the Soviet Turkestan Republic, which was at that time busily organizing its civil administration and military force. Finally, part of the Turkestan garrison was dispatched to the Pamir, where they reoccupied the abandoned stronghold; and the Red banner of the Soviet Republic waved over the "Top of the World", reminding the oppressed people of India of the proximity of the workers' republic.

The alliance of Afghanistan with Soviet Russia brought about the complete liberation of the Afghans from the British "protectorate". This was admitted by Lord Curzon on October 12, 1920, in his official statement at the annual dinner of the Central Asian Society, of which he is President. "We must face the fact that the expansion of the British Empire in Central Asia is at an end and rightly at an end," said this British statesman, but he did not dare complete his thought by stating that Great Britain was approaching the end of her despotic rule in Asia altogether.

The rapid growth of the prestige of Moscow among the Asiatic peoples forced the British diplomats to change their policy in Asia, and change it radically. Less than a year ago, England was on the offensive in Afghanistan, Tibet, Persia, and Turkey. Now we see that she is keeping strictly to defensive strategy in all these parts of the vast continent, and her diplomacy is attempting to establish "friendly" relations with those peoples of Asia whom it so recently was ready to put under its yoke by means of armed force.

Was this change due to the good intentions of the British rulers, or was it a result of the unbelievable consolidation of the oppressed Mohammedans of Asia with the young but powerful Russian Soviet Republic, whose good faith towards the Asiatic nations was understood and appreciated from Tibet to the Pacific, and from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf?

The great victories which were so brilliantly won by the Red Army in Europe and Asia have strengthened the confidence of the proletariat of Asia in the regime newly introduced by the Russian workers and peasants; most of the Asiatic continent is now seething with agitation and burning to establish some new form of government, if not exactly the form which helped the Russian people to free themselves from their oppressors and invaders, then at least some revolutionary government which may return to them their lost independence and prosperity.

Great Britain suddenly understood that her mighty navy and her army, splendidly equipped and abundantly supplied, would be powerless to meet the Russian proletarian masses, supported by the oppressed masses of their Asiatic allies. It is now apparent that for the last twenty-five years the people of Central Asia have not only developed mentally, but also, to a great extent, have become educated politically; and that the country has ceased to be a land of mystery, and has become a land of acute political problems. These problems, when they take definite shape, have to be met immediately, and require strategical support, and such support cannot be independent of a regular army. There is never an army in an agricultural country, in a country of peaceful laborers; there cannot be officers and men who have the necessary training for this purpose; there are no brilliant strategists. There is only one method of struggle, which is the strongest in the world, and creates its own strategy, mobilizing a most powerful, enthusiastic army, which gives birth to genuine leaders—that method is revolution.

Everything is ready to serve a revolution when it comes. Revolution looks upon the armaments of its enemies as its own, it considers the rich supply of the counter-revolutionary armies also as its own. It considers even the fighting units of its adversaries as its future allies, temporarily forced by their tyrannical authorities to fight their brothers, and in this lies the incomparable strength of the revolutionary forces, no matter how badly armed and poorly supplied with ammunition and food-stuffs they may be.

This, at last, was understood by the British, and they began to talk to the rebellious people of Asia in a new and softer tongue. The real menace threatening India brought some of the British statesmen to reason, and peace negotiations were recently carried on with the Afghans. According to *The Christian Science Monitor* of December 14, 1920, the following announcement is made by the Government of India:

"As is known, the recent conversations at Mussoorie were intended to clear the ground for final negotiations between the British and Afghan governments for a permanent treaty of friendship. The Afghan delegates returned to Kabul at the end of July to lay the results of these discussions before the Ameer.

"Recently the Ameer, after full consideration of the reports of his delegates, wrote to the Viceroy in the most friendly terms, inviting a British mission to Kabul for the conclusion of a treaty, and His Majesty's Government of India to accept this invitation. The mission will con-

sist of Mr. Mobbs, Nawab Sir Shads Shah, Mr. Pears, Lieutenant-Colonel Muspratt, and Mr. Acheson. It is hoped that the mission will be able to cross the frontier in the last week of December."

In view of the fact that an alliance already exists between Afghanistan and Soviet Russia, and that part of the Russian Red Army was permitted by the Afghans to enter their country, and that the Soviet mission for a long time enjoyed the hospitality of Kabul, this news is of great importance, proving the recognition by British diplomacy of its own weakness with regard to its powerful opponent in Asia—the Soviet Republic of Russia.

It is well-known that the state of affairs in Afghanistan is such that at any moment the establishment of Soviets through the country may be expected. The Amir has practically lost his autocratic power over the people, and the annual *Durbar*, the general popular meeting of the people with their ruler, since the assassination of the late Habib-Ullah-Khan, was attended with a great deal of trouble. A kind of constitution was granted to the people by their new sovereign, but still the people are not satisfied and are asking more . . . The army in Afghanistan has reached the number of almost half-a-million men, is well-equipped, well-trained, and has a brilliant cavalry and a powerful artillery. Having been reorganized by instructors of the Red Army, the military force of the Afghans may be considered formidable, especially for a war in the mountains. We must not overlook the fact that 6,000,000 of the Afghans, the women as well as the men, are of an extremely warlike nature. I became intimately acquainted with the people during my expedition to Pamir in 1891-1892, and I had an even better chance to observe them when I crossed Afghanistan in 1901, taking the route Kelif-Balkh-Bamian-Kabul, reaching Peshawar (India) through the famous Khayber pass. The Afghans are the most freedom-loving people in Asia, but like the Russians, though revolutionists at heart, they have borne with extraordinary indifference the burden of their despotic rulers. This type of oppressed people is the most sensitive to revolutionary influence; therefore, the Afghans cannot remain indifferent to the fate of their brother Mohammedans of Turkestan, Persia, Transcaucasia, and Azerbaijan. They are anxiously watching the growth of the new revolutionary movement in Asia, and they have to follow it. It is a fact that the people themselves forced the Afghan Government to approach Soviet Russia. A series of uprisings of the warlike tribes of the Amir became so menacing to the existence of the Amir that he hurried to appease his people and sent his mission to Moscow.

There is no newspaper at the disposition of the nomads and other primitive people of Central Asia; the news about the atrocities of the Bolsheviks, issued to the press by British propaganda, could not penetrate into Afghanistan. The Afghans are still unacquainted with the dispatches of the Associated Press or others similar to them. All the news which the native population receive

is that of eyewitnesses, spread from one bazaar to another, with remarkable rapidity. This news knows no censorship, is extraordinarily accurate, and cannot be killed by the kind of propaganda which the Allies used to spread among the natives of Asia and Africa. The information which the population of Afghanistan received from their own countrymen or from the natives of Russian Turkestan was similar to the information which later reached their country from Soviet Russia, in the form of printed matter in their own language, and they accepted any news, any appeal from the Soviet Government with full confidence and respect.

Even at that time, as far back as 1901, during my sojourn in Afghanistan, I noticed among the Afghans a feeling of sympathy for the suffering Hindoo population. How often seated in their *Chai-Khanas* in a bazaar and talking politics (the Afghans are great at talking politics, especially in connection with Russian and English affairs) was I struck by the note of hostility directed by most of them against England. "The time will come," an old experienced Afghan major often said to me, "when we and the Russians will free India from its oppressors." Only one thing troubled this old warrior: that Russia might swallow his country together with India. For a new Russia, he certainly could not even dream of.

Now the time has come when the Russian workers and peasants are glad to see that their friends, the workers and peasants of Afghanistan, are ready to help their Hindustan brothers in achieving an independent and happy existence, and there is no menace for them from Russia either of conquest or of annexation.

There is a real reason for Great Britain's state of anxiety over India, which is to the British Empire what his vulnerable heel was to Achilles. Anti-British propaganda, the new method of warfare introduced by the German General Staff in the Great War, became a powerful weapon of England's enemies in Asia, against which British tanks and poison gas, as well as bombardment from the air of defenseless towns and villages are so many useless toys. The cruelty of the great murder in Punjab, by General Dyer, whose wholesale slaughter of the Hindoo population was approved by the House of Lords, which raised a large purse for him in England, while lavish praise was heaped on the Civil Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, "whose iron rule in the Punjab made the iron enter into the soul of the people of that province," not only produced its due effect on the population of India, but also spread with lightning rapidity throughout the Mussulman world. The Hindoo nationalist agitators exploited these events with great success and, finally, in India the British Government for the first time frankly confessed that, in case of war with the Afghans, or worse, with the Soviet armies, there was great doubt whether the native Hindoo regiments would remain faithful to the crown. The situation was aggravated by the fact that there was no way to reinforce the Indian garrison from the home country, or to direct troops from Canada or

Australia to Hindustan. The concentration of a strong British army in India at the moment required would be, in view of the situation in Ireland, in Asia Minor, in Egypt, and in South Africa, an absolute impossibility; and without strong reserves the local Indian army would be far from sufficient to occupy the Turkish-Armenian front, the Transcaspian front, and the Afghanistan front, to operate in Pamir and in Tibet, where the political atmosphere every day is becoming more and more gloomy for Great Britain.

The British strategists certainly understand this, and they firmly insist that their diplomats will find a way to settle affairs in Asia in a peaceful manner, because British strategy is absolutely powerless to support its diplomacy, whose political plans are becoming too complicated to be carried out by British arms, even if supported by the Allies.

It is a remarkable fact that the most competent military experts of Great Britain, like General Maurice, Colonel Repington, and others, expect the clique surrounding Winston Churchill, all advocate a complete cessation of hostilities in Europe and Asia, and the establishment of peace with the Soviet Government, because without it there is no hope of peace, at least for a decade; they know that this would result in a social revolution, not only throughout Europe, but also in Asia, which would be surely followed by a loss of all the British colonies, as well as of the colonies of all the European nations. The situation is desperate, and it is rather difficult to guess how Great Britain and her imperialistic Allies will liquidate the chaos into which they have plunged the whole world.

The more I study the present conditions in the Eastern hemisphere, the more I am convinced that the old civilization of Western Europe, having attained the highest level of its cultural progress, has misused its gifts for destructive purposes, sacrificing the interests of the majority to the materialistic prosperity of the minority. There is no doubt, also, that in the East—in Russia—a new civilization has been born, and is growing rapidly. This new civilization, it seems to me, must supplant the old one, must enlarge the culture of the old effete civilization, nursed for centuries by imperialistic capitalism. Once it has been acquired, it has to be applied properly, namely, for constructive purposes only, and this will put an end to the possibility of future wars.

The peace which the imperialistic coalition has tried to establish in Europe and Asia is merely a compromise on the part of weakened and defeated imperialists, and will be of short duration. As soon as the economic condition of the world returns more or less to its normal state, wars will break out in different parts of the world.

Soviet Russia is willing to make peace with all the world. If the world has been so imperfectly organized by the League of Nations as to make the outbreak of new wars a certainty, Soviet Russia will not share the responsibility for such events, even though she be ready to live at peace with the disordered handiwork.



## Russia, Ukraine, and Poland

*Continuation of the Negotiations at Riga*

RIGA, November 16.—On November 13, a conversation took place between the Russian and Polish Delegation, in which Yoffe pointed out that questions that had appeared solved and determined by the treaty, now seemed to be still open. The most important paragraph, paragraph 6, which deals with the armistice, had thus far not been fulfilled by Poland. There could not of course be any transactions on the proposal of Poland with regard to the Volhynian sugar factories, and on a final peace, until the armistice conditions were completely carried out. This was a cardinal question. The failure to withdraw the Polish troops to the line that had been set was a direct violation of the treaty. In spite of the armistice, Russia and Ukraine were obliged to continue military action against troops that were organized on Poland's territory, with Poland's aid and equipment, and which were attacking Ukrainian and White Russian territory. The present condition at the front could only involve a renewal of the war of Russia and Ukraine with Poland. The military actions of the Red Army against the White Guard troops, in consequence of the sojourn of Polish detachments on Ukrainian and White Russian soil, to the east of Poland's national boundary, might make collisions with such troops inevitable. During the armistice negotiations, both sides aimed at securing a real peace; but now feeling had manifestly changed, as was declared in the Polish press, which was writing about the inevitability of a new war with Russia, and also in the expressions of Polish statesmen; besides it was evident in the special treaty of peace between the Polish Government and Petlura. In spite of the treaties signed on October 12 with Soviet Ukraine, the Polish Government evidently considered it proper to recognize another Ukrainian government also, and to conclude treaties with this other Ukrainian government. The question had to be finally decided as to whether Poland was really intending to renew the war, for the armistice treaty had been violated. During the negotiations Poland expressed fears that Russia might not ratify the peace after Wrangel was defeated. Wrangel was completely defeated, and yet Russia and Ukraine were still willing to carry out an honest and complete fulfillment of all the conditions of the treaty signed with Poland. They were ready to consider favorably the question proposed by Poland with regard to the protection of Polish interests in the Volhynian sugar production, and were generally convinced that the restoration of economic and commercial relations would be the best guarantee of peace. On the other hand, Poland had created a serious and extremely dangerous front situation, which might lead to a renewal of war conditions. Should Poland desire this, let it say so openly, as was provided in that article of the treaty which requires a fourteen-day notice.

Dombiski replied that he could not agree with Yoffe on the question of a change of attitude on the part of Poland toward Russia and Ukraine. Polish public opinion, he said, was still in favor of peace; he knew of no organs of the press that were working for a renewal of the war with Russia; Article 6 of the armistice treaty did not provide for an immediate withdrawal of troops. To withdraw the troops at once, in view of the hoof and mouth disease which was raging, would be connected with great danger. It was necessary to set the time when the Polish troops should be withdrawn. Poland was ready to fulfill all its obligations, but must first create the necessary sanitary and technical conditions. Furthermore, Dombiski mentioned article 11 of the treaty, and pointed out that Poland had fulfilled all its provisions. If the troops of Petlura, Balakhovich, and others, had been pushed back on Polish territory, Poland would undertake to disarm them. More could not be asked of Poland. Dombiski was convinced that collisions between Russian-Ukrainian and Polish troops would not occur. At least Poland did not desire collisions, for it considered the war with Russia to be finally ended.

Yoffe declared he did not doubt the candor of the Polish Delegation. Yet it was clear, he said, that the attitude at the signing of the armistice conditions had been quite different from now. Yoffe recalled the occupation of Minsk by the Poles on October 12. To be sure, the Poles soon evacuated Minsk, but not at the command or order of the Polish Supreme Command, but rather because the Polish soldiers did not wish to be considered as having occupied territory that belonged to Russia by treaty. The change of attitude in Poland was unquestionably perceptible. For instance, the notion of buffer states was again making its appearance. The Russo-Ukrainian Delegation had proofs that the basis of operations of troops now proceeding against Soviet Russia was on Polish territory. In boundary questions, Russia and Ukraine had met Poland more than half-way, and yet Poland continued the occupation of White Russian territory and Ukrainian territory to the east of the boundary line. Sanitary reasons would not serve as a sufficient basis for this action. All this lead one to believe that Poland desired to continue the war, if not openly, then at least under the flag of Petlura, Balakhovich, etc. Russia and Ukraine would not, however, permit themselves to be deceived. They wanted either an open peace or an open war. In view of the present situation on the front they could not tolerate a further advance and reinforcement of White Guard formations. Even if Poland should not help these troops—although it can hardly be assumed that parents would not be willing to aid their offspring—the position of the Polish army was nevertheless impeding actions of the Red Army against the White Guard

troops and thus conjuring up the danger of a new war. Yoffe again emphasized the fact that epidemics and the question of the sugar factories did not justify a continued occupation, and that the Russo-Ukrainian Delegation, in view of the violation of article 6 of the armistice conditions, and in view of the inevitability of collisions between the Polish troops and the Red Army, must insist upon a withdrawal of the Polish troops.

RIGA, November 15.—The Chairmen of the Russian and Polish Peace Delegations, Yoffe and Dombiski, agreed as a result of their sessions of November 13 and 14 that the withdrawal of the Polish troops to Polish national territory, in all cases where this withdrawal had not yet been accomplished, should take place immediately, not later than November 19, in accordance with article 6 of the armistice treaty. In these sessions, Yoffe and Dombiski signed another protocol on the subject of the guarantee of Polish interests in the sugar factories of the Volhynia province. To compensate for Poland's expenditures in the sugar crop of 1919-1920 in the occupied region, where Polish armies are still stationed, Soviet Ukraine is to deliver 70 per cent of the sugar obtained to Poland.

RIGA, November 17.—Today at five o'clock the plenary session of the Russo-Ukrainian-Polish Peace Conference was opened. After Dombiski's opening speech, Yoffe expressed thanks for the hospitality of Riga and emphasized that he had never doubted the benevolence of the Lettish people toward the people of Russia and Ukraine. Yoffe further said:

"Finally peace negotiations with Poland are beginning. The Russian-Ukrainian Peace Delegation notes with satisfaction that all the frictions and misunderstandings that permitted doubts to arise as to the genuineness of the Polish desire for peace have now disappeared, and welcomes the declaration that has just been made that the Polish Peace Delegation has the object of pursuing the attainment of a final peace, with the same determined will that has characterized their work in the preliminary peace treaty. Russia and Ukraine, on their part, have given no cause to doubt their genuine desire for peace. If Russia and Ukraine are obliged to state categorically that they will in no way tolerate any attempts to circumvent the peace, and always will prefer an open war to a war that is waged under pseudonyms of various kinds, they nevertheless state with equal definiteness that their policy will not be influenced by the war map, and that at moments of success as well as of reverses it will remain true to its obligations. Now that the last powerful enemy of Russia and Ukraine, Baron Wrangel, has been finally destroyed and forced to capitulate, now that the Red banner is waving triumphantly over Simferopol and Sebastopol, now that the hour of the final annihilation of the mutinous bands of Petlura, Savinkov, Bala-khovich, Peremykin, and others is approaching, the peace negotiations will be conducted on our part with the same magnanimity with regard to the legal

and normal requirements of our Polish brothers with which we conducted such negotiations in the armistice treaty and the preliminary peace period. Welcoming the categorical statement that "Poland conducting an independent policy cannot be turned aside from the pursuit of peace, and will make every effort to make the peace a permanent one," I expressed the optimistic feeling that in view of the already obtained understanding in the preliminary peace treaty as to all fundamental questions, we shall surely be able to reach an agreement on economic questions, and this agreement will mean a still greater strengthening of the independence of the Polish policy, and thus very much improve the general peace situation.

"Finally the fact that the peace negotiations are being conducted on the Polish side by the same respected chairman, who in the first period of the negotiations, in spite of war conditions, succeeded in producing an attitude that made an understanding possible, the Russian-Ukrainian Peace Delegation is filled with the hope that the negotiations may proceed smoothly and swiftly, and we therefore frankly and candidly share the plea of the esteemed chairman of the Polish Delegation that our work of peace will have beneficent effects.

#### THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

The Central Executive Committee of Soviets reports that the order of the day of the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which opens December 2, at Moscow, is the following:

1. Reports of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, on the internal and external situation;
2. Immediate tasks of reconstruction of national economy;
3. Reconstruction of industry;
4. Reconstruction of transportation;
5. Expansion of agricultural production and advancement of peasant economy;
6. The struggle against bureaucratism;
7. The election of the new Central Executive Committee.

#### *Bound Volumes for 1920*

*Volume II, of which a number of copies, splendidly bound, are still to be obtained by persons desiring them, is sold at five dollars. Check or money order should accompany order. Volume I (June-December, 1919) is sold out and will not be reprinted. Volume III will be bound, with title-page and index, as soon as the issues have all appeared (January 1, 1921). Readers may place orders now for Volume III, and should send the cost of the volume—five dollars—with their orders.*

SOVIET RUSSIA

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## The Break with Litvinov

The official organ of the North Norway Fishermen's Association, a non-political organization, has the following to say on the failure of the negotiations between Litvinov and the Norwegian Governments. (*See Documents, pp. 642-645 of this issue.*)

It is difficult at this moment rightfully to judge who is guilty in the failure of the negotiations with Litvinov, in which the people of North Norway have been placing such high hopes. There has been altogether too much secrecy in the matter. The general public—with the exception of a few of the initiated—were not informed concerning the questions under treatment.

The onlookers were kept in a position in which they believed that everything was ready for a successful termination of the negotiations. The contracts concerning sales had been concluded and the people believed that the government would show so much understanding as to find a basis for the solution of the remaining questions, but this has not been the case.

It has been often pointed out that commercial relations with Russia—as conditions are now—are a question of life and death for North Norway. It is unnecessary for this reason to point out this phase of the matter again. Let us simply call attention to the fact that it will now be a long time before the negotiations on exchange of goods can be concluded.

But while the Norwegian Government permits the negotiations with Litvinov to come to a halt, press messages from other countries indicate that there are no longer any essential obstacles to a resumption of the trade with Russia. The blockade is therefore broken and free commercial agreements are about to be consummated.

It is therefore unfortunate that the government should assume a brusque and hostile attitude.

The demand of the executive of this organization that this matter should be placed before the public in full is a demand that should be more than met. If the government can present reasonable proofs that a breaking off of the negotiations was justified, well and good, if not, its mode of action should be subjected to further and more profound scrutiny.

As far as we can see from what has leaked out, the break was the result of political negotiations. The government from the very outset seemed to object to the personnel of the Russian Commercial Delegation. It must be that the terror of "Bolshevism" has once more been the decisive factor.

We know nothing about the men who hold the highest offices of this land, and it is therefore quite possible that they may be such weak souls as feel obliged to draw their night caps over their ears and creep in under their conjugal quilts in order not to fall victims to temptation. Even though this should be the case, it is nevertheless not proper to attribute such qualities to the whole Norwegian people. The people are healthy and sound and are not afraid of free exchanges of

views. They will not permit themselves to be misled by demagogues.

But economic collapse might force the people to do things that are desired by no one.

It is not impossible that the government's measures will have an effect contrary to their intention.

### NOTE OF PROTEST TO FRANCE

MOSCOW, October 30.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, on October 27 sent the French Prime Minister as well as Foreign Minister Leygues the following note:

The Russian Soviet Government notes with regret that the serious desire for complete peace between Russia and Poland with which Soviet Russia is animated, as is also the overwhelming majority of the Polish people, is being repeatedly frustrated by outside influences which constitute a hindrance to an immediate and effective peace in eastern Europe. A preliminary peace and armistice treaty has been signed between Poland on the one hand, and Russia and Ukraine on the other, and these last-named powers therefore had a right to hope that hostilities would immediately and absolutely cease in accordance with the agreement that had been concluded. But the facts have unfortunately not corresponded with this hope. Petlura's troops, in spite of the fact that they constitute an integral portion of the Polish army, and are under the orders of the Polish Military Command, have not subjected themselves to the armistice agreement, and still continue, in violation of the agreement, to wage war against Russia and Ukraine. As these troops, as well as the bandits of Balakhovich and Savinkov, are not able to maintain themselves armed and equipped out of their own resources, and have not sufficient financial resources of their own for the waging of war, it is manifest that the French Government, which in spite of its repeated assurances has continued to supply the Polish army with military heads and instructors, up to the present moment, has also supplied these bands with munitions and weapons to fight against Russia; and has assigned the necessary credits to Poland with this object in view; and is continuing to support Petlura and his consorts and thus is maintaining a state of war in eastern Europe and preventing the realization of peace. The French Government, which egged Poland on to begin this war against Russia—a war that has cost the Polish people unheard of sacrifices—and which has done everything in its power to prevent the reestablishment of peace between Russia and Poland, seems now to be pursuing the object of continuing to prolong the sufferings of the working classes in eastern Europe. In protesting with indignation against this criminal procedure on the part of the French Government, which is the cause of the distress and misery prevailing among the nations of eastern Europe, the Soviet Government expresses its hope that the great masses of the French people will soon put an end to this policy with its baleful consequences for humanity and to the criminal role played by their government.



## Map of Territory

as well as of the Allied Soviet Republics, showing also some of the neighboring countries included in the Federation are: Azerbaijan, Bashkiria, Bukhara, Khiva, Karelia, Kirgizia, square kilometers, holding more than 120,000,000 inhabitants. This map was prepared on to follow the geographical references in the weekly Military Reviews by Lt.-Col. B. Row



### in Soviet Russia

*Soviet Russia. The heavy dotted line indicates the limits of Soviet territory. The countries Tataria, Turkestan, Ukraine, White Russia. The total area of this territory is about 18,000,000 square miles. This outline recently published in "Kommunismus", Vienna. Our readers should now find it easier*

**SOVIET RUSSIA**

*Official Organ of the*

**RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU**  
110 West 40th Street      New York, N. Y.

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This weekly will print articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

## Statement of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

*on the Concession to be Granted to Mr. Washington  
B. Vanderlip*

New York, December 13, 1920.

Mr. Washington B. Vanderlip called at the Russian Soviet Government Bureau at 110 West 40th Street this morning to discuss with Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Soviet Republic, the details of the negotiations conducted by Mr. Vanderlip, on behalf of a syndicate of Pacific Coast financiers, with officials of the Soviet Government at Moscow.

As previously announced by the Soviet Government Bureau, the concession granted to the Vanderlip syndicate comprises a sixty year lease of Siberian territory east of the one hundred and sixtieth meridian, including Kamchatka, an area of 400,000 square miles, with exclusive rights to exploit coal, oil and fisheries. The granting of this concession was confirmed in a cablegram received by Mr. Martens from Mr. George Chicherin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Moscow, on October 26. In addition to the concession for the exploitation of natural resources in Siberia, Mr. Vanderlip's negotiations at Moscow included another arrangement whereby the same syndicate is to become the fiscal agent of the Russian Soviet Government in America, financing all purchases made through the Soviet Government Bureau. These two arrangements are wholly separate and unrelated.

Mr. Vanderlip will have further conferences with Mr. Martens and officials of the Commercial Department of the Soviet Government Bureau, after which he will leave for the Pacific Coast to report to his associates and arrange for the further development of their plans.

**YAKUTSK** is a region in the extreme east of Siberia, long cut off from the world. A few months ago, the Central Bureau of Siberian Cooperatives began the work of opening up this country. A steamer was equipped and sent out along the rivers of the district, carrying manufactured products. The district possesses immense resources in skins, as well as various raw materials, which the population, in their great lack of manufactured articles, are eager to exchange for the latter. From

the ports of Ayan and Okhotsk, the goods are transported across country to the Maya, a tributary of the Aldan, which, in turn, flows into the Lena. The distance between the Ayan and the Lena is more than two hundred miles, without roads. The whole region is covered with dense forests, with trails known only to the hunters and natives. More than 100 reindeer are therefore to be used in transport work. This portion of the work is said to be the most difficult, but the cooperatives have done everything to secure completely successful operation. From the Maya, the goods are transported down the Aldan, and from its confluence with the Lena they go down the latter river to Yakutsk. The necessary river tonnage is assured through the cooperation of the Yakutsk cooperatives. Ayan and Okhotsk, as well as all the territory surrounding Lake Okhotsk, are extremely important. They are famous for their boundless supplies of fish and skins. Years ago, efforts were already made to develop these industries, and now again traces of a reawakening are to be felt in these regions so long neglected. The Siberian cooperatives, well acquainted with the needs of the country, are introducing new methods of catching fish and preparing skins. Several depots are to be established along the coast, between Kamchatka and the Amur, provided with the necessary employes and supplies, for the purpose of negotiating with the hunters and gathering game from them. These depots will also supply the population with tools and manufactured products.

The Yakutsk region is one of those covered in the great concession that has just been granted to the corporation represented by Mr. Washington B. Vanderlip, of Hollywood, California, who called at the Soviet Government Bureau, after his return to America, on Monday, December 13.

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**R**ED CROSS officials have recently been endeavoring, through reports spread to newspapers in various parts of the United States, to give the impression that Red Cross organizations are not permitted to work in Russia, that they were ordered out of the country by the Soviet Government.

The fact is, the American Red Cross was ordered out of Russia, but not by the Soviet Government or by any other authority inside of Russia. It was ordered out from at home, not from Russia. Any Red Cross official who really worked with the American Red Cross in Russia before it left that country can corroborate this statement. A number of such individuals have recently, however, been attempting to produce a contrary impression, and one of them at least had his statement printed in a recent issue of the *Davenport (Iowa) Daily Times* (November 22). This was Mr. Walter Davidson, mentioned in the *Davenport* paper as "acting manager of the central district headquarters of the Red Cross at Chicago." Among other things he said: "The Red Cross organization was operating in Russia when it was ordered out of the country. It was maintaining hospitals, doing re-

lief work, administering to the millions of suffering people, when the Soviet Government obtained control." He was answering a statement of Mr. Isaac McBride, made at a lecture given in that city, to the effect that the American Red Cross was consciously assisting every counter-revolutionary army attacking Soviet Russia, and neglecting to furnish any medical aid to the military forces of Soviet Russia.

Mr. Allen Wardwell was the last American Red Cross supervisor to leave Soviet Russia. When Mr. Wardwell returned to the United States, he gave frequent interviews to American newspapers, in which he pointed out how fully the American Red Cross had met with the cooperation of the Soviet Government. We shall not quote from any of these now rather old interviews, but reprint herewith a few short passages from a speech delivered by Mr. Wardwell, on October 16, 1920, at the Twenty-ninth Luncheon Discussion of the League of Free Nations Association, at the Hotel Commodore, New York. The subject of the Luncheon Discussion was "Peace or War With Russia?"

"It is now nearly two years since the last of the American relief organizations left Russia. Conditions then were bad enough. Most of us who were in relief organizations have been much occupied in our own affairs since and perhaps have not been able to follow closely all of the information which came from Russia, and to compare it pro and con. None the less, I think those who saw conditions in the summer of 1918 and can grasp some of the things that have been passing since, can make a fair picture of what must be the conditions there today."

After speaking of sanitary and provisions conditions in Soviet Russia, which he believes to be very bad, Mr. Wardwell continues:

"Naturally the question arises in everybody's mind, why under such conditions as that, with America taking the lead or aiding in relief in every other country in the world, and in other parts of Russia, should we neglect Soviet Russia? I should have thought that the mere statement of the conditions that exist there would have been enough to urge us on to some relief work of that kind, but I am told that that is largely sentimental bosh, and that I, as a lawyer of the New York Bar for a considerable number of years, ought not to consider such things as that."

And later, after suggesting the fact that political differences in Russia and elsewhere make persons in foreign countries desire to give no medical or other aid to Soviet Russia:

"It is this contest then, that has made people fearful of sending relief to Russia, fearful that it would aid what they considered to be the center of this propaganda, this effort to overthrow their own government. In that I believe they are wrong. It seems to me that if this challenge sent forth from Moscow is a class challenge, then it is one that is equally on in Moscow. And we must as much refrain from giving to the Bolsheviks weapons for their own usefulness there as we would if they were here. I think the withholding of relief from Soviet Russia, and particularly the large cities, have given them a weapon which they have used to the greatest advantage at home.

"Nor do I believe that the people of anti-Bolshevik tendencies—bourgeois, as we call them, who still live in Russia—would agree that relief should be withheld.

"I have heard the statement made that they are the first to say, 'We would rather suffer than see help sent to us from the outside, which would help the Bolsheviks'. I cannot credit it. I know many of them. Take the medical men—bourgeois almost to a man. Haven't they stayed in Rus-

sia and done their work? Take the head of the great Orthopaedic Hospital in Petrograd. I never heard a man use worse language in secret (Laughter) against the Bolsheviks than he did and yet he operated his hospital under them and never gave any suggestion that he wanted to leave. He worked on, working under the spur of the most bitter kind of attack from Bolshevik authorities. I understand that today he is in what used to be Tsarskoe-selo or the Czar's Village, now the Children's Village, working with the children who live in the former palace of the Czar. If they can stay there and do that, can't we help them? (Great Applause.)

"But, 'Oh', they would say, 'there are lots of other reasons why we should not do it. They will take your food away from them. They won't let you distribute it. You cannot get it in. They will steal it. They do all sorts of things.' That is pretty old talk to me. That is exactly what they said when we were there."

Mr. Wardwell then proceeds to tell a clear story of honest and just distribution of food, of non-interference by Soviet authorities. We could quote it all here, but our readers, should they wish to read Mr. Wardwell's whole speech, can obtain the stenographic report of the entire Luncheon Discussion from the League of Free Nations Association.

Our object in quoting from Mr. Wardwell at all is simply to show that Mr. Wardwell, who, being the last American Red Cross official to leave Soviet Russia, would certainly know of any ordering out of the country by the Soviet Government, says not a word about it, and rather suggests that the failure of the American Red Cross to continue operations in Soviet Russia was due to causes nearer home. It is none of our business whether the Red Cross sends aid to Soviet Russia or not—we do not ask charity—but we cannot permit the American Red Cross to "get-away" with its partiality to counter-revolutionary forces with the statement that they were "ordered out" of Soviet Russia. They may have been "ordered out", but it was not by the Soviet Government.

Thus the Red Cross is indirectly continuing to spread the impression that it is a "neutral" organization, interested in securing the advantages of medical attendance and general relief work to all the peoples and armies of the world, when as a matter of fact, it is a belligerent body supporting counter-revolution everywhere.

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**I**N THE discussion that followed the various speeches delivered on the above occasion, a questioner, apparently convinced that the Soviet Government was preventing food from reaching non-Bolsheviks while the Red Cross was still in Petrograd, provoked an answer from Mr. Wardwell that must have set his doubts at rest. We cannot refrain from quoting, again from the stenographic report, both question and answer:

QUESTION: I should like to ask a question of Mr. Wardwell.

I have an affidavit in my office, sworn to by an American soldier who was in charge of the supply and warehouse of the Red Cross in Petrograd in 1919, in which he states that an American clergyman, the Rev. George A. Simons, Methodist minister for fifteen years in Russia, went to the Red Cross headquarters and was refused food for parishioners of his and for Christians generally who were not Bol-

sheviki who needed assistance. The food was refused because they said they had none. Now, I have a sworn statement in my office, which I can produce in a moment for anyone to see, from Lieutenant Hetzel, who works for the American Can Company on 36th Street, in which he says that there were hundreds of thousands of dollars of supplies in the warehouse of the Red Cross at the time the Rev. Dr. Simons could not get anything, but that the Bolsheviks got supplies, and that they were for sale at the Nevskyprospekt for weeks and for months afterwards.

MR. WARDWELL: I don't know that this is a question. It is rather an assertion. I have no doubt that Dr. Simons if he went direct to the warehouse in Petrograd was refused food. But Dr. Simons subsequently came to me, and I gave Dr. Simons food. I gave it for his parishioners. I have his signed receipt and his letter of thanks in my possession. (Laughter and great applause.)

\* \* \*

GEORGIA will probably be thrown by the Allies into an unwilling war with Azerbaijan and Armenia, both of which are Soviet Republics allied with Soviet Russia, in order to make of this whole region a new operating basis for counter-revolutionary armies attacking Soviet Russia. A loan is to be advanced by England to Georgia, and Wrangel is to be transferred to conduct military operations on the new scene. A Warsaw dispatch of November 20 tells us that the following has appeared in *Rzeczpospolita*, of that city:

"Reports from Russian counter-revolutionary circles at Warsaw indicate that Wrangel intends to launch new operations against Soviet Russia in the Caucasus. The backbone of the new enterprise is to be furnished by the 20,000 men who sought refuge on Entente ships. The same very well-informed counter-revolutionists also say that the Georgian Government, which, as is well-known, is Social-Democratic, had already agreed, before Wrangel's defeat, to permit him to conduct operations against Soviet Russia with Georgia as a base."

That is to say, the Social-Democratic Government of Georgia, acting against the will of the majority of the population, who desire an alliance with Soviet Russia, consents to hand over the country to Wrangel, to use it as a base against Soviet Russia! Whether France is again to be the chief sponsor of the new enterprise, is not certain, but a Paris message of November 21 is not without interest in this connection:

"Maklakov, the leader of the group of Czarist Russians who are conducting anti-Bolshevik propaganda from the Russian 'embassy' in Paris, yesterday had a conference with the French Prime Minister, in which he made effort to learn the intentions of the French Government with regard to the defeated Wrangel. It is reported today that Leygues' answer did not reassure the 'Russian Ambassador', and that no hope was offered of any new military enterprises on the part of France, either now or later. But France's disinclination to give renewed support to adventurers opposing the Red Army must not be interpreted as a real desire for peace. There is reason to assume that the French Government will make new attempts to crush Moscow. It is already stated that a well-known general of the French Staff is preparing plans for a military expedition against Russia, in which among others French troops would take part in great numbers."

\* \* \*

TWO weeks ago (in the issue of December 11) SOVIET RUSSIA suggested editorially that voices would not be lacking in Spain, Norway, and Sweden, which would protest against the proposed sending of troops, in even the smallest numbers,

to Vilna for the purpose of "policing" the city during a plebiscite. We then indicated the probability that this proposed "policing" was simply a means of preparing for the erection of a new line of buffer states, to consist chiefly of the Scandinavian countries. We are now in a position to provide our readers with direct statements from newspapers of the countries concerned, protesting against any such attempt to involve them in the war which the Allies have not yet ceased to wage against Soviet Russia. From *Social Demokraten* of Christiania, Norway, issue of November 25, we take the following editorial:

When the fundamental pact of the League of Nations was under discussion, the published statements indicated that one of the most disputed questions was whether the League of Nations should be equipped with any special armed forces. France was very anxious that such should be the case. But the outcome of the matter was that moral authority was to be considered as sufficient. The League did not obtain permission to conscript troops.

Let us therefore at the very outset state, whatever may be the form of the summons to the Norwegian nation, Norway has no duty, by the pact of the League, or any other treaty, or any other documents, to put a single man at the disposal of the League of Nations.

And let us make an additional statement. No Norwegian, no Norwegian soldier, is bound to obey a possible order to stand guard at Vilna. These services lie entirely outside of the conscription law.

The Norwegian Government, the Norwegian Storting, the Norwegian soldier have therefore full freedom in discussing whether we are to send 100 men to stand guard at Vilna during the impending plebiscite.

The thing looks very innocent. Only one hundred men! And only for an extremely peaceful and proper enterprise. It may look that way. But we should know how easily complications may arise either between the Lithuanians and the Poles or between the various classes and parties within the country. In fact, it will be inevitable that "the guard" will be drawn in, and before we know it, we shall be embarked in a most dangerous adventure. For we also have a "military honor" to defend.

But there is also another side to the matter, more ominous and more questionable still.

What are France and England going to do with the wretched 300 Scandinavian troops? They could of course provide them easily themselves. Is it to confer a special honor upon Norway, Sweden, and Denmark? Certainly not. No, it is with the object of pushing the Scandinavian countries into a definite policy of warfare against Russia. The thing has been tried before without much success. The new method may perhaps be better.

The relations between Lithuania, various classes and currents in Lithuania, and the Russian Government are not clear. Western Europe regards the Soviet Government, with customary arrogance, as an entirely negligible quantity in this combination. That is not the view, however, of the Russian Government. It is easy to see therefore, that it is possible that frictions may arise. Should the western powers succeed in creating a single Scandinavian front against Russia, they will obtain something that must mean a great deal in their eyes.

Government circles have said that eventually "only volunteer troops" would be sent. But whether they are volunteers or not these troops would be equipped by the Norwegian state, and their acts and destinies would be a responsibility for the Norwegian state.

Norway must choose between two paths. That which the League of Nations wants us to follow leads into the abyss.

A later issue of the same periodical advertises a great protest meeting against the sending of Norwegian troops to Vilna, to be held on Wednesday, December 1, in the Great Hall of the Christiania Workingmen's Society, which was to be ad-



dressed by Karl Johanssen and Martin Tranmael. We have not yet received details of this meeting.

On October 6, Litvinov, Soviet Russian Representative in Norway, left that country, after the negotiations he had been conducting with that country's Department of Commerce had been broken off by that Department. Evidently the powers that made the Norwegian Government send Litvinov home (see SOVIET RUSSIA for December 11, 1920, as well as the documents printed in this article), intend his expulsion to be only the beginning of a Scandinavian participation in the counter-revolutionary war.

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ON THE following day, November 26, *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, of Stockholm, printed an editorial similarly opposing participation of Sweden in this "police" duty. From this article, which is signed by Z. Hoglund, we take the following paragraphs:

"The time has come. The Council of the League of Nations has decided to summon the Scandinavian nations to take part in the maintenance of the police duty in the plebiscite district at Vilna. Each one of these states will be asked to send a detachment of 100 men. In the struggle between megalomaniac White Poland and nationalistic Lithuania, Sweden and the other Scandinavian states are to have the dubious honor of intervening with so-called 'order police', which to be sure is declared to function only in connection with the plebiscite in this region, and which is to have a very limited size, but who will guarantee that this will be the end, if once we have embarked upon the adventure? It is quite probable that the demand will gradually be increased when it turns out that the enterprise requires bigger forces than it was considered desirable to suggest in advance. The Entente imperialism, thinks, in other words, to impose upon the neutral states a portion of the military and economic burden which their own insane and criminal policy in Eastern Europe has laid upon them. And this is being done under the false pretence of an honorable international commission, conferred by the League of Nations!

"The matter becomes all the more questionable in view of a simultaneous expression by 'a representative of one of the Great Powers' to an NPC correspondent, in which the latter asks: 'Why is Scandinavia doing absolutely nothing for Armenia? If Scandinavia should send to Vilna even a very small contingent, it would show that it is in principle not opposed to making sacrifices in order to consolidate international peace.' The thing sounds very well, but actually the meaning is probably this: if we can only fool you into sending 100 men to Vilna, getting you thus to recognize in principle your duty to take part in the warlike enterprises of the Entente, under various disguises, we shall be satisfied. For once you have begun you will keep on of yourself. We will begin with Vilna and later there will be Armenia, and then Persia, India, China, Italy, and Russia—for where does the Entente not need a little troop of serfs to 'maintain order'. And why should not Scandinavia be out fighting for the continuation of the capitalist world order, which is the real task of the League of Nations?

"These are the fruits of the right wing Socialist Entente policy, which are now beginning to mature. Sweden's workers, the majority of whom have good naturedly followed this policy through thick and thin, are now obtaining a very tangible and uncomfortable lesson of what it costs to dance blindly to Branting's whistle. It would of course be foolish to expect that the Government now in session will refuse to obey the new order. But the working class of our country should absolutely refuse to accept the questionable honor of taking part in the Entente's international police guard. Let them do it themselves."

We have not gone through the Danish newspapers to find similar expressions of disapproval of the effort to include Denmark in the new military zone to be erected against Soviet Russia. But can our readers doubt that the verdict of the Danish press would be similar to that voiced in Norway and Sweden?

## Chicherin to the British Government

*The following radio was sent on November 26, for the London Foreign Office to Earl Curzon of Kedleston:*

Answering your number 103, the Russian Government protests against the eventuality of a British occupation of Batum as suggested by wireless messages of British stations\* have led the British Government to assumption that this place, which is part of independent Georgia, is in some danger. The above-mentioned British radio telegrams prove that it is really threatened by the danger of being occupied by Entente forces. As for the insinuation made by the British Government that the safety of Batum and, in general, the independence of Georgia is allegedly threatened by a danger from the Russian Government, this allegation is dictated by the same misinformation of the British Government as to Caucasian affairs which was shown by the British Prime Minister during his conference with the Russian Trade Delegation on June 7, when he expressed surprise at learning that a treaty had been concluded between Soviet Russia and Georgia on May 7. Otherwise the British Government would have known that the Russian Soviet Government was the first to recognize (in June) the independent Georgian Government, this recognition being still withheld by the Entente's Governments which try to demonstrate such interest in the fate of Georgia. As a matter of fact the whole policy of Soviet Russia in the Near East is dictated by her desire to preserve peace, and to render possible to every people to determine its own fate. There has been, on the part of the Russian Government, no act which would even remotely infringe the independence of Georgia. It has recognized its independence in the same treaty which stipulates that no alien forces shall reside at Batum, and it is loyally observing this treaty by which its action in the questions concerned is determined. A hostile occupation of Batum would mean violation of the above treaty, and from the point of view not only of its own safety, but also of the defence of this treaty against any violation, the Russian Government would not be able to remain indifferent to such eventuality. In every case, however, the Russian Government will always faithfully adhere to the recognition of Georgia's independence, and will in no case violate its sovereign rights either by occupation of Batum or otherwise.

\* The text is evidently defective and should probably read, beginning with the word "Batum" in line 3: "as has been suggested. Wireless messages of British stations have led the British Government to the assumption that," etc.

## Correspondence with the Norwegian Government

[On November 18 the following correspondence passing between Litvinov and the Norwegian Department of Commerce was submitted to the members of the Norwegian Storting as a printed document. We translate this document from the Norwegian in its entirety and publish it below because of the intrinsic interest attached to each of the diplomatic messages contained in it. For the present it is not necessary for us to make any comment on the nature of the documents, beyond pointing out that those emanating from the Norwegian Department of Commerce repeatedly emphasize the desire of that Department to have a veto power as to the person of the official appointed by the Soviet Government to conduct commercial negotiations with the Norwegian Government. It is unfortunate that insistence on this point by the Norwegian Department of Commerce should have led to the refusal by that Department in the last of the documents printed below, to continue its negotiations with the Soviet Government, represented by Litvinov. Litvinov had, however, before the negotiations were broken off, yielded to the Norwegian Department of Commerce on this point. The inability of the Norwegian Government to undertake any step that might appear to involve a recognition of the Soviet Government is particularly interesting (see No. II); who is behind it? Litvinov left Christiania with his secretary, Piatigorsky, on October 6.]

### I. Draft of Agreement Proposed by Litvinov to the Norwegian Foreign Department on September 8

Impelled by the desire to eliminate all obstacles in the way of a resumption of trade relations between the two countries, the Government of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic and the Royal Norwegian Government have agreed as follows:

1. In anticipation of a resumption of normal diplomatic relations the contracting parties have agreed to erect a Russian Commercial Bureau at Christiania, and a Norwegian Commercial Bureau at Moscow, controlled and conducted respectively by one—or, not more than two—representatives of the Russian People's Commissariat for Foreign Commerce, or by any other institution that may represent it, and by the Norwegian Commercial Department, respectively.

2. The contracting parties guarantee free access to their respective countries to not more than fifteen Russian and Norwegian citizens, respectively, who shall constitute the personnel of the commercial bureaus mentioned in paragraph 1. The heads of the bureaus may, however, also employ citizens of their own or of any other nationality dwelling in Russia or Norway respectively.

3. The Commercial Bureaus shall have the right to appoint agents in the northern parts of Russia and Norway.

4. The official representatives (not more than two for each of the contracting parties) of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and the Commercial Department, respectively, and their secretaries (one for each representative) and agents (see paragraph 3) shall enjoy in full the customary diplomatic rights and privileges, including that of extra-territoriality.

5. The Commercial Bureaus shall have the right to send to their governments through couriers sealed packages not exceeding 10 kilograms in weight for each courier.

6. Telegraph and radio messages forwarded by the Commercial Bureaus and their agents shall take precedence in both countries over private telegrams.

7. It is understood that the contracting parties guarantee fully that the respective representatives shall abstain from any propaganda directed against the government, institutions, or social and political relations, in Russia and Norway, and from any participation in the political or social conflicts that may take place in these countries, and that they will not accept commissions for governments, persons or commercial firms other than those of their respective country.

8. The commercial representatives and their agents will be granted the right to exercise all customary consular acts and functions.

9. The Royal Norwegian Government consents to recognize as valid and legal all official documents, identification passports, certificates, grants, powers of attorney, protocols and documents of every other kind drawn up or certified by institutions and departments of the Russian Soviet Government.

10. Both the contracting parties consent to the reestablishment of postal communications between their two countries.

11. The Royal Norwegian Government consents to permit free transit through Norway of goods from and to the Russian Soviet Republic on the same condition as to and from other countries. Such goods shall, whether they are being transported through Norway or stored in Norway to be reexported, be free from all taxes.

12. The Russian Commercial Bureau as well as any other institution, organization or person belonging to the Soviet Republic shall enjoy the right to appear before the Norwegian Courts as plaintiff or defendant, in accordance with the country's laws. The Norwegian Commercial Bureau, Norwegian institutions, and Norwegian persons in Russia shall enjoy similar privileges.

13. Russian ships shall have access to Norwegian ports and Norwegian ships to Russian ports on the same conditions granted to ships of other nationalities and they shall likewise be permitted to make use of ports, quays, channels, and transportation routes, pilots, cranes, and warehouses, to the same extent to which these facilities are granted in general trade.

14. The present agreement shall go into effect immediately after it has been signed by the representatives of the contracting parties, and may be abrogated by either side on giving six months' notice.

An affirmation of which the representatives of the two countries have signed the present agreement and have affixed their seals.

### II. Communication of the Norwegian Department of Commerce to Mr. Litvinov, September 11

The Foreign Department has transmitted to this Department, which has jurisdiction in negotiations on subjects touching upon trade and industry, the draft formulated by you as a regulation of the commercial relations between Norway and Soviet Russia.

The present Department has the honor to inform you that the provisions suggested by you cannot be approved by the Norwegian side, for the reason, among others, that this would actually involve a recognition of the Russian Soviet Government. As you have been already informed, the Norwegian Government does not consider itself able to grant this recognition.

The Department considers that it would be sufficient to advance our mutual trade as far as it may be established between commercial individuals in the two countries, that access should be afforded to the two countries for a provisional and experimental exchange of commercial commissioners. Their number should be limited to ten for each country, including secretaries and other assistants. Their distribution to the various localities within the country should be undertaken after a detailed agreement between the Chairmen of the Commissions and authorities appointed in the respective country for the regulation of such matters.

The authorities of the respective country appointed for such matters are given access to the commissioners as well as to the power to approve them or to revoke the approval already granted, should their mission not lead to the desired or intended results, or should they in any way carry on or participate in any propaganda which is not associated with the object of their sojourn as commercial com-

missioners, or should their sojourn in the respective country be considered undesirable for other reasons.

The authorities of the respective country shall afford opportunity to these commissioners to conduct the postal and telegraphic correspondence that may be necessary in the prosecution of their activities, including the right to receive and forward radio and other telegrams in cipher. They are also granted an opportunity to receive once a week by a special courier, to be approved in advance and to have no diplomatic quality whatever, without inspection, as well as to send out from the respective country, documents in sealed packages weighing altogether not more than three kilograms. This consignment of papers is to be supplied in each case with the necessary legitimating certificates by the authorities of the respective countries.

Contracts concluded between the parties concerned shall be subject to Norwegian law, and disputes which may arise, shall, unless it is definitely provided otherwise, be adjudicated by Norwegian courts. With this object in view, the Russian commissioners are granted the right to bring suit and appear in court to answer suit in this country, so long as their activities remain legal. They must for this purpose be supplied with the necessary powers of attorney to answer suit on their part before Norwegian courts.

For the purpose of undertaking such exports of goods as may result from the above commercial activity, Russian ships shall have access to Norwegian ports and shall be placed on an equality with the ships of other nations, provided that Norwegian ships obtain corresponding free access to Russian ports.

Attention is called to the fact that the trade which will be of particular interest to our country is the export of fisheries products.

It is understood that the regulation that may be adopted with regard to questions here touched upon will not in any way prejudice the demands on Russia for indemnification of the Norwegian nation or of Norwegian citizens. We take the liberty to anticipate your early communication as to whether you find yourself able to accept such an adjustment.

P. S. This communication has been delayed as a consequence of a telegraphic statement from the Norwegian Consulate at Archangel to the effect that certain Norwegian citizens had been denied permission by the appropriate Russian authorities to leave the city mentioned in order to return home to Norway. This matter has now been regulated.

CHRISTIANIA, September 16, 1920.

### III. Communication from Mr. Litvinov, September 16

I herewith acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of today containing certain alterations and additions proposed by the Royal Norwegian Government to my draft agreement.

I regret that I am not in a position to understand what provisions in the draft agreement, should this agreement be accepted, could in the opinion of the Norwegian Government involve recognition on its part of the Russian Soviet Government. It may be observed in this connection that representatives of the Soviet Government living in Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland and other countries that have not formally acknowledged this government, have been granted more comprehensive rights and privileges than those that were asked by me.

If, as seems to me to be the case, objections are made to the wording of certain provisions, this matter could easily be adjusted.

I note with satisfaction that your government accepts the principle of exchange of commercial representatives. It is immaterial to me whether these representatives are to be called commercial delegates, or commissioners, as you propose. I have no objection to having the permanent staff limited to ten for each country, since any increase that might be found necessary would be provided for by further mutual agreement.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Government cannot under any conditions accept any restrictions in the choice of its representatives. Let me emphasize the fact that any representatives that may be appointed will be obliged to carry

out the instructions of their government, and that therefore there cannot be any question of personal responsibility. Each of the two governments shall, however, have the right to ask the recall of any representative who may be found guilty of meddling in the internal affairs of the country in which he is stationed, or of violation of its laws.

To judge from my experience as a member of the Russian Commercial Delegation abroad, I believe that sealed packages weighing only three kilograms would be found insufficient for commercial documents, specifications, drawings, etc., such as are commonly exchanged with Russia. Permit me therefore to propose that the weight be increased to at least five kilograms. It may also become impracticable to have parcels sent by only one courier. Each government should therefore have the right to change its couriers or to forward its parcels by any person whatever who might be able to obtain the necessary visas from the commercial representatives in the respective countries.

As to the legal position of the Russian Commercial Commission, it should be empowered to carry on trade not only in the name of the Russian Government, but also in that of other Russian institutions, and to participate in Norwegian private corporations.

I observe that nothing is said in your communication concerning paragraphs 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 14, of the draft agreement, and I therefore assume that they are approved by the Norwegian Government. Should this not be the case, I take the liberty to make the following observations upon the subject:

The commercial commissioners should, being the sole representatives of their government, be put in a position to maintain their prestige by being secured against molestation on the part of local authorities, since such molestation may become a source of constant friction and misunderstanding. Such immunity is enjoyed by the Russian Commercial Delegation in Great Britain, Sweden, and other countries. But I have no objection to having this privilege limited in its application to the head of the commission, to his assistant and secretary, and to his agents in seaport towns.

In the absence of regular diplomatic and consular employees a portion of their work will naturally have to be done by the commercial commissioners, such as passport visas, certification of documents, etc., which are drawn up by public institutions in the country in which they are stationed.

The importance of establishing postal communications between the two countries is so manifest that it requires no comment.

Any purchase in Norway will involve the Russian Government in a series of commercial transactions that may last for several months. The Russian Government can of course not enter into any such negotiations, or remit money or property to Norway, unless it has been assured that the relations that have been established will not be suddenly terminated. The agreement must therefore remain valid for a period to be determined in advance, since its nullification would require at least six months' notice from either side.

I also note that Norway is chiefly interested in the export of fisheries products. The numerous offers I have received from Norwegian firms seem to indicate that great stocks of other goods are also available within the country, which might be bought by Russia, and that Norwegian factory products are also of interest to Russia. And on its part, Russia expects to be able to forward its own goods for sale in or through Norway. As I assume that such commercial operations would have mutually advantageous results, I am unable to look upon the reestablishment of commercial relations between the two countries as a mere experiment.

Finally, I take the liberty to state that I am at your disposal if you should share my opinion as to the practicability of a personal conference to regulate the above-mentioned differences of view.

### IV. Communication of the Department of Commerce to Mr. Litvinov, September 18

The Department acknowledges receipt of your communication of the 16 instant concerning the proposed regula-

tion of a mutual exchange of commercial commissioners in Norway and Russia, and takes note that the Russian Soviet Government will not under any circumstances accept any limitations in its choice of representatives.

Since, however, the Department on its part considers that it must insist, as an absolute condition, on the fact that the appropriate authorities of the two countries should reserve the right to have access to as well as to recognize the commissioners that have been sent out, and, if need be, to revoke the recognition already granted, it would appear useless to continue the negotiations as to a regulation such as we have discussed, unless the Russian Soviet Government, after a renewed and early consideration of the matter, could find itself in a position to share the Department's view.

Under these circumstances the Department considers it unnecessary for the moment to take up a discussion of the remaining points proposed in your communication, which, as we understand, are to be considered as desiderata on your part, and not as absolutely final conditions. We only take the liberty to observe that the draft regulations contained in the Department's communication of the 11 instant is intended as an exhaustive basis, and that therefore, in the above-mentioned communication, the Department has only approved those of your proposals that are actually taken up in the Department's draft regulations.

We take the liberty to await at the earliest possible moment such expression on your part as may be suggested by the present communication.

*V. Communication from Mr. Litvinov, September 20*

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 18 instant, which I did not receive until this evening.

I note with regret that your Department denies the Russian Soviet Government the right to send commercial agents of its own choice. A personal objection from the Norwegian standpoint to any future commercial agents is all the more difficult to understand when I consider that Soviet Russia has not yet had any representatives in Norway, so that there is no means of conjecturing upon what considerations such objections may be based.

I further observe that you decline to discuss every point of departure between the two propositions for the agreement, and insist that I absolutely approve your proposals. You will doubtless understand me when I say that if I had foreseen that your government would be ready to resume commercial relations with Russia on what I can only designate as dictated conditions I should not have considered it necessary to come to Christiania, since a mutual exchange of ultimata could just as well have been effected with the assistance of the mails.

Not desiring to assume the responsibility for the serious consequences to both countries which would be involved in a rejection of your proposals, I have sent a radio message to my government, submitting all the details, and I am now awaiting final instructions, which I hope to receive in the course of the next few days.

*VI. Communication of the Department of Commerce to Mr. Litvinov, September 22*

The Department acknowledges receipt of your honored letter of the 20 instant and regrets the misunderstanding which seems to be at the bottom of your conception of our earlier correspondence.

As you will recall, you said in your communication of September 16, 1920, among other things: "The Soviet Government cannot under any conditions accept any restrictions in the choice of its representatives."

You will observe that you made it an absolute condition for the sending of commercial commissioners that your standpoint on this subject should be accepted. This the Department has been unable to do. The Department does not intend to deny the Soviet Government the right to send out commercial commissioners of its own free choice. The Department simply wishes, in pursuance of those reservations that are customary in such cases, to reserve to itself the right to acknowledge the persons that may be appointed by the Russian Soviet Government as its commercial commissioners.

The Department in its communication of the 18 instant called attention to the fact that insofar as the Russian Soviet Government should not be able to take the Department's point of view into a renewed and speedy consideration, the Department considered it not necessary for the present to discuss the other points of your communication. The observation of the Department to the effect that its draft was intended to be an exhaustive basis, had the object of removing any impression on your part that certain of the various expressions of your draft had been tacitly approved on the Norwegian side; compare your communication of the 16 instant.

*VII. Communication from Mr. Litvinov, September 29*

In our conference of September 21 I had the honor to place before you certain proposals that I hoped would eliminate the discrepancies between my draft agreement and your counter-proposals. I left the conference with the impression that my proposals would be submitted to your government for consideration. Up to now I have not, however, had the pleasure of receiving any communication concerning your government's decision on this point.

Meanwhile I have obtained certainty concerning the views of my own government, which coincide fully with my proposals. As I am eager to bring the negotiations to a decisive stage, I should be much obliged for your speedy answer concerning these questions, or for another early interview, should Your Excellency believe that such an interview might accelerate the consummation of the object mentioned.

*VIII. Communication of the Department of Commerce to Mr. Litvinov, October 2*

From your favor of 29 ult. I learn that you seem to expect an answer from this Department on the proposals submitted by you in the conference of September 21, 1920.

This Department considered its letter of the 22 ult. as an answer to your proposals and has been expecting your detailed communication with regard to your statement in your letter of September 20 ult. in which you point out that you have submitted to your government all the details and are awaiting its final instructions.

In your letter of the 29 ult. you point out that you have obtained certainty that the views of your government coincide fully with your proposals. Your proposals, include, among other things, the demand that no restrictions be imposed in the choice of representatives; compare your communication of September 16, 1920.

The Department on its part finds that it must retain the demand that the authorities in the respective countries shall have the right to approve and revoke an approval already given.

The Department must therefore observe that the negotiations do not appear to promise to lead to any result.

*IX. Communication from Mr. Litvinov, October 4*

I acknowledge receipt of your communication of October 2. I regret to be compelled to state that your government apparently has decided to break off negotiations for the resumption of trade relations between Russia and Norway. To avoid misunderstandings with regard to the real grounds for this breaking off of negotiations I consider it my duty to state that in our conference of September 21, I had conceded that the Russian Government, which in principle denies the right to foreign governments to impose any limitation on the choice of Russian commercial representatives abroad, nevertheless understood that its representatives and the members of their staff could not in practice come to Norway without the consent of the Norwegian Government. I therefore proposed that the present Russian Delegation in Norway—in order that an agreement might be speedily concluded and put in practice before the port of Archangel should be closed—should be put in a position to begin trade, while the question of the consent to the arrival of the first Russian commercial commission in Norway should be kept open.

I further expressed my readiness to make concessions to the Norwegian Government's wishes with regard to other points in my draft agreement, against which objections had

been made. In my letter of September 20 I indicated that my government had agreed to these concessions.

It will be clear from the above review of the facts as they have taken place, that I have done everything in my power to remove the obstacles to an understanding, and that responsibility for the unfortunate consequences to the peoples of both countries, from a possible failure of the negotiations, cannot possibly be placed at the door of the Russian Government.

*X. Communication of the Department of Commerce to Mr. Litvinov, October 5*

The Department has received from you a communication dated 4 inst. which, by the way, is unsigned. We assume, however, that this is due to an oversight.

As the matter now stands we consider that we may limit ourselves to the following statement:

We must first state that it is clear from your communication that you will not be able to take up in the near future the unconditional demand made by this Department that the Russian commercial commissioners who, as a consequence of the proposed commercial agreement, might be sent to Norway, should be approved in advance by the Norwegian authorities. Under these circumstances to continue the negotiations as to such an agreement appears—as we have repeatedly informed you before—to be unnecessary.

**STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU ON THE DEPORTATION DECISION**

New York, December 17, 1920.

Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Soviet Government, today issued the following statement regarding the decision of the Department of Labor in the deportation proceedings:

I have communicated the terms of the decision to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs at Moscow. My action will be determined by the instructions I receive from my government.

The decision of the Secretary of Labor is plainly a political decision, dictated by the policy of the present Administration toward the Soviet Government. The order for my deportation is not based upon any alleged activities of mine, but upon the simple fact that I am the representative of the Soviet Government. The decision completely confirms my contention that I have never conducted any propaganda against the United States Government. Secretary Wilson says:

“There is no evidence to show that Martens has personally made any direct statement of a belief in the use of force or violence to overthrow the United States, nor is there any evidence that he has ever distributed or caused to be distributed any literature containing propaganda of that character.”

The Secretary of Labor also states plainly that the decision is not based upon any alleged membership in any political party or organization. The decision says “He (Martens) is not a member of or affiliated with the Russian Communist Party or the Third International.”

Thus the ground for deportation is placed squarely upon the fact that I am the accredited representative of the Soviet Government. It has always been my contention, and it was the contention of my attorneys in the deportation proceedings, that a decision of this gravity, affecting as it does the foreign relations of the United States Government, was a matter for the Department of State and not for the Labor Department. The Department of

State, however, preferred to evade the issue and has never even acknowledged the many communications in which I set forth the nature of my mission in this country and the desire of the Soviet Government to enter into commercial relations with the United States. Instead, the responsibility for this grave step has been put upon the Department of Labor, which I had never supposed to be the body to determine the foreign relations of the American Government. In effect, the decision means that so long as the present policy of the Administration prevails, no representative of the Soviet Government will be allowed to enter the United States for the purpose of establishing friendly and profitable commercial relations between the Russian and American peoples.

Of course, I do not believe that this precedent will be allowed to stand, or that it will prevent the ultimate establishment of trade relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. These relations will be established, as they are now being established between Russia and the countries of Europe. No temporary prejudice or hysterical policy will be allowed to interfere with the natural interests of the American people. The vast Russian market for manufactured goods of all kinds is the obvious remedy for the period of industrial depression and unemployment into which America is now entering. I am confident that the American people will demand a sensible reconsideration of the whole question of Russian-American relations.

*The reader is referred also to the four-page Supplement accompanying this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA containing the text of the Department of Labor's decision.*

**WATER TRANSPORT IMPROVED**

*Pravda*, Moscow, reports that transport by water has considerably improved in comparison with the year 1919. This is apparent from the following tables:

(The following waterways are here considered: The Volga, North Dvina, and the Maryinsky Canal route.)

The transportation amounted to (in thousand poods):

|                        | 1919           | 1920           | Increase of % |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Saline earths.....     | 6,899          | 17,227         | 150           |
| Salt .....             | 8,093          | 14,214         | 75            |
| Firewood .....         | 82,086         | 151,618        | 85            |
| Lumber .....           | 23,485         | 47,387         | 102           |
| Raw naphtha.....       | 5,923          | 30,017         | 407           |
| Petroleum .....        | 9,984          | 16,739         | 67            |
| Various materials..... | 22,478         | 36,559         | 63            |
|                        | <u>158,948</u> | <u>333,761</u> | <u>97</u>     |

This increase of 97 per cent is an accomplishment of the labor army, which has untiringly worked in order to improve the means of water transportation. And if there had not been so heavy a drought in the summer, which increased the difficulties in using the waterways, the result would have been even a more favorable one.

## Wireless and Other News

### RELATIONS WITH LATVIA

Moscow, November 18, 1920.—The Latvian Consul, Taube, having arrived at Petrograd, in a conversation with a newspaper correspondent has indicated Latvia's desire to establish most friendly relations with Russia. Latvia grants Russia the right of transit for necessary foreign goods. Very soon direct train service between Riga, Petrograd, and Moscow will be established.

### TWO SOVIET NOTES

Moscow, November 18, 1920.—On November 17 the Russian Government addressed two notes, one to the British and the other to the Georgian Government concerning the information contained in British radios that the occupation of Batum by the forces of the Entente is under consideration. The Russian Government most earnestly calls the attention of the British Government to the serious consequences which would necessarily arise in case of the adoption of this measure, which would be considered a direct menace to the security of the allied Azerbaijan Soviet Republic, and of Russia herself. In the note to Georgia, the Russian Government points out that the removal from Batum of the Entente forces, which menaced the security of Russia and Azerbaijan, was a fundamental condition of the peace treaty between Russia and Georgia. Both notes point out that the creation of a new menace to the Soviet republics arising from the occupation of Batum by Entente forces would compel Russia to adopt the most effective measures of protecting the security of these republics. This act on the part of the Entente would mean the attempt to create a new front in the south, and to kindle a conflagration in Caucasia. The Russian Government expresses in these notes the hope that the British and Georgian governments will give up such a fatal step, the consequences of which would fall entirely upon their responsibility.

### KAMENEV'S NEW POST

A recent issue of *Pravda*, Moscow, reports that Kamenev after his return from the southern front to Moscow again took up his position as Chairman of the Committee for the Defence of Moscow. It will be recalled that Dzerzhinsky occupied this post during Kamenev's absence. Kornyeu was elected vice-chairman.

### SEMIONOV'S TROOPS IN CHINA

Moscow, November 16, 1920.—After the liquidation of Semionov's troops in Eastern Siberia, the remnants began retreating into the territory of the Chinese Republic. Chinese troops unable to cope with these bands have entreated the Red troops to help them expel the invaders. Thus, the Red Army is compelled to enter the territory of the Chinese Republic. People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has informed the Chinese Government that Red troops sent into Mongolia enter there as friends of the Chinese people, and will withdraw

immediately after destroying the White Guard detachments.

### POLES IN PETLURA'S ARMY

Moscow, November 18, 1920.—Polish officers and noncombatant soldiers are streaming in masses into Petlura's army. The middle-class element of the Polish army has found satisfaction for itself since the signing of the armistice, and is seeking such satisfaction by going into Petlura's army. All the most typical representatives of the class interests of Polish landlordism in the Ukraine are joining Petlura's cause. These elements are thus continuing their struggle against the Ukrainian working masses. Let them know that the Soviet Government of Russia and Ukraine will consider the Poles who are found in the ranks of Petlura's army as the most malignant foes of the workers, foes who under every condition will fight for the defense of the cause of the exploiters, and they will be treated as such.

### RUSSIAN WAR PRISONERS

*Pravda* writes as follows: What profound understanding of the economic needs of the Soviet fatherland is shown by the former Russian war-prisoners can be judged from the fact that a transport returning from Germany has brought back with it medicaments collected by the soldiers and put at the disposal of the Commissariat for Public Health. The amount of the medicaments brought in was of course very small, but this is beside the point. This touching care for the needs of Soviet Russia is very characteristic of the sentiment among the prisoners suffering in foreign concentration camps.

### REPATRIATION OF RUSSIAN PRISONERS

Moscow, November 16, 1920.—Two hundred and forty-five Russian citizens liberated by the English in exchange for Belgians, French, and British detained in Russia, arrived in Odessa on English transports under the guard of English warships. The majority of these repatriated citizens had spent nineteen months in jails and concentration camps at Constantinople, Egypt, and elsewhere.

### PROTEST TO GERMANY

BERLIN, November 9.—Victor Kopp, Soviet Representative in Germany, has sent a protest note to the German Government on the subject of a visit paid by an inter-allied investigating commission to the Soviet ship *Subbotnik*, at Hamburg.

### MURDER OF PERSIAN DELEGATES

The Petrograd *Pravda* reports: Two Persian delegates who were returning to their homes from the Congress of Eastern Nations, were murdered by Persian gendarmes on the Persian border.

### PETROGRAD LABOR EXCHANGE

Moscow, November 18, 1920.—During last month at the Petrograd Labor Exchange, the demand for labor power was 75,000 workers; the supply only 7,000.

**PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES**

Moscow, October 21, 1920 (via Stockholm).—According to the *Viestnik*, extraordinary precautions are being instituted in Moscow. The reason for this is the growing activity of secret entente agents in Russia. The campaign of lies in the western press goes on undiminished, daily featuring new canards about so-called mutinies. This is but one token of the pernicious works and plans promoted by the great powers. The sinister factory of the allies sends its spies to Russia. But the toiling people of Russia are vigilant. The organs of security here are on the alert. The secret agents of the Entente are at the end of their hopes and those who promoted their activities will have to bear the cost of their failure. To thwart these plans strenuous measures have been taken, and the situation has been made clear to the citizens by the government.

**PROPAGANDA TRAINS**

The following remarks are published by *Pravda* on this subject: Two years ago a basis was laid for agitation by means of propaganda trains. Since then this arrangement has developed and spread, and now it is being used for other purposes also; for instance, for the support of local and party organizations, while they have also been performing instructions and control service. Four such trains in operation at present (the fifth was made ready a short while ago) bear the following names: *Lenin*, *The November Revolution*, *The Red East*, *Soviet Caucasia*, and one propaganda steamer, *The Red Star*. In the work of these trains during these two years 200 responsible Soviet or Party functionaries participated. Within the period from January 12 to October 1 of this year, the trains and the steamer made altogether 18 tours during which they visited 30 provinces. There were held, altogether, 1,815 mass meetings with 2,665,364 participants; 1,008 lectures with an attendance of 25,533 persons, 1,232 meetings of functionaries and 1,865 motion picture shows with 2,113,798 spectators were arranged. Of literature there were distributed 1,103,500 circulars and books sold for 1,103,500 rubles and 75 kopecs.

**NEW MONUMENT IN PETROGRAD**

Moscow, November 18, 1920.—A great monument to the Third Communist Internationale is being erected in Petrograd. The idea of the monument is to create a new type of monumental work combining creative principle with practical purposes. The monument will be built of glass and iron, and consist of three large glass buildings to contain offices for the Third Internationale. A model of the monument exhibited at the Arts Academy is extensively visited by the population.

**BALTIC MERCHANT FLEET**

Moscow, November 18, 1920.—In the Baltic merchant fleet, 322 ships need capital repairs, and 433 need ordinary repairs. These ships will be repaired before spring, partly at shipbuilding yards and partly in the harbors.

**SOVIET RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE**

HELSINGFORS, November 15.—The Director-General of the Finnish railroads, Vuolle, says in *Dagens Press*: "If the transit trade with Russia really begins to function, the Finnish railroads can daily transport as much as 3,000 tons from west to east. New railroad cars are being continually built." He further expressed his hope that the transit trade would go by way of Finland and emphasized how important it would be to extend the loading facilities of the ports. Should the trade become very active, the tracks of the Aabo-Toijlala line could be doubled.

**AMERICAN COAL CARGOES**

BERGEN, November 17 (Private communication to *Social Demokraten*, Christiania, Norway).—According to the information of *Arbeidet*, a Bergen newspaper, 40,000 tons of coal are now en route from America to Russia. The cargoes are carried by eight ships, including several Norwegian. One of them, *Torbjorg*, stopped at Bergen yesterday. Another is the stranded Bergen steamer, *Morgana*. Further information printed by the newspaper states that great cargoes of coal in America are destined for northern Russia and will be sent out in the course of the winter.

**THE URAL METAL WORKERS**

Moscow, November 10.—The metal workers in the Ural region have begun to collect money for the Hungarian workers suffering under the yoke of Terror. The workers of the Smolensk works are working one hour overtime for the benefit of the Hungarian workers and give besides a portion of their earnings for the same purpose. The workers of Chernokholunitsk have already given a contribution in the form of one day's wages and besides they are working one hour overtime daily for the benefit of the Hungarian workers.

**GRAIN AND GOLDFIELDS**

Moscow, November 1, 1920.—According to *Economic Life*, grain deliveries in Omsk have now exceeded all estimates. The daily arrival of grain in Ufa averages 100,000 poods.

Important new goldfields have been discovered near Cheliabinsk.

**ELECTRICAL STATION OPENED**

Moscow, November 16, 1920.—The first electrical station opened in the remote district of Zaraisk was constructed by local workers without outside help or technical means.

**HEMP, WOOL, AND FLAX**

Moscow, November 16, 1920.—In November, nine provinces alone furnished 43,000 poods of hemp, 23,000 poods of wool, and 1,000 poods of flax.

**PUBLIC FEEDING**

Moscow, November 16, 1920.—By a decree of the Council of People's Commissars free feeding at all restaurants and public institutions has been established at Moscow.

OUR SPECIAL ILLUSTRATED JANUARY 1st ISSUE

OF

# SOVIET RUSSIA

*will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. ECHOES OF RASPUTIN IN THE NORTH, by *John S. Clarke.*  
*The English correspondent converses with a Russian comrade, who tells him the interesting tale of the priest-conspirator.*
2. COLLAPSE AND RECONSTRUCTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by *Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt.*  
*The brilliant author of "Moscow in 1920" analyzes the course of the nationalization movement in Russia. There will be two instalments of this article.*
3. WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' UNIVERSITIES IN RUSSIA.  
*Statistics showing what classes take advantage of the educational opportunities of the Soviet Government.*
4. NEW BUFFERS FOR 1921.  
*Discussion of the prospects that Sweden, Norway, and Denmark will be drawn into the counter-revolutionary war.*
5. THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF SOVIET RUSSIA, by *W. McLaine.*  
*An interview with Lunacharsky, People's Commissar for Education.*
6. *Regular Weekly MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.*

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